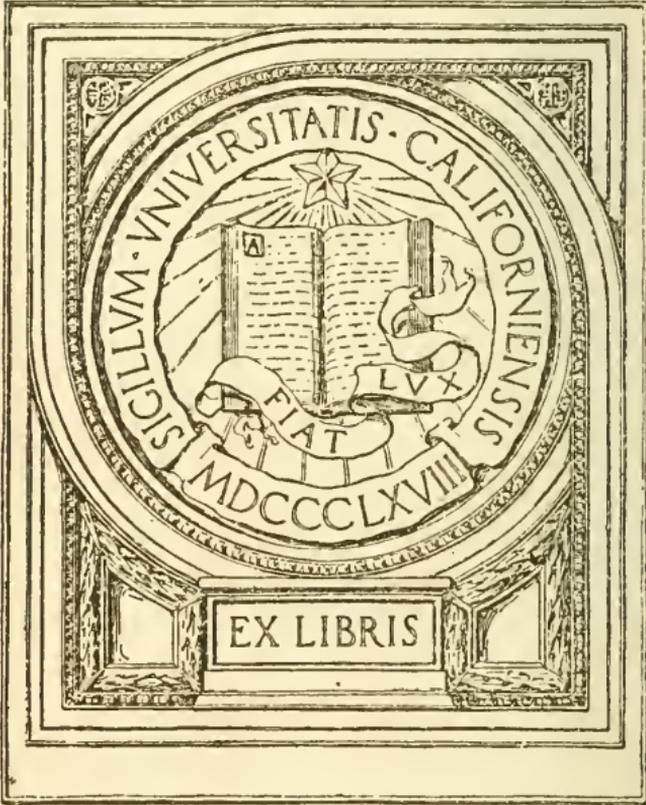
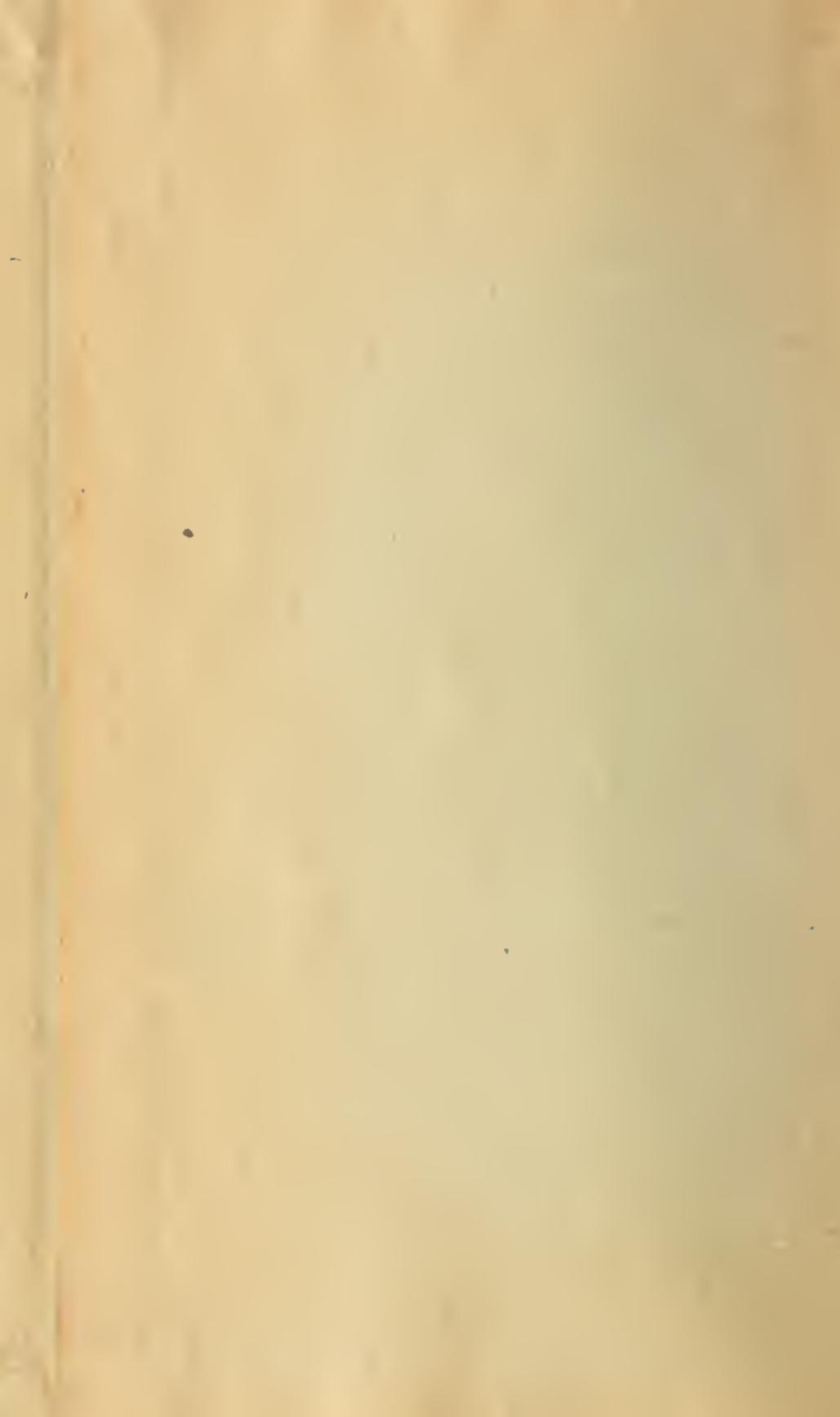


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THE ESSAYS

OR

COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL

OF

FRANCIS BACON

LORD VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

A. LIFE OF BACON

FRANCIS BACON was born in London on January 22, 1561. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (i. e. he exercised the duties of Lord Chancellor, without enjoying the full dignity which that title confers), a great lawyer, a wise statesman, and a scrupulously honest man. His mother was one of the accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, the tutor of King Edward VI; she knew Greek, Latin, and Italian thoroughly, and made theology her chief study. Using to the full the opportunities offered by such parentage, young Bacon was a proficient scholar and an adroit courtier by the age of twelve. 'He delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him "the young Lord Keeper". Being asked by the Queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, that he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy reign, with which answer the Queen was much taken' (RAWLEY). In his thirteenth year, an extraordinarily early age even in those days, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he stayed for three years, and then 'departed, carrying with him a profound contempt for the course of study pursued there, a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious,'

a just scorn for the trifles on which the followers of Aristotle had wasted their powers, and no great reverence for Aristotle himself' (MACAULAY).

In 1576 he was admitted a member of Gray's Inn, though probably at that time he did not intend to make the Bar his profession. At any rate he did not immediately begin studying the Law, for a few months later he went to France in attendance upon Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador. Only once in the Essays (*Essay xxxv*) does he make direct allusion to his stay in France, but the bitter religious hatred between Catholics and Huguenots, which at that time convulsed the country with civil war, gave him a store of experience from which he drew largely in writing 'Of Unity in Religion' (III), 'Of Revenge' (IV), 'Of Seditious and Troubles' (xv), and 'Of Faction' (LI). Bacon was all his life a firm believer in religious toleration; having quoted the famous line of Lucretius, *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, he continues, 'What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France?' (*Essay III*), referring to the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, the memory of which he found still fresh in men's minds on his arrival in Paris four years later. In 1579 he was suddenly recalled to England by the death of his father, one of the turning-points in his career. The fortune which he inherited was not sufficient in itself to keep him in that state to which he had been accustomed. Lord Treasurer Burghley, his uncle by marriage, whose patronage he sought, turned a deaf ear to his appeals, actuated less perhaps by his dislike of nepotism than by a fear that the advance-

ment of his son, Robert Cecil, afterwards Lord Salisbury, would suffer in competition with his more talented nephew. Bacon was still in favour with Queen Elizabeth, but she rewarded his faithful flattery and learned conversation only with compliments. So he began to read seriously for the Bar, and was called in 1582. Two years later he entered Parliament as member for Melcombe Regis. In 1589 he was granted the reversion of the registrarship to the Court of Star Chamber, but, as the holder of this lucrative post lived on for twenty years, his prospects were not much improved. And he made matters worse for himself in 1593, when as member for Middlesex he opposed a demand for large subsidies and strongly denounced an attempt by the House of Lords to interfere with the constitutional right of the Commons to deal with questions of Supply. This action of his not only alienated Burghley still further from him, but also offended the Queen, who had just before appointed him 'Queen's Counsel Extraordinary'.

Disgusted, not without reason, by Burghley's treatment of him, and recognizing that he had nothing to hope for from that quarter, Bacon about this time assiduously cultivated the friendship of the Earl of Essex, who was Burghley's most formidable rival and stood high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. But even Essex, though he appears to have made every effort, could not break down the Queen's displeasure; the offices of Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and Master of the Rolls successively fell vacant, and for each of them Bacon applied in vain. In 1597 the first edition of the Essays was published, ten in all. In

some of them, e. g. 'Of Followers and Friends' (XLVIII), 'Of Suitors' (XLIX), and 'Of Ceremonies and Respects' (LII), we may see here and there faint reflections of the disappointment which he felt at the delay in the due recognition of his abilities. He preached in his Essay 'Of Expense' (XXVIII) wisdom which he did not practise; he was now deep in debt, notwithstanding the benevolence of Essex, who had presented him with an estate at Twickenham worth some £2,000. Burghley died in 1598, but Essex too was nearing the end of his adventurous career. He went in 1599 at his own wish and against Bacon's advice to Ireland in order to put down the rebellion of Tyrone; he failed, returned to England, tried in vain to justify his failure, and fell into utter disgrace. Desperate, he made an absurd attempt to restore his fortunes by a *coup d'état*: his plan was to seize Whitehall by force of arms and compel the Queen to receive him back into favour. His plot was discovered, he was tried for high treason, condemned, and executed. Bacon, as Queen's Counsel Extraordinary, appeared for the prosecution and conducted the case against his old friend and benefactor with marked severity. Many hard things have been said of Bacon for the part which he played in this tragedy, and many apologies have been made for him. Whether he was actuated by mere callous opportunism, knowing that Essex was doomed and wishing to be on the right side, or by honest hatred of the crime, 'the highest civil crime,' as Blackstone says, 'which (considered as a member of the community) any man can possibly commit,' is too complicated a question to be settled here. How-

ever we regard it, it was a most unhappy episode in Bacon's life. Only let us remember that Brutus of old put his two sons to death for treason and has been unreservedly applauded by historians of all ages for his stern sense of justice.

Elizabeth died in 1603, leaving Bacon still without any official position at the age of forty-two and heavily burdened with debt. But with sure foresight he had already taken pains to ingratiate himself with James, and early in the new reign he began to reap his reward in the shape of a knighthood and a pension of £60 a year. Immediately afterwards he was made 'King's Counsel', with an annuity of £40. He married in 1606, and having taken a year or thereabouts to consider the matter he wrote his Essay 'Of Marriage and Single Life' (VIII), in which he very judiciously sums up the pros and cons of both estates, showing no decided preference for either. During the next fifteen years honours were showered upon him; he was made Solicitor-General in 1607, Attorney-General in 1613, a Privy Councillor in 1616, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1617, Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam in 1618, and lastly Viscount St. Alban in 1621. But no sooner had he reached the summit of his power than he fell. At the end of January 1621 Parliament met after an interval of seven years. The Commons reassembled in no friendly mood towards Bacon, who had steadily supported the King in his aggressions, particularly in the matter of 'forced gifts' or 'benevolences' and the granting of oppressive monopoly-patents (cf. *Essay* xxxiv). Petitions were also presented to the House charging Bacon with

not King
in Pounce

accepting bribes in the execution of his judicial duties as Lord Chancellor. A searching inquiry was made, and it was proved beyond all possibility of doubt that he had received many large sums of money from suitors in the Court of Chancery over which he presided. His apologists urge with great force that it was the recognized practice of judges in those days to accept 'gratuities' from litigants after the pronouncement of judgement, and that, although in some instances Bacon accepted such gratuities during the trial of suits, in no single case can it be proved or even suggested with any probability that his judgement was influenced; on the contrary, some of the petitioners were aggrieved that in spite of their presents he had decided against them! After reading the letters which he wrote during the time that the evidence against him was being collected, it is almost impossible to believe that he had any guilt upon his conscience. But when the full particulars of the charge were laid before him, then for the first time he saw that he had done wrong; 'I do confess,' he wrote, 'that in the points charged upon me, though they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry.' The sentence pronounced upon him was that he should pay a fine of £40,000, be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, be incapable of holding any office in the State, and be disabled from sitting in Parliament and from coming within twelve miles of the Court. But the whole sentence was soon afterwards revoked, except the disability from sitting in Parliament. He retired to

his estate at Gorhambury in Hertfordshire, where he wrote copiously during the remaining five years of his life. The calm resignation with which he looked back upon his fall is reflected in his Essay 'Of Adversity' (v). He died on April 9, 1626.

'His faults as a philosopher, as a statesman, and as a judge, arose alike from the same source. "I have taken all knowledge for my province," he once exclaimed in the enthusiasm of youth. He laid himself open to the criticism of chemists and astronomers, because he believed that the whole intellectual world was at his feet, and that a single generation would suffice to classify and arrange the infinite phenomena of nature. He laid himself open to the criticism of statesmen and lawyers, because, in his reverence for the powers of intellect, he despised the checks upon the exercise of sovereign power which in a free constitution are necessarily placed in the hands of commonplace and ill-educated men. He laid himself open to the criticism of the moralist, by fancying that integrity of heart might be left to its own guidance; and that a vivid intelligence and a direct honesty of purpose might safely dispense with the forms which are needed for the guidance of smaller men, and might even, on occasion, overstep the line at which courtesy passes into insincerity. Yet, in the end, the wisest and greatest of his generation had to learn that he too was fallible, and that even for him forms were necessary' (GARDINER). This passage may be recommended as a mild homoeopathic corrective for those whose prejudices may have been inflamed against Bacon by the fierce invective of Macaulay's famous Essay.

Though his public career ended ingloriously, few will now deny to Bacon the right to a place among England's great men.

B. THE ESSAYS 30

The word *essay* came into English through the French from the late Latin *exagium*, meaning 'a weighing, testing on the balance'. The collateral form *assay* is still used for the testing of metals. In 1580 Montaigne published his first book of *Essais*, short dissertations on matters of general human interest, and there is little doubt that Bacon read them and borrowed the title. It is significant that Montaigne was an intimate friend of Bacon's elder brother Anthony, to whom the first edition of the *Essays* (1597) was dedicated. This volume contained the following ten papers:—

Of Study	Of Expense
Of Discourse	Of Regiment of Health
Of Ceremonies and Re- spects	Of Honour and Reputation
Of Followers and Friends	Of Faction
Of Suitors	Of Negotiating.

In the dedication he apologized for publishing 'these fragments of my conceits'; it seems that he had had some copies privately printed, and had reason to suspect unauthorized publication by some unscrupulous person into whose hands a copy had come; for he wrote: 'I do now like some that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe to prevent stealing. . . . Therefore I hold it best discretion to publish them myself, as they passed long

ago from my pen, without any further disgrace than the weakness of the author. . . . Only I disliked now to put them out because they will be like the late new half-pence, which though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small.'

The second edition (1612) contained the following:—

Of Religion	Of Seeming Wise
Of Death X	Of Riches
Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature	Of Ambition
Of Cunning X L	Of Young Men and Age X
Of Marriage and Single Life X	Of Beauty
Of Parents and Children	Of Deformity
Of Nobility	Of Nature in Men
Of Great Place V	Of Custom and Education
Of Empire	Of Fortune
Of Counsel	Of Studies X L
Of Dispatch	Of Ceremonies and Respects
Of Love X	Of Suitors
Of Friendship	Of Followers
Of Atheism X L	Of Negotiating
Of Superstition X	Of Faction
Of Wisdom for a Man's Self	Of Praise
Of Regiment of Health	Of Judicature
Of Expense	Of Vain Glory
Of Discourse V	Of Greatness of Kingdoms.

It was dedicated to Sir John Constable, who had married Bacon's wife's sister, Dorothy Barnham. But Bacon's original intention had been to dedicate this

new edition to Henry, Prince of Wales, who died shortly before it was published; the dedicatory letter addressed to the Prince is preserved, however, and is interesting in that it contains an interpretation of the word *essay*. 'The word is late,' he wrote, 'but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's *Epistles to Lucilius*, if one mark them well, are but essays, that is dispersed meditations though conveyed in the form of epistles.' Elsewhere in the letter he described them as 'certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously', and 'although they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their pens are most conversant, yet I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in books'.

The third and last edition published under Bacon's own supervision (1625) contained the fifty-eight essays printed in this volume, viz. all those which had appeared in the 1612 edition, some of them much altered, the Essay 'Of Honour and Reputation' which had been included in the first but omitted from the second edition, and nineteen others which were new. The unfinished Essay 'Of Fame' was found by Dr. Rawley after Bacon's death. The dedication addressed to the Duke of Buckingham is printed in full in front of the text of the present edition. It will be observed that reference is made there to a Latin version; this was not published until after Bacon's death, and the authorship of it is uncertain; some part of it, but certainly not all, may have been Bacon's own work. There were also contemporary translations into French and Italian.

The chief source of the Essays was Bacon's personal experience and his study of mankind. But in the expression of his thoughts he borrowed very freely from earlier philosophers and historians. On almost every page the reader will find quotations from the Bible and from the Greek and Latin classics, especially Tacitus, Plutarch, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, and Ovid, besides frequent allusions to biblical, classical, and mediaeval history. It is also remarkable that the quotations are more often than not inaccurate, not only in words but in sense. Rawley, in whose eyes Bacon could do no wrong, considered this habit to be a positive merit; 'if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before, so that the author should find his own speech much amended and yet the substance of it still retained.' The truth is that Bacon regarded broad principles and gave little thought to detail; he quoted in order to illustrate and explain principles, and so long as the quotation was apt for that purpose he did not care whether it was verbally correct or not. He furnished in himself an exception to the rule which he laid down in his Essay 'Of Studies'; for though 'reading' made him 'a full man', 'writing' did not make him 'an exact man'.

Bacon's prose style is at once peculiar to himself and characteristic of Elizabethan and Jacobean prose in general. He shares with all his contemporaries his fondness for clear-cut antithesis, for metaphor and illustration (often taken from natural history), for careful arrangement of both words and arguments, and,

as we have seen, for abundant use of Latin phrases and quotations. It is his conciseness that distinguishes him from others: not merely does he express a single thought in few words, but he condenses argument, illustration, and conclusion into the narrowest possible compass; this peculiarity is responsible for most of the 'difficulty which is found in reading the Essays, and which can be overcome only by the steadiest concentration of the mind. 'Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested' (*Essay L*): Bacon's Essays belong indisputably to the last of these three classes.

NOTE

THE text of this edition is taken from the larger Clarendon Press edition by the late S. H. Reynolds (1890) which followed the copy of the 1625 edition presented by Bacon to the Duke of Buckingham, but modernized the spelling and punctuation.

THE
ESSAYS

OR

COUNSELS,

CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

Newly Enlarged.

LONDON,

Printed by JOHN HAVILAND

FOR HANNA BARRET and RICHARD WHITAKER,

And are to be sold as the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

To the Right Honorable My Very Good Lo. The Duke
of *Buckingham* his Grace, Lo. High Admirall of
England.

Excellent Lo.

Salomon saies ; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment* ; And I assure my selfe, such wil your Graces Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, have been Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes* ; which, of all my other workes, have been most Currant : For that, as it seems, they come home, to Mens Businesse and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight ; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the *King* : My *Historie* of *Henry the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall History*, to the *Prince* : And these I dedicate to your Grace ; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your Grace by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and faithfull Servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

THE ESSAYES

OR

COUNSELS CIVILL AND MORALL

OF

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN

I

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
5 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 find-
10 ing 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 school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what
15 should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques, and
20 mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. 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 showeth 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 5 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, 10 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 settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever 15 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 20 the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. 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 25 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, saith yet excellently well:—*It is a pleasure to 30 stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed 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 35 air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, 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 business; it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise 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 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 saith prettily. when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and 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.*

II

OF DEATH

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased 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

pressed 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 magis terret quam mors ipsa*. Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy 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 slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth 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 quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus 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 Caesar died in a compliment; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale*. Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant*: Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio*: Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*, holding forth his neck; Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum*; and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful.

Better saith he, *qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae*. 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
 5 one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat 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
 10 worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *Extinctus amabitur idem*.

III

OF UNITY IN RELIGION

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within
 15 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
 20 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; 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
 25 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
 30 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 con-

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Order & Balance

tinuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: 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 whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto*, another 5 saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; 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 sound in men's ears, *nolite exire*,—go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of 10 whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad? and certainly it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many dis- 15 cordant and contrary opinions in religion. It doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorers. 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 20 scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, *The Morris-Dance of Heretics*: for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved 25 politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it 30 turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treaties 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 pacifica- 35 tion 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 lukewarm 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 arbitrament between God and
5 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 cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded : He that is not with
10 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
15 done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

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
20 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, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours ; whereupon he
25 saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit* ; 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 becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial.
30 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
35 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 profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae*. Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms, so fixed as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the 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; 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 could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known of the

massacre in France, or the powder treason of Eng-
 land? 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
 5 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 personate
 10 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?
 15 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
 20 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 those facts and opinions
 tending to the support of the same; as hath been
 already in good part done. Surely, in counsels con-
 25 cerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be
 prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*: and it
 was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less
 ingenuously confessed, that those which held and
 persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly
 30 interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV

OF REVENGE

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 Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.* That which is past is gone and irrevocable, 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, 10 but thereby to purchase himself profit, 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 15 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 punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two 20 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 25 flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read,* saith 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,* saith 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 otherwise would 35 heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate ; as that for the death of Caesar ; for the death of Pertinax ; for the death of Henry the Third of

France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindicative persons live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

V

OF ADVERSITY

5 It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics) that *The good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly, if miracles be the
 10 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) *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.*
 15 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,
 20 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, *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the
 25 frail bark of the flesh through 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
 30 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 hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more

in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; 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 5 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 incensed, or crushed: for prosperity 10 doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

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 15 is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son*; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius: 20 and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgement of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius*. These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are in- 25 deed 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 secretted, and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of 30 state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgement, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dis-

sembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and variest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that
 5 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
 10 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, closeness, reservation, and
 15 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
 20 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
 25 or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close 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
 30 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
 35 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

a 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 5 and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation. It followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to 10 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 show an inclination one way; 15 or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the 20 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 25 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 practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure. 30

The great 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 alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for 35 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 show 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 troth*;* as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry 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 tempera-
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VII

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to
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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 5 unworthy, especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the 10 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 sort with mean company, and 15 makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents and school-masters and servants), in creating and breeding an 20 emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth 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 25 pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses 30 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 35 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.* Younger brothers

are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of 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 an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in 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 cor-

rupt, 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 practulit immortalitati*. 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

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 Scripturē calleth envy *an evil eye* ; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil 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 others' evil ; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other ; and whoso 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 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; 5 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 Narses 10 the eunuch, and Agesilaus 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 15 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 20 was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy 25 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 30 envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to 35 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 much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, 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 politic 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, 5 to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding 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 10 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 15 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 20 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 under- 25 taking 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 30 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. 35 It is a disease in a state like to infection; for, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth

even the best actions thereof and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little 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 affection 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 affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute 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

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, some-
 times 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, 5
which shows that great spirits and great business do
keep out this weak passion. You must except, never-
 theless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the
 empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the Decemvir
 and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a 10
 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 15
 Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri 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 20
 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 25
 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 him-
 self as the lover doth of the person loved; and there- 30
 fore 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 reci- 35
 proque, 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
 5 wisdom. This passion hath his floods 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 show it to be the child of
 10 folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever 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
 15 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
 20 spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI

OF GREAT PLACE

25 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 freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty;
 30 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 sis qui fueris, non esse cur vclis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of 5 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 10 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 15 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 20 of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place there is licence 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 25 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 30 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 aspiceret opera quae fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia 35 essent bona nimis;* 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 degenerated ; but yet ask counsel of both times ; of the ancient time 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 Salomon saith, *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 showeth the man*; and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*; though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured 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 factions, 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 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

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration: question was asked of Demosthènes, *what was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *Action*: what next?—*Action*: what next again?—*Action*. 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 plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; 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 prevaieth 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 politic 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 5 these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly, to men of great judgement, bold persons are a sport to 10 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, 15 for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. 20 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 counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that 25 they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

XIII

OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the 30 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 theo-
 5 logical virtue charity, and admits no excess but error.
 The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall;
 the desirè 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 good-
 10 ness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inso-
 much 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, Busbechius
 15 reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like
 to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness 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*:
 20 *So good, that he is good for nothing*: and one of the
 doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciavel, had the confidence
 to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *that the
 Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those
 that are tyrannical and unjust*; which he spake because,
 25 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 an habit
 so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not
 30 in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but
 facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind
 prisoner. Neither give thou Aesop'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
 35 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 ourselves the pattern, the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*: but sell 5 not all thou hast 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 driest 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 cross- 15 ness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficultness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' 20 sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything 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 25 yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics 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 parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to 30 strangers, it shows 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 shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded 35 itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be

thankful for small benefits, it shows 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 shows 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
 10 a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempts sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than
 15 where there are stirps 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
 20 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
 25 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
 30 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 sound and perfect ; how 5 much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time : for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous but less 10 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 15 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, 20 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. 25

XV

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the kalendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality ; as natural tempests are greatest about the *aequinocxia*. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of 30 seas before a tempest, so are there in states :

*Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus
Saepe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.*

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort false news, often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the 5 signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the giants* :

*Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Coeo Encladoque sororem
Progeniuit.*

10 As if fames were the relics of seditions past ; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine ; especially 15 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 shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt*. Neither 20 doth it follow that because these fames are a sign 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 25 long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected : *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari quam exsequi* ; disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the 30 yoke and assay 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 35 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 accessory to a cause, and that 5 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 the reve- 10 rence of government is lost. 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 highest motion, and softly in 15 their own motion ; and therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the orbs are out of frame : for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, 20 who threateneth the dissolving thereof ; *Solvam cingula regum*.

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 25 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. 30

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 35 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 troubles.

Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war :

*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore foenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

5 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
10 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 inflame ; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust ; for
15 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*
20 *modus, timendi non item.* Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withal mate 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,
25 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, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last ; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the*
30 *weakest pull.*

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion ; taxes ; alteration of laws and customs ; breaking of privileges ; general oppression ; advancement of unworthy persons ; strangers ; dearths ; dis-
35 banded 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 5 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 idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by 10 sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding 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 15 wars) do not exceed 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 20 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 25 more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth upon 30 another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, 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 35 than the material, and enricheth a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used that the treasure and moneys 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
 5 good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger
 10 of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the noblesse 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
 15 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
 20 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 show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

25 To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthuma-
 30 tions.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and
 35 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 discontent-

ments. 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 5 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 10 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 15 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 20 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, 25 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. Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit litteras, non potuit dictare*; for it 30 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 a se militem, non emi*; for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus likewise by that speech, 35 *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*, 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
 5 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
 10 be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures reltent, omnes paterentur.* But let such military persons
 15 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 worse than the disease.

XVI

OF ATHEISM

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and
 20 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
 25 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
 30 confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly 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 saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*; it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart*; so as he rather saith 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 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 shows 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
5 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
10 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 saith, *Non est jam*
15 *dicere ut populus, sic 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 lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity ; for troubles and
20 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
25 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
30 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
35 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 saith; *Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graccos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terrae domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

XVII

OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than 10 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 saith well to that purpose; *Surely, saith he, I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man 15 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; 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 20 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. Therefore atheism 25 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 30 *primum mobile* that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise 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 schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines* 5 *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: pleasing and 10 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 15 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. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it 20 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 25 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 30 people is the reformer.

XVIII

OF TRAVEL

TRAVEL, 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 5 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 10 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 15 courts of princes, especially 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 20 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, burses, 25 warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like ; comedies, such 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 30 they go ; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them : yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young 35 man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do : 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
5 key to his inquiry ; let him keep also a diary ; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place déserveth, 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
10 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
15 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
20 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,
25 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
30 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
35 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 forwards 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 5
 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. 10
 And this is one reason also of that effect which the
 Scripture speaketh of, *that the king's heart is inscrutable*;
 for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some pre-
 dominant desire that should marshal and put in order
 all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or 15
 sound. 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 ad-
 vancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining 20
 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 25
 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 30
 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, Dio-
 clesian, and, in our memory, Charles the Fifth, and

here the heart is shadowed
 here the heart is shadowed

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
 5 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 Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's*
 10 *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
 15 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
 20 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
 25 greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories ; *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae* ; for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to
 30 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
 35 from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

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 5 is generally the work of standing councils 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 10 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 anywise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy), 15 made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzius Medici, 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 justly be made but upon a precedent injury or* 20 *provocation* ; 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 ; 25 Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession ; Edward the Second of England his Queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of 30 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 enter- 35 ing 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
5 towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house ; for both Constantinus and Constans, his sons, died violent deaths ; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had
10 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 distrust, except it were where
15 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.

For their prelates ; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them ; as it was in the times
20 of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers 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
25 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
30 not amiss ; but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything 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
35 his times were full of difficulties and troubles ; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business ; 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 5 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 10 imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth 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, 15 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 dona- 20 tives ; 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. 25

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 30 *vice Dei* ; the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX

OF COUNSEL

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 counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all 5 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*. Salomon 10 hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. 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 15 man. Salomon's son 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 20 discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by 25 Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth 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 30 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 35 of their council 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 5 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. 10

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 15 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, 20 hath introduced cabinet counsels; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary that he that con- 25 sulteth 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 counsels, it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*: one futile person, that maketh it his glory 30 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 35 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 had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, 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 counsel 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.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too 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 consort, 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 consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel 5 likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth 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 10 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 15 conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

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 20 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. 25 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 30 persons, than to make an indifferency 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 35 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, 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 sit 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, will sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXI

OF DELAYS

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla'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 verse) *turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken*; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be 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 ; 5 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, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy 10 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.

15

XXII

OF CUNNING

WE 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, and yet cannot play well ; so there are 20 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 25 business ; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice 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 30 from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not 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 have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would
5 be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that
10 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.

15 The like surprise 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,
20 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
25 more.

And because it works better when anything 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
30 wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change; as Nehemias did: *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender and displeasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less
35 weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in 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 5 put that which was most material in the postscript, 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 10 a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised 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 15 are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man 20 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, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to 25 be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The 30 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 35 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 Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem 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 propositions; for it makes the other party stick 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, whereas straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts 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. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are noways 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 saith, Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.

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 5 men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself 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 10 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 15 themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune; but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often 20 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 accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; 25 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, 30 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 sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it
 5 is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a 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
 10 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
 15 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
 20 have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV

OF INNOVATIONS

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-
 25 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
 30 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 5 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 10 and less favoured. All this is true if time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward 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 there- 15 fore 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 other ; and he that is holpen 20 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 25 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 30 what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

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 not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement
 5 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
 10 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.
 15 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;
 20 and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna*;—*Let my death come from Spain*; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

25 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
 30 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 loss of time; but there is
 35 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 5 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 as the distribu- 10 tion 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: 15 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 20 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

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they 25 are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof*; so certainly there are, in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly; 30 *magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgement, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make

superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within
5 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 saith of Piso, that when he answered
10 him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it by speaking a great word and being peremptory, and go
15 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 impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgement. Some are never without a difference, and
20 commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech
25 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
30 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
35 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

It 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*: for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion 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*; 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 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, flowers of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain ; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart
5 griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth 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
10 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
15 thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversa-
20 tion ; 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 wisest and most politic that
25 ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

30 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
35 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 Caesar 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 Caesar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages and specially 5 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 10 of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica*,—*witch*; as if he had enchanted Caesar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Maecenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Maecenas took the liberty to tell him, 15 *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, saith, 20 *Haec pro amicitia nostra non occultavi*; and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, 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 25 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 30 Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, 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 35 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.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth
 5 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 saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish*
 10 *his understanding.* Surely Comineus 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.*
 15 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
 20 self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is,
 25 in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists used 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 of alchymists, there is a manifest
 30 image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth 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
 35 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 daylight 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 whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and 5 break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth 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 10 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 15 fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a 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 20 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 25 falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith 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 30 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 35 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
5 is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive ; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead ; observing our faults in others is sometimes unproper for our case ; but the best receipt (best, I say, to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is
10 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 St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes*
15 *into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.* As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one ; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on ; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and
20 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
25 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
30 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 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
35 with good meaning), and mixed 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 a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient: but a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, 5 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 judgement), followeth 10 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 15 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; 20 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 25 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 30 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 35 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 sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not
5 a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII

OF EXPENSE

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
10 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 compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less
15 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 base-
20 ness 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
25 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
30 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 hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will 5 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 10 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 15 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 20 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 25 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 30 and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation 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
 5 sufficient (*negotiiis 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
 10 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 enterprises: nor, on the
 15 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
 20 may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not anything 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
 25 heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; 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
 30 some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly
 races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a
 35 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 saith), *It never troubles a*

wolf how many the sheep be. The army of the Persians in 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. 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, 10 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. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a 15 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), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon said well to Croesus (when in 20 ostentation he showed 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 25 side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may 30 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 burdens;* neither will it be 35 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
 5 tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the couragé. So that you may conclude *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their
 10 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*
 15 *never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.* So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many the commons will be base: and you will bring it to that that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and
 20 so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in
 25 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 hus-
 30 bandry 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
 35 attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebae.

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere 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 5 no ways inferior unto the 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, contrari- 10 wise, 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 15 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 a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and 20 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 25 were becomen 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. 30 Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus haereditatis*, but also, *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*; and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to 35 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 handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, 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 arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The 5 fabric 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 10 great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth 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 15 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 principally have done) do wonders ; and those that have professed arms but for 20 an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those 25 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 30 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, 35 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 politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; 5 insomuch as if thè 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 10 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 Graecia: or when the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and 15 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 20 arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; 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 25 foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the 30 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 35 continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgement of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Caesar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii*

plane Themistocleum est; putat enim qui mari potitur eum 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 5 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 10 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 princi- 15 pal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of 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 20 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 25 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 30 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 35 donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans

was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest 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
 5 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 impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars
 10 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 *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature* in this little
 15 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,
 20 they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX

OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physick: a man's own observation what he finds good
 25 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
 30 excesses 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 anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by 5 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 10 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 exhilara- 15 tions 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, 20 and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic 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 certain seasons than 25 frequent use of physic, 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 30 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 lasting, that 35 a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme : use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating ; watching and

sleep, but rather sleep ; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like : so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of
5 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
10 man, combine two of either sort ; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI

OF SUSPICION

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight : certainly they are to
15 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, wise men to irresolution and melancholy :
20 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
25 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 suspect much, more than to know little ; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more,
30 and not to keep their suspicions 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 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 5 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 whisperings of others have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of 10 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 15 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. 20

XXXII

OF DISCOURSE

SOME 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 25 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 30 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 anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be
 5 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
 10 quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

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,
 15 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 him-
 20 self 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
 25 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
 30 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 case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially
 35 if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; 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?* 5 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 10 good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are 15 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

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and 20 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 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 25 plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the 30 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 further. It is

a shameful and unblessed 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 mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit 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, pine-apples, 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 pease 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. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much ; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon 5 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 10 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 govern- 15 ment, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some council ; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation ; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and his service before their 20 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 25 there be freedoms from custom till the plantation be of strength ; and not only freedom from custom, 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 30 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 35 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
 5 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
 10 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
 15 plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV

OF RICHES

20 I 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
 25 disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Salomon. *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any
 30 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 ostentation 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 Salomon saith, *Riches are as a stronghold* 5 *in the imagination of the rich man*; but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination and not always in fact: for certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use 10 soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandae, apparebat non avaritiae praedam, sed instrumentum bonitati quaeri.* 15 Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches: *Qui festinat ad divitias non erit insons.* 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 20 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, 25 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 30 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 35 exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in 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
5 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
10 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
15 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,
20 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 are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst ;
25 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 unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first
30 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
35 the times be fit : he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches ; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes 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 5 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 saith of Seneca, *Testamenta 10 et orbos tanquam indagine capi*), it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them ; and none worse when they come to them. 15 Be not penny-wise ; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public ; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an 20 heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgement : likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt ; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy 25 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. 30

XXXV

OF PROPHECIES

I 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.* Homer hath these verses :—

5 *At domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis :*

a prophécý as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses :—

10 *———— Venient annis
Saecula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Patcat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbés, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule :*

a prophécý of the discovery of America. The daughter
15 of Polycrates 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. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's
20 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. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent said to him, *Philippis iterum*
25 *me videbis.* Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.* In Vespasian's time there went a prophécý in the East, that those that should come forth of Judaea should reign over the world ; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet
30 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
35 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 5 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, 10

*When hempe is spunne,
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, 15 Philip, and Elizabeth), England 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 eighty- 20 eight, which I do not well understand :—

*There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone, 25
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 eighty-eight : for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The pre- 30 diction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. 35 As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest ; it was,

that he was devoured of a long dragon: and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of
5 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 winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 the tradition in Plato's Timaeus, and his Atlanticus, 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
30 and feigned, after the event past.

XXXVI

OF AMBITION

AMBITION is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped and

cannot have his 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 checked 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 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 seeled dove, 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 Macro 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 pleasuring and displeasuring 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
5 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 natures, it may do well ; but if they be
10 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
15 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 everything ; for that breeds confusion and mars business : but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious
20 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 public : but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things
25 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
30 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 elegance, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it 5 that the song be in quire, placed aloft and accompanied with some broken music ; 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 10 the dialogue would be strong and manly (a bass 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 15 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 20 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 25 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 music likewise be sharp and loud and well placed. 30 The colours that show best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green ; and oes or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not dis-

cerned. 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; 5 they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, 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 anything 10 that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit; but chiefly, let the music 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, 15 things of great pleasure and 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 justs and tourneys and barriers, the glories of 20 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 25 horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII

OF NATURE IN MEN

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 30 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 than the use. 5
 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 10
 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 15
Vincula qui rupit, dedohitque semel.

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, 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 20
 continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable 25
 intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the 30
 board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore let 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 35
 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, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times, for his 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

MEN'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 Macciavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance) there is no trusting to the force 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 fierceness of any man's nature or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar 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; insomuch 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 5 be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned put up 10 a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia for penance that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many 15 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: 20 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 25 cannot so well take the ply, 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, 30 the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of 35 virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do

not much mend the seeds ; but the misery is that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL

OF FORTUNE

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce
5 much to fortune ; favour, opportunity, death of others,
occasion fitting virtue : but chiefly the mould of a
man's fortune is in his own hands : *Faber quisque
fortunae suae*, saith the poet ; and the most frequent
of external causes is that the folly of one man is the
10 fortune of another ; for no man prospers so suddenly
as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit
non fit draco*. Overt and apparent virtues bring forth
praise ; but there be secret and hidden virtues that
bring forth fortune ; certain deliveries of a man's
15 self, which have no name. The Spanish name, *dis-
emboltura*, partly expresseth them ; when there be not
stands 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
20 Major in these words, *In illo viro, tantum robur corporis
et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam
sibi facturus videretur*), falleth upon that that he had
versatile ingenium : therefore, if a man look sharply
and attentively, he shall see Fortune ; for though she
25 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 asunder,
but giving light together : so are there a number of
little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties
30 and customs, 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 amiss, 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; therefore 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. 5
 An hasty 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 10 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 15 a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Caesar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Caesarem portas et fortunam ejus*. So Sylla chose the name of *Felix* and not of *Magnus*: and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom 20 and policy end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly 25 there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets: as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self. 30

XLI

OF USURY

MANY 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 fucōs pecus a præsepibus arcant ;

5 that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum* ; not, *in sudore vultus alieni* ; that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do Judaize ; that it is against nature for
 10 money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis* : for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious
 15 and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions ; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out ; and warily to
 20 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
 25 part be employed upon merchandising, 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
 30 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 merchandising : the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands ; for the usurer being at certainties, and
 35 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 merchandising or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, 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 hindereth merchandising, 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 use, 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: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other; so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement 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 merchandise 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 licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. 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 preserve 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 dislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage 5 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 10 to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's moneys in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into 15 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 20 connivance.

XLII

OF YOUTH AND AGE

A 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 25 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 30 they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Caesar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ablest emperor,

almost, of all the list ; but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Caesar, Cosmus 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, directeth them ; but in new things abuseth 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 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 politic. 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 5 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 10 grace in youth than in age ; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well but not age : so Tully saith 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 15 tract of years can uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant*.

XLIII

OF BEAUTY

VIRTUE 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 pre- 20 sence 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 25 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 30 beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour 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
 5 or Albert Durer were the more trifler ; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions : the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them :
 10 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 music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good ; and
 15 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 autumnus pulcher* ; for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the
 20 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,
 25 and vices blush.

XLIV

OF DEFORMITY

DEFORMED 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 saith), *void of natural affection* ; and so they have their revenge
 30 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
 25 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 deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, 5 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 in- 10 dustry, 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 quenqueth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise : and it layeth their com- 15 petitors 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) 20 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 25 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 30 the son of Solyman, Aesop, 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 35

where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics 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 committeth himself
 5 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
 10 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.
 15 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 ;
 20 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 everything dear ; where a man
 25 hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted ; 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 sort them so that
 30 what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately 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,
 35 *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls 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 5 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 Hester, and 10 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 15 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 20 times of triumphs. On the other side, which 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 25 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 30 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 35 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
5 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 staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the
10 row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross,
15 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
20 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 after-
25 noon. 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 glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For imbowed windows, I hold
30 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
35 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 same square and height, which is to be environed

with the garden on all sides ; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story : on the under story towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation, and only have opening and windows 5 towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground to avoid all dampishness : 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 10 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, bed-chamber, antecamera, and recamera, joining to it ; this upon the second story. Upon the 15 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 20 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 25 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 embellish- 30 ments upon the wall ; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but 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 35 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 handy-works : and
 5 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
 10 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, pineapple-trees, fir-trees, rosemary,
 15 lavender, periwinkle, the white the purple and the blue,
 germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and 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 ;
 20 crocus vernus both the yellow and the grey ; primroses,
 anemones, the early tulippa, the hyacinthus orientalis,
 chamafris, fritillaria. For March, there come violets,
 especially the single blue which are the earliest, the
 yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom,
 25 the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom,
 sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet,
 the wall flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip,
 flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary-
 flowers, the tulippa, the double peony, the pale daffodil,
 30 the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom,
 the damson and plum-trees in blossom, the white-
 thorn 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, honey-

suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, raspes, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian with the white flower, herba muscaria, liliū convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. 5
 In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, ginnitings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods of all colours. In September 10
 come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardenes, quinces. 5
 In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyhocks, and such like. These particulars 15
 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 20 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 25 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 above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, especially the white double violet, which 30 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, which [yield] a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows 35 upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweetbriar, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then

pinks and gilliflowers, 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 trodden 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, 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 covert 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 5 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 10 this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end 15 of this great enclosure; not at the hither 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 20 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, 25 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, 30 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-house with some 35 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 un-

wholesome 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
5 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,
10 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
15 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 glass and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low
20 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
25 some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on but nothing to health and sweetness.

30 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 honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with
35 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 mole-hills (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 lili- 5
um convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, 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 10
here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, 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 15
variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep 20
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 should be generally observed, that the borders 25
wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large and low and not steep ; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest 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 30
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 35
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 the 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
5 and the evening or overcast days.

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 nestling, and that no foulness appear
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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
30 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 business 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 employèd, for that quickeneth much ; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men 5 for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry 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 10 breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound 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 appetite 15 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 per- 20 suade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing ; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at un- 25 awares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. 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, 30 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 35 once ; but must prepare business and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

COSTLY followers are not to be liked ; lest 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 impertune 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 commonly 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 inquire 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 desert 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 ; 5 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 10 not safe ; for it shows 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 15 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 vule best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the 20 world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX

OF SUITORS

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken ; and 25 private suits do putrefy the public 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 30 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
5 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 controversy, or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition.
10 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
15 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,
20 for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted 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
25 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
30 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
35 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 5 grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras* is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, 10 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 15 general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public 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 20 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 25 studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is 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 proyning by study; and 30 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
5 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,
10 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,
15 flashy things. Reading maketh a full man ; conference a ready man ; and writing an exact man ; and therefore, if a man write little he had need have a great memory ; if he confer little he had need have a present wit ; and if he read little he had need
20 have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise ; poets, witty ; the mathematics, subtile ; natural philosophy, deep ; moral, grave ; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores* ; nay, there is no stand or impediment
25 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
30 be wandering, let him study the mathematics ; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again ; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences let him study the schoolmen ; for they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not apt
35 to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases : so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI

OF FACTION

MANY 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 5 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 10 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 15 weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction ; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth ; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the 20 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 Octavianus Caesar, against 25 Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time ; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions : and therefore, those that are seconds 30 in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals ; but many times also they prove ciphers 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
5 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 pro-
ceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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 RESPECTS

HE that is only real had need have exceeding great
parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that
30 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 purses*; for light 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 5 (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 10 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 15 at all is to teach others not to use them again ; and so diminisheth 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 20 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 25 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 anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others 30 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 35 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. Salomon 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
 10 strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII

OF PRAISE

PRAISE 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 :
 15 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 shows and *species virtu-*
 20 *tibus 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 saith), *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis* ; it
 25 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
 30 flatterer, he will have certain common attributes 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 thinketh 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, *spretæ conscientia*. Some praises come 5 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 should be; some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy 10 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 push rise upon his nose*; as we say that *a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie*. Certainly 15 moderate praise, used with opportunity and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, *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 20 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, have a phrase 25 of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those 30 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 saith, *Magnificabo apostolatatum meum*.

LIV

OF VAIN GLORY

IT was prettily devised of Aesop, *The fly sat 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 factious; 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 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 Aetolians, *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 militar commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into 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 slow without some feathers of ostentation: *Qui de contemnenda gloria*

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 5 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 seelings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean 10 not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium quae dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*: for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion, and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusa- 15 tions, 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 20 perfection: for, saith 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* 25 *less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for 30 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 show 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
5 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 music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband
10 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
15 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 a domesticis emanat*. Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by
20 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
25 place are *conditores imperiorum, founders of states and commonwealths*; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are *legislatores, lawgivers*; which are also called *second founders* or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordi-
30 nances 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
35 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 patriae*, which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live ; both which last kinds need no examples, 5 they are in such number. Degrees of honour in 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 10 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, *negotii pares*, such as have great places under princes, and execute their places 15 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. 20

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 25 alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper 30 virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a meere 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 saith
 5 Salomon, *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causa sua 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
 10 above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith 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.
 15 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
 20 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
 25 of a judge seen to make inequality 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
 30 constructions and strained inferences ; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws : especially 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
 35 whereof the Scripturo speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos ;* for penal laws pressed 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 example but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no *well-tuned cymbal*. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar, or to show 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 staid 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 represseth 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 public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight 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 declared his sentence ; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half-way, 5 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 a hallowed place ; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts and 10 purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption ; for certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles* ; neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and 15 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*, 20 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 sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and 25 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 30 to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient 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.

35 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* ; 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 5 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: 10 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; 15 for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or 20 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 saith of a greater law than 25 theirs; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

LVII

OF ANGER

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger 30 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 refrained 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 ruminare well upon the effects of anger, how it
 5 troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well *that anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us to
 10 *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
 15 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
 20 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
 25 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
 30 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 sharpen anger; wherein the remedy
 35 is that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *Telam honoris crassiozem.* 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 mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have 5 special caution : the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper ; for *communia maledicta* 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 10 break off in any business in a fit of anger ; but howsoever you show 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 15 frowardest 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 20 business ; for the first impression is much : and the other is to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt ; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

SALOMON saith *There is no new thing upon the earth ;* 25 so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Salomon 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 abstruse astrologer that saith 30 *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 and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that
5 bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and left people
10 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 deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved are commonly
15 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
20 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, *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a
25 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
30 seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Macciavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things, traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to
35 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 globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's Great Year, 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 5 conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed and waited upon in 10 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. 15

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; 20 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. 25

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 tossed upon the waves of 30 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 dis- 35 cords, 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
5 not two properties,* fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that: the other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life; for as for speculative heresies
10 (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
15 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
20 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
25 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.
30 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-
35 Graecia, 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 5 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 hardest and the courages 10 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 15 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 Almaine after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not un- 20 like 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, 25 and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry or generate except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there 30 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; 35 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
5 observation: yet wē see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic; and it is well known that the use of
10 ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvements 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 like-
15 wise 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
20 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 battailes. After they grew to rest upon
25 number rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battailes.

In the youth of a state arms do flourish; in the
30 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 merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish: then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile:
35 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, lest we become

giddy : as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales and therefore not fit for this writing.

LIX

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY
OF FAME

THE poets made Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly ; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers 5 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 10 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 mingeleth things done with things not done ; and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the 15 rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the Giants, that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame : for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the Giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers 20 and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the style of the poets. To 25 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 30 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
5 Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria: whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Caesar took Pompey unprovided, and
10 laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Caesar's own soldiers loved him not, and, being wearied with the wars and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things
15 for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the
20 sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Graecia, by giving out that the Graecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be
25 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.

The rest was not finished.

NOTES

ESSAY I. OF TRUTH

PAGE 19. 1. *What is truth? said jesting Pilate*] John xviii. 36-8. A claim to have a kingdom 'not of this world' was in Pilate's judgement too absurd to be worth serious investigation.

5. *sects of philosophers of that kind*] i. e. the Sceptic school, founded by Pyrrho of Elis (350-300 B. C.), who maintained that there can be no certain knowledge of anything. In Essay XVI he is described as a 'contemplative atheist'.

13. *One of the later school of the Grecians*] i. e. Lucian of Samosata (fl. A. D. 160), who wrote a dialogue, entitled *Philopseudes* (= 'lover of lies'), in which this question is discussed.

19. *masques, and mummeries, and triumphs*] Metaphorical. 'Masque' is defined by Prof. Saintsbury as 'a dramatic entertainment in which plot, character, and even to a great extent dialogue are subordinated on the one hand to spectacular illustration, and on the other to musical accompaniment. It was thus a sort of precursor to the opera.' Originally it consisted of dancing and acting, with little or no dialogue, the performers being masked (whence the name) and habited to represent allegorical and mythological characters. The dainty literary form given to it by Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and subsequently by Milton in *Arcades* and *Comus*, was a later development. Masques had a great vogue in England during the period 1590-1635, and Bacon himself wrote two or three. 'Mummeries' also were at first, as the word implies, entertainments in dumb-show; they were of a broader, more popular, cast than masques, and took literary shape in such farces as *Ralph Roister Doister* (1550?) and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1563?). 'Triumphs' were grander spectacular shows or pageants, including 'justs and tourneys and barriers'. Cf. Essay XXXVII.

PAGE 20. 3. *A mixture of a lie*] This sentence must be read in connexion with that which follows; 'lie' is used here in its widest possible sense, viz. anything not exactly true, a fiction or mistake, however innocent.

6. *imaginationes as one would*] i.e. when one imagines things to be as one would have them be, the wish being father to the thought.

10. *One of the fathers, &c.*] The phrase *vinum daemonum* (= 'wine of devils') has not yet been found in any patristic writing. But cf. *daemonum cibus est poetarum carmina* (= 'the food of devils is poetry') in Jerome (*ob.* A. D. 420), *Epist.* 146, and *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum* (= 'the wine of error given by drunken teachers to their pupils to drink') in Augustine (*ob.* A. D. 430), *Confessions*, i. 16. Bacon probably had both these passages in his mind and confused them.

15. *such as we spake of before*] i.e. the lie 'for the lie's sake'.

17. *truth, which only doth judge itself, &c.*] i.e. While we are still seeking truth, we have to appeal to and rely on our reason to guide us straight, and at each step we have to judge for ourselves whether we are right or wrong. But truth, unlike reason, is infallible; so that, if and when we have once arrived at truth and believe in it, there is no more use for reason: truth stands by itself without the possibility of further appeal. Having found truth, we can look back and see that the inquiry, the knowledge, and the belief of it together make up 'the sovereign good of human nature'. But only truth itself, not reason, can teach us this.

22. *The first creature &c.*] Cf. Genesis i. 'The light of the sense' is the visible light, created on the first day; 'the light of reason' is the human mind, created on the sixth day; God's 'sabbath work ever since' the creation has been to guide man's reason towards truth (cf. the last preceding note) by the light of the Holy Spirit.

28. *The poet that beautified the sect &c.*] The poet is Lucretius (95-51 B. C.), and the sect is that of the Epicureans, the followers of Epicurus (342-270 B. C.). Their philosophy, shortly, was that (1) the physical world was produced by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, (2) the gods do not concern themselves with human affairs, (3) there is no existence after death, (4) pleasure is the highest good. On account of this glorification of pleasure they have been charged with being

advocates of self-indulgence; but the true Epicurean doctrine was that real pleasure is the peace of mind which is acquired by the practice of virtue. 'Otherwise inferior' may either refer to the alleged immorality of their teaching or mean that Lucretius was the only famous man among them. The passage, of which Bacon gives a rough translation here, is in his great poem *De Rerum Natura*, Book II. 1-10.

PAGE 21. 3. *turn upon the poles of truth*] i.e. so as to face all aspects of life, without deviating from truth.

5. *truth of civil business*] i.e. truthfulness in dealings between man and man.

14. *Montaigne saith &c.*] The sentence is not Montaigne's own, but a quotation by him (*Essays*, ii. 18) from Plutarch (*Life of Lysander*, p. 307 b). Montaigne was born in A.D. 1533 and died in 1592. His *Essays* (the earliest use of the word in this sense) were first published in 1580.

23. *it being foretold &c.*] See Luke xviii. 8, where the words are not prophetic, but interrogative. Bacon both misquotes and misapplies them; for 'faith' was clearly not used in the sense of 'good faith', which is required by the context here.

ESSAY II. OF DEATH

PAGE 21. 29. *the wages of sin*] Romans vi. 23.

33. *friars' books of mortification*] Friars (Lat. *fratres*) were members of certain religious brotherhoods in the Roman Catholic Church, e.g. Augustines or Austin Friars, Carmelites or White Friars, Dominicans or Black Friars, and Franciscans or Grey Friars. They occupied themselves largely with copious devotional writing, but the passage which Bacon had in mind has not been traced. For the meaning of 'mortification' cf. Romans viii. 13.

PAGE 22. 6. *as a philosopher, and natural man*] i.e. one who contemplates life and death with a mind uninfluenced by religion. Seneca is meant. Bacon uses 'natural' elsewhere in the same special sense.

7. *Pompa mortis &c.*] i.e. 'The solemn accompaniments of death are more fearful than death itself', not a quotation but a summary of a passage in Seneca, *Epist.* xxiv.

14. *win the combat of him*] 'him' is death.

17. *fear pre-occupateth it*] Cf. Seneca (*Epist.* xxiv), *ut quidam timore mortis cogantur ad mortem* ('so that some by

fear of death are driven to death'), as, for example, when a man throws himself to certain death from an upper window of a burning house.

after Otho &c.] Otho was emperor at Rome from January 15 to April 16 in the year A.D. 69. He stabbed himself on hearing that his army had been defeated at Betriacum by the forces of Vitellius, who succeeded him in the principate. The suicide of many of Otho's soldiers is recorded by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 49) and Suetonius (*Otho*, 12).

21. *Seneca adds &c.*] Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* lxxvii. The quotation, as usual, is verbally inaccurate, but the substance of the passage is given. The words are not Seneca's own; he was himself quoting from a Stoic friend's address to a young man who contemplated suicide. 'Consider how long you have done the same things; a man may be willing to die not only because he is brave or unhappy, but just because he is wearied of life.'

29. *Augustus Caesar &c.*] Augustus died on August 19, A.D. 14. He was devoted to his wife Livia, but there is no obvious 'compliment' in his last words to her, quoted from Suetonius (*Augustus*, 99); perhaps emphasis should be laid on *conjugii* and the sentence rendered thus: 'Livia, good-bye; never forget what a true wife you were to me,' a tribute to her fidelity, which was a somewhat rare quality in Roman ladies of high rank during the Empire.

31. *Jam Tiberium &c.*] i. e. 'His bodily strength was leaving Tiberius, but not his habit of dissimulation', Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 50. Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37. Always reserved and suspicious of those about him, he dissimulated to the last, trying to conceal even from his physician the desperate state of his health.

33. *Ut puto &c.*] i. e. 'Methinks I am becoming a god', Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 23. Vespasian carried out a successful revolt against Vitellius in A.D. 69, and succeeded him as emperor; he died on June 23, 79. Roman emperors after death were deified and received the title *Divus*.

34. *Feri, si &c.*] i. e. 'Strike, if it is to benefit the Roman people'. The words are not accurately taken from any classical writer; but cf. Plutarch, *Galba*, 714 b; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 41; Suetonius, *Galba*, 20. Galba was emperor from June 16, A.D. 68, to January 15, 69.

35. *Adeste, si &c.*] i. e. 'Be ready, if anything remains for me to do'. This is apparently taken from the Greek

ἀγείτε, δότε, εἴ τι πρᾶξαι ἔχομεν (Dio Cassius, lxxvi. 17). The Emperor Severus died at Eboracum (York) on February 4, A. D. 211.

37. *the Stoics &c.*] This school of philosophers took its name from the *στοὰ ποικίλη*, a colonnade at Athens, in which Zeno their founder taught about 300 B. C. They held virtue to be the highest good, and became proverbial for their studied indifference to the pains and pleasures of life. There is no justification for saying that the Stoics in general 'bestowed too much cost upon death'; Seneca certainly was inordinately fond of discussing the subject, and Bacon had him principally in his mind; but Seneca was not a typical Stoic.

PAGE 23. 1. *qui finem &c.*] i. e. 'Who can rank the last end of life among the blessings of nature', Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 358 (N.B.—*finem* is a mistake for *spatium*).

12. *Extinctus &c.*] i. e. 'The same man (who in life is hated) will be loved when he is dead', Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 14.

ESSAY III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION

PAGE 23. 17. *the religion of the heathen &c.*] i. e. Especially the 'established' religion of ancient Greece, which gave rise to no such bitter internal controversies as those which have agitated most Christian peoples. The traditional beliefs were primitive, superstitious, and unspiritual, and were generally accepted without question: there were no sects.

'The chief doctors' (i. e. teachers) of religion in Greece, at least in Athens, were no doubt poets, such as Aeschylus and Sophocles; but there were also professional priests attached to the temples of the various recognized deities.

Ancient Rome has usually been considered to be included in 'the heathen' in this Essay. But it is impossible to regard any Roman poet as a 'doctor' of religion, and, though Bacon was quite capable of such inaccuracy, there seems to be no reason to suppose that he was thinking of any one except the Greeks.

22. *a jealous God*] Exodus xx. 5.

PAGE 24. 5. *Ecce in Deserto, &c.*] i. e. 'Behold he is in the wilderness' . . . 'Behold he is in the inner chambers'. Matthew xxiv. 26.

12. *If a heathen come in, &c.*] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

17. *to sit down in &c.*] Psalms i. 1.

20. *a master of scoffing*] i. e. Rabelais of Touraine (1495 ?-1553). The reference is to *Pantagruel*, ii. 7, where is set out a catalogue of fantastically named books, found by Pantagruel in the library of St. Victor at Paris.

36. *Is it peace, Jehu ? &c.*] 2 Kings ix. 18, 19.

PAGE 25. 1. *Laodiceans*] The Laodiceans were 'neither hot nor cold'. See Revelation iii. 14-16.

7. *two cross clauses &c.*] i. e. the two sentences following, which appear to be contradictory, the lukewarm being classed in the former as 'against', in the latter as 'for'. See Matthew xii. 30, Mark ix. 40, Luke ix. 50.

17. *my small model*] i. e. An essay is a treatise on a small scale, and too much space must not be given up to one point, or it will be out of proportion.

22. *one of the fathers, &c.*] i. e. Augustine, commenting on Psalm xlv. 14.

25. *In veste &c.*] i. e. 'Let there be variety of colour in the vesture, but not a division'.

36. *doth not discern*] The negative, as often in Bacon, is superfluous.

PAGE 26. 3. *Devita profanas &c.*] i. e. 'Avoid profane new terms and opposition based on science falsely so called'. 1 Timothy vi. 20.

9. *implicit ignorance*] This curious phrase is probably framed upon the analogy of 'implicit faith' (*implicita fides* in ecclesiastical Latin), i. e. unquestioning faith.

19. *There be two swords &c.*] Cf. Luke xxii. 38, and the following passage in a bull of Boniface VIII: *Nam dicentibus Apostolis 'ecce gladii duo hic', in ecclesia scilicet cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondet Dominus nimis esse sed satis. . . . Uterque ergo in potestate ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis; sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus &c.*

23. *Mahomet's sword*] Mahomet or Mohammed was born in A. D. 570, and declared himself to be the prophet of God, commissioned to restore the truth by the power of the sword. He attracted many followers, but in 622 he had to flee for his life from Mecca to Medina. This flight, known as the Hegira, is the basis from which Mohammedan chronology is calculated. During the next ten years he made himself master of Arabia. He died in 632. Cf. Essay XII.

31. *to dash the first table against the second*] i. e. to fail in our duty towards our neighbour in order to perform our duty towards God.

36. *Tantum religio &c.*] i. e. 'To such great wrongs could religion prompt'. *De Rerum Natura*, i. 95.

PAGE 27. 1. *the massacre in France*] i. e. of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.

the powder treason] i. e. the Gunpowder Plot, November 5, 1605.

6. *the Anabaptists*] i. e. the Christian sect who insisted upon the necessity of adult baptism. They first appeared in Germany about 1520, where they were responsible for violent socialistic outbreaks, especially at Munster in Westphalia in 1534-5. Having this in mind, Bacon called them 'the madmen of Munster' in the 1612 edition. Cf. 'The Anabaptists of Munster had filled Germany with confusion by their system of levelling and their wild opinions concerning property.'—BURKE.

8. *I will ascend &c.*] Cf. Isaiah xiv. 12-14, where the words 'are put into the mouth not of the devil, but of the King of Babylon. But it was an early patristic view that the devil is the speaker, and that the entire passage is parabolic.'—REYNOLDS.

16. *the likeness of a dove*] Cf. Matthew iii. 16.

21. *Mercury rod*] Mercury was the Roman god, corresponding to the Greek Hermes, who carrying a herald's staff (*caduceus*) conducted the souls of the dead to the lower regions. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* iv. 242-4.

26. *Ira hominis &c.*] i. e. 'The wrath of man does not fulfil the justice of God'. James i. 20.

27. *a wise father*] The quotation has not been traced.

ESSAY IV. OF REVENGE

PAGE 28. 5. *It is the glory &c.*] Proverbs xix. 11.

20. *It is two for one*] i. e. the aggressor scores two points, the original injury and the punishment by the law, against the injured party's one, his revenge.

26. *Cosmus, Duke of Florence*] Born in 1519, Cosmus (Cosimo) de Medici was appointed Duke of Florence in 1537, after the murder of Duke Alessandro. He was a wise and successful ruler and died in 1574. This 'desperate' (i. e. terrible) saying of his has not been traced.

32. *Shall we take good, &c.*] Job ii. 10.

33. *in a proportion*] i. e. If we should be content to take evil with good at God's hands, God being man's greatest friend, so (comparing small with great) should we be content to take evil with good from our human friends? But there is no logic in Bacon's argument: the evil which we take at God's hands is for our own good and is not malicious, so that there can be no question of forgiveness. But there are few, if any, human friends who are quite free from malice: when we suffer malicious evil at their hands, Duke Cosmus asks, are we to forgive them? We need not search long in the Gospels for an answer in the affirmative.

36. *Public revenges &c.*] The meaning of this sentence is somewhat obscure, and must be gathered from the three instances given. Julius Caesar was murdered on March 15, 44 B.C., and was avenged two years later at the Battle of Philippi by Antony and Octavius: a restless period followed, till Antony's death after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., when Octavius became supreme at Rome and the republic was turned into a monarchy. Pertinax was murdered at Rome by the praetorian troops on March 28, A.D. 193, after having been emperor for three months; he was avenged and succeeded by Septimius Severus, who reigned successfully for eighteen years. Henry III was murdered by a monk, Jacques Clément, in A.D. 1589, and the assassin was himself immediately killed by some one in the crowd: this perhaps to some extent strengthened the hands of the Huguenots, and the Edict of Nantes nine years later secured for French Protestants freedom of religion. In each of the three cases it may be said, though some will argue contrariwise, that the people profited by the revenge. 'Public revenge' means revenge by the people, and it is 'fortunate' when the people are the better for it. The avenging act may be, and generally is, the work of one man, but he is the agent of the people. Most editors think that Bacon's meaning is that 'public revenges are fortunate' for the agent who carries them out; this will suit the cases of Octavius and Severus, but the slayer of Jacques Clément is not known to have gained any personal advantage thereby.

PAGE 29. 3. *witches*] By two statutes, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 8 and 1 Jac. I. c. 12, witchcraft of various kinds was made a felony punishable with death. 'These acts continued in force till lately [they were repealed by 9 Geo. II. c. 5], to

the terror of all ancient females in the kingdom; and many poor wretches were sacrificed thereby to the prejudice of their neighbours and their own illusions.'—BLACKSTONE.

ESSAY V. OF ADVERSITY

PAGE 29. 8. *Bona rerum &c.*] Seneca, *Epist.* lxvi, misquoted.

13. *Vere magnum &c.*] Seneca, *Epist.* liii, misquoted. 'Security' is now rarely used in the sense of the Latin *securitas*, i. e. freedom from care. Cf. Ben Jonson, *The Forest*, xi Ep. (last line), 'Man may securely sin, but safely never.'

21. *Hercules, when he went &c.*] This story is told by many classical writers, e. g. Athenaeus (xi. 38), Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, v. 21), Apollodorus (*De Deorum Origine*, ii. 5, 10), but the pot or pitcher was golden not earthen. Prometheus (cf. Essay XV) was according to Greek mythology punished for stealing fire from heaven by being bound to a rock on the Caucasus mountains.

ESSAY VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

PAGE 30. 18. *Tacitus saith, &c.*] *Annals*, v. 1. For Livia cf. Essay II.

21. *and again, when Mucianus &c.*] *Histories*, ii. 76. Mucianus was the chief supporter of Vespasian in his revolt against Vitellius (cf. Essay II).

PAGE 31. 26. *as the more close air &c.*] i. e. as the warmer air in a room being rarefied draws in the denser air outside.

30. *men rather discharge &c.*] i. e. talk in order to unburden their own minds rather than to impart information to others.

31. *mysteries are due to secrecy*] i. e. a man who can keep a secret has a right to expect secrets to be confided to him.

PAGE 32. 2. *that a man's face &c.*] i. e. that a man should have his face so under control that it will not betray what he is about to say or deny what he has said. Cf. *Ne voltu destrue verba tuo*, Ovid, *A. A.* ii. 312.

PAGE 33. 4. *Tell a lie and find a troth*] The Spanish is 'Di mentira, y sacaras verdad'.

17. *openness in fame*] i. e. a reputation for openness.

ESSAY VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

PAGE 34. 2. *continuance, not only &c.*] i. e. children carry on not only the family or 'kind', but also the worldly achievements and position for which their parents have 'worked' successfully.

7. *A wise son &c.*] Proverbs x. 1.

37. *Optimum elige, &c.*] i. e. 'Choose the best; practice will make it pleasant and easy'. Plutarch, *De Exilio*, viii.

ESSAY VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

PAGE 35. 3. *hostages to fortune*] i. e. if a man takes a risk and fails. his wife and children suffer; fortune has that hold on him.

PAGE 36. 14. *Vetulam suam &c.*] i. e. 'He preferred his old woman to immortality'. Ulysses, on his way home from Troy, was tempted by the nymph Calypso, who promised him immortality, to stay with her on her island Ogygia; but he decided (not without some hesitation, it must be admitted) to go back to his wife Penelope in Ithaca. The words in the text are loosely quoted from Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 44, but *vetulam* is probably interpolated from a similar passage in a Latin translation of one of Plutarch's Dialogues.

22. *one of the wise men*] i. e. Thales of Miletus (640-550 B. C.), the first of the great Greek philosophers.

ESSAY IX. OF ENVY

PAGE 36. 33. *envy*] The word is derived from the Latin *invidere*, which, though properly meaning no more than 'to look on', was used always with an evil connotation, especially in reference to the magical 'fascination' exercised by the 'evil eye' (see below).

PAGE 37. 5. *evil eye*] Mark vii. 22.

12. *in glory or triumph*] Greek tragedy contains many instances of this: to boast of success or to omit the propitiatory offering due to Nemesis was to court disaster.

13. *the spirits of the person envied &c.*] i. e. the spirits, or vital essence, of a person at the moment of triumph are elated and rise to his head and show themselves in his eyes.

35. *Non est curiosus, &c.*] i. e. 'A man is not meddling, without also being malicious'. Plautus, *Stichus*, i. 3. 54.

PAGE 38 10. *Narses*] A freedman, who became a successful general under the Emperor Justinian. He died A. D. 568.

11. *Agelauus*] King of Sparta, 398-361 B. C.

Tamerlane] Generally known as Timour the Tartar, King of Tartary, A. D. 1370-1405.

21. *Adrian*] Roman Emperor, A. D. 117-138.

PAGE 39. 19. *per saltum*] i. e. at a bound.

27. *quanta patimur*] i. e. 'how much we suffer!'

PAGE 40. 30. *ostracism*] When a political leader in ancient Athens was suspected of despotic intentions or his presence was considered to be in any way dangerous to the state, it was the practice for some one, generally a leader of the opposite party, to propose an 'ostracism'. If the assembly agreed, a day was fixed, on which every citizen was entitled to record his vote against any one he chose by writing his name on a potsherd (*ὄστρακον*); provided that 6000 votes at least were given, the man who had the highest total was required to leave the city within ten days, and not to return for ten years.

PAGE 41. 21. *Invidia festos &c.*] i. e. 'Envy keeps no holidays'.

27. *The envious man &c.*] Matthew xiii. 25. But it is 'the enemy', not 'the envious man' who sows the tares.

ESSAY X. OF LOVE

PAGE 42. 1, 2. *Siren, . . . Fury*] The Sirens were sea-nymphs in Greek mythology, who by their sweet singing used to tempt mariners to destruction. The Furies were avenging deities, who punished men both in life and after death.

8. *Marcus Antonius*] He was the friend of Julius Caesar, after whose death he became a member of the Second Triumvirate with Octavius (Augustus) and Lepidus. He fell a victim to the charms of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. He killed himself in 30 B. C.

9. *Appius Claudius*] He was one of the ten men (Decemviri) appointed to draw up the code of Roman law in 451 B. C. His attempted seduction of Virginia led to the overthrow of the Decemviri in the following year.

16. *Satis magnum &c.*] i.e. 'We are a sufficient theatre for one another'. The words are quoted from Seneca, *Epist.* i. 7, and are wrongly taken by Bacon as intended to have a general application.

26. *it hath been well said &c.*] Cf. Plutarch, *De Adulatione*, ii. This saying^r is mentioned again in *Essays* XXVII and LIII.

31. *it is impossible &c.*] Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Agesilaus*, 415 (b).

PAGE 43. 2. *he that preferred Helena, &c.*] Paris, the son of Priam, King of Troy, was called upon to award the apple inscribed 'to the fairest' thrown by Eris, the goddess of discord, among the other goddesses. There were three claimants, Hera (Juno), Athena (Pallas), and Aphrodite (Venus); Hera promised him riches, Athena wisdom, and Aphrodite the fairest of women to be his wife, as bribes for his favour. He awarded the apple to Aphrodite, and shortly afterwards abducted from Sparta the beautiful Helen, wife of King Menelaus. Whence arose the Trojan war.

11. *keep quarter*] i.e. to keep in its own quarter or quarters, the place assigned to it.

ESSAY XI. OF GREAT PLACE

PAGE 44. 3. *Cum non sis &c.*] i.e. 'When you are no longer what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live'. Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* vii. 3.

21. *Illi mors gravis &c.*] i.e. 'Death falls heavy on him, who dies too well known to all others but unknown to himself'. Seneca, *Thyestes*, ii. 401.

34. *Et conversus Deus, &c.*] i.e. 'And God turned to look at the works which His hands had done, and saw that they were all very good'. Cf. Genesis i. 31.

PAGE 45. 19. *de facto*] i.e. 'in fact'.

PAGE 46. 12. *Salomon saith, &c.*] Proverbs xxviii. 21.

14. *A place showeth the man*] ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείξει, Arist. *Eth. N.* v. 1. 16, quoting Bias, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece (fl. 550 B. C.).

16. *Omniū consensu &c.*] i.e. 'By common consent fit for empire, if he had not been emperor'. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 49.

18. *Solus imperantium &c.*] i.e. 'Vespasian was the only emperor who changed for the better'. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 50.

27. *to side a man's self*] i.e. to take one side or the other.

ESSAY XII. OF BOLDNESS

PAGE 47. 2. *question was asked &c.*] Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, iii. 56; *Orator*, xvii. 55.

PAGE 48. 19. *a stale at chess*] A stale-mate at chess is where one of the players is so placed that his king, though not in check, cannot be moved without being put in check, and none of his other pieces can be moved without putting the king in check.

ESSAY XIII. OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

PAGE 49. 14. *Busbechius*] Busbec of Flanders, A. D. 1522–1592, was a noted traveller and acted as ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand I to the Sultan.

21. *Nicholas Macchiavel*] Niccolò Machiavelli was born at Florence A. D. 1469, and after an adventurous career died in 1527. History represents him as a clever but unscrupulous statesman, and in his book *Del Principe* he openly advocates the pursuit of expediency rather than morality in statecraft.

32. *Aesop*] A Greek writer of fables early in the sixth century B. C. None of his fables are extant as originally written, but many were put into verse by Babrius in Greek and by Phaedrus in Latin.

35. *He sendeth &c.*] Matthew v. 45.

PAGE 50. 1. *beware how &c.*] A portrait which is more beautiful than the original is, *qua* portrait, bad. We are commanded to love our neighbours as ourselves, not more than ourselves.

4. *Sell all &c.*] Mark x. 21.

19. *on the loading part*] i.e. they make the calamity worse by pressing down the burden where it is heaviest.

20. *Lazarus' sores*] Luke xvi. 21.

24. *Timon*] Timon was an Athenian who lived during the Peloponnesian War. Soured by disappointments, he lived an unsociable life, and is known in history as 'the misanthrope'. The incident of the tree, to which allusion is made here, is told by Plutarch (*Life of Anthony*, p. 643 (b)), and is introduced by Shakespeare in his *Timon of Athens* (Act v. Sc. i.):—

I have a tree, which grows here in my close,
 That mine own use invites me to cut down,
 And shortly must I fell it: tell my friends,
 Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree
 From high to low throughout, that whoso please
 To stop affliction, let him take his haste,
 Come hither ere my tree hath felt the axe,
 And hang himself: I pray you do my greeting.

35. *noble tree &c.*] Balm is an aromatic juice obtained by incision from various trees of the genus *balsamodendron*.

PAGE 51. 3. *St. Paul's perfection, &c.*] See Romans ix. 3: *ἀνάθημα* in classical Greek meant 'a votive offering', but later, in the form *ἀνάθεμα*, it came to be used specially to mean 'an accursed thing'.

ESSAY XIV. OF NOBILITY

PAGE 51. 18. *Switzers*] Switzerland is a remarkably harmonious and successful confederation of many little states, with various nationalities, religions, languages, and interests.

21. *United Provinces &c.*] i.e. The seven provinces of the Netherlands, which in A. D. 1579 broke from their allegiance to Spain and became an independent republic.

PAGE 52. 20. *passive envy*] Envy is active (cf. 'motions of envy' above), if we regard the person who is envious; passive, if we regard the person envied.

ESSAY XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

PAGE 52. 29. *aequinotia*] It is an old tradition that stormy weather is especially to be expected about the time of the spring and autumn equinoxes, viz. 21 March and 21 September. The analogy between the equality of classes in a state and the equality in length of day and night is very far fetched.

32. *Ille etiam &c.*] i.e. 'He (viz. the sun) often warns men also that cloaked rebellions are at hand, that treachery and war unseen are swelling to a head'. Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 464-5.

PAGE 53. 7. *Illam Terra &c.*] i.e. 'Earth her mother, goaded by anger against the gods, bore her, so they tell, the youngest sister to Coeus and Enceladus'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv.

178-80. The Giants, sons of Earth, according to Greek mythology rebelled unsuccessfully against Zeus.

18. *Conflata magna* &c.] i.e. 'When great discontentment is kindled (viz. against a ruler), all his actions good or bad tend to his ruin'. Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 7 (slightly misquoted).

26. *Erant in officio*, &c.] i.e. 'They were attentive, but at the same time inclined rather to discuss the meaning of their officers' orders than to obey them'. Tacitus, *Histories*, ii. 39 (loosely quoted).

PAGE 54. 1. *Henry the Third*] Henry III of France in 1575 joined what was called the Holy League for the suppression of the Huguenots. But in 1588 the League drove him from Paris and in the following year he was assassinated by a Dominican monk, Jacques Clément. Cf. Essay IV.

13. *primum mobile*, &c.] This is an allusion to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy in its final stage of development, before it was superseded in the seventeenth century by the Copernican system now generally accepted. According to the Ptolemaic system, instituted by Ptolemy of Alexandria in the second century, the Earth is stationary and surrounded by ten moving spheres or orbs; beginning nearest to the Earth, the spheres are in the following order:—(1) the Moon, (2) Mercury, (3) Venus, (4) the Sun, (5) Mars, (6) Jupiter, (7) Saturn, (8) the Firmament or fixed stars, (9) the Crystalline Sphere, and (10) the Primum Mobile, which last in its daily revolution carries round with it the nine other spheres, each of which has also a separate movement of its own slower than the Primum Mobile. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 592-5.

(N.B.—In the Ptolemaic system the Sun and the Moon were regarded as planets.)

18. *liberius quam* &c.] i.e. 'Too freely to remember their rulers'. Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 4 (loosely quoted).

21. *Solvam* &c.] i.e. 'I will loose the girdles of kings', apparently a composite quotation from Isaiah xli and Job xii. 18.

PAGE 55. 3. *Hinc usura* &c.] i.e. 'Hence came insatiate usury and interest quickly falling due, hence shaken credit, and war that benefited many'. Lucan (A. D. 39-65), *Pharsalia* i. 181-2 (slightly misquoted).

19. *Dolendi modus*, &c.] i.e. 'There is a limit to pain, but none to fear'. Pliny, *Letters*, VIII. xvii. 6.

34. *strangers*] i. e. apparently 'alien immigrants'.

PAGE 56. 28. *the increase of any estate &c.*] i. e. the prosperity of a country depends upon its exports: the foreigner must pay something over and above the cost of production and carriage.

34. *materiam superabit opus*] i. e. 'The workmanship will excel (i. e. in value) the material'. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 5.

38. *mines above ground*] i. e. the industry, enterprise, and skill in manufacture of the Dutch are as good as a gold-mine to them.

PAGE 57. 7. *engrossing*] i. e. buying *in gross*, with a view to selling again at an inflated price. Several Acts of Parliament, the earliest 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 12, were directed against this practice.

19. *The poets feign &c.*] According to Homer it was not Pallas, but Thetis whom Zeus consulted. Cf. *Iliad*, i. 396 *et seq.*

31. *Epimetheus &c.*] Prometheus (i. e. 'Forethought') in Greek mythology stole fire from the gods and gave it to men and taught them its use. (Cf. Essay V.) Zeus in anger sent a woman, Pandora, to Epimetheus (i. e. 'Afterthought'), Prometheus' brother, with a box containing all human ills. Despite Prometheus' warning, Epimetheus made her his wife. When the box was opened all the ills flew out, but Epimetheus closed it in time to save Hope, who was at the bottom of the box.

PAGE 58. 30. *Sylla nescivit &c.*] i. e. 'Sylla did not know his letters: he could not dictate'. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 77 (loosely quoted). Sylla was born 138 B. C., and as a young man served with distinction under Marius in Africa; later a bitter rivalry sprang up between them, resulting in civil war; Marius died in 86, but the war continued till 82, after which Sylla was undisputed master of Italy. In 81 he became perpetual dictator and, though cruel and tyrannical in his rule, did good work in revising the constitution. In 79 he retired into private life and died in the following year. His friendship with Pompey is mentioned in Essay XXVII. The word *dictare* in the quotation is, of course, intended to convey the two meanings, 'to dictate' and 'to be dictator'.

34. *Legi a se &c.*] i. e. 'that his soldiers were levied, not bought, by him'. Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 5. For Galba cf. Essay II.

36. *Si vixero, &c.*] i. e. 'if I live, the Roman Empire will no longer need soldiers'. Probus was Roman emperor A. D. 276-82. He was a successful general, a good administrator, and an honest man. His unfortunate speech here quoted so exasperated the soldiers that they mutinied and murdered him. The quotation cannot be traced.

PAGE 59. 12. *Atque is habitus &c.*] i. e. 'And such was the state of men's minds that though few dared to commit this dastardly crime (viz. Galba's murder), many desired it and all acquiesced in it'. Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 28.

ESSAY XVI. OF ATHEISM

PAGE 59. 19. *the Legend*] The Golden Legend, as it was commonly called, was a collection of lives of the Saints compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, in the thirteenth century.

20. *the Talmud*] The Talmud consists of two parts, viz. the Mishna, which is a statement of Jewish ritual and tradition, and the Gemara, written at a later date, which is a commentary on the Mishna.

the Alcoran] The Koran (N.B.—*al* is merely the Arabic definite article) is the Mohammedan Bible, containing the sayings of Mohammed collected after his death. Cf. Essay III.

26. *second causes*] The first or primary cause of all things is God, but small philosophers are apt to look only at the immediate or efficient causes of the various phenomena, without tracing them back to the one original cause which links them all together.

32. *Leucippus &c.*] Leucippus, of whom hardly anything is certainly known, is said to have been the originator of the atomic theory, which was developed by Democritus (460-361 B. C.), called 'the laughing philosopher', and Epicurus (cf. Essay I).

PAGE 60. 1. *four mutable elements, &c.*] i. e. Earth, water, air, and fire, which were believed to be the constituents of all earthly things, with a proper admixture of the 'one immutable fifth essence' or quintessence, which was something purer than the elements. Cf. 'This aethereal quintessence of Heaven', Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 716. Philosophers were much divided on the question what this essence

was; some said ether, some alcohol, some that it was not discoverable.

5. *The fool hath said &c.*] Psalm xiv. 1.

10. *For whom it maketh &c.*] i. e. 'for whose advantage it would be that &c.' This is somewhat indefinitely explained by what follows.

28. *Non deos vulgi &c.*] i. e. 'It is not profane to deny that the gods in whom the people believe, exist, but it is profane to attribute to the gods the opinions of the people'. Diogenes Laertius, x. 123.

PAGE 61. 3. *Diagoras, &c.*] Diagoras was a pupil of Democritus; he criticized the popular religion at Athens, especially the Eleusinian mysteries, and in 411 B. C. had to flee from the danger of prosecution for impiety. Bion was born in Scythia about 270 B. C., but went to Athens, where he joined the Cyrenaic philosophers; he was noted for his satirical wit (cf. Horace, *Epistles*, ii. 2. 60). For Lucian, cf. Essay I.

14. *Non est &c.*] i. e. 'It is no longer possible to say "as the people, so the priest"; for the people are not so bad as the priest'. St. Bernard was abbot of Clairvaux during the first half of the twelfth century.

29. *melior natura*] i. e. 'a higher being'. The phrase comes from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 21.

PAGE 62. 2. *Quam volumus, &c.*] i. e. 'Though we may admire ourselves, conscript fathers, as much as we please, yet we have not surpassed the Spaniards in number, the Gauls in strength, the Carthaginians in cleverness, the Greeks in art, or even the Italians and Latins in that inborn domestic sentiment which prevails in this people and in this country; but in piety and religion, and in the great philosophic conviction that all things are guided and controlled by the providence of immortal gods, we have surpassed all the peoples of the world'. Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, ix. 19.

ESSAY XVII. OF SUPERSTITION

PAGE 62. 13. *Plutarch*] Plutarch was a native of Boeotia and lived during the latter part of the first century A. D. He is best known for his *Lives* of forty-six great men, Greek and Roman. The passage in the text is from an essay *de Superstitione*, one of many short pieces collected under the title *Moralia*. He is much quoted by Bacon.

18. *Saturn*] In Greek mythology Cronos, identified by the Romans with their god Saturnus, was king of heaven; he was warned that one of his own children would supplant him, so he killed and ate them all, except Zeus, who was hidden from him and lived to dethrone him in fulfilment of the prophecy.

31. *primum mobile*] See Essay XV.

PAGE 63. 1. *Council of Trent*] The eighteenth General Council of the Church began in A.D. 1545 at Trent in the Tyrol, and continued with some interruptions till 1563. Many questions of faith, morals, and ecclesiastical discipline were discussed and decided, the general effect of the decisions being to accentuate the differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

2. *schoolmen &c.*] The 'Schoolmen' were philosophers who taught in the schools and universities between A.D. 1000 and 1550, applying Aristotelian logic to theology and science. They were noted for great formality and subtlety in argument.

4. *eccentrics and epicycles, &c.*] In the Ptolemaic astronomy (cf. Essay XV) each of the planets revolved in an 'epicycle', i. e. a small circle having its centre on the circumference of a greater circle. These circles not having the Earth at their centre were called 'eccentric'. Bacon no doubt had also in mind the common untechnical meaning of 'eccentric', viz. 'fantastic'. There is a curiously close parallel to this passage in Milton:—

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

—*Paradise Lost*, viii. 81 seq.

Bacon's 'to save the phenomena' and Milton's 'to save appearances' are translations of Aristotle's phrase, probably in common use among the Schoolmen, *σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα*, i. e. 'to explain consistently things seen in nature'.

ESSAY XVIII. OF TRAVEL

PAGE 64. 32. *triumphs, masques*] See Essay I.

PAGE 65. 10. *adamant of acquaintance*] The word 'adamant' is derived directly from the Greek *ἀδάμας* (*ἀ* = not +

δαμάω = I tame or break), meaning 'invincible, unbreakable', hence used to denote the hardest substances known to the ancients, e. g. steel and emery-stone, and later diamond. But mediæval Latin writers connected it with *adamare* (= to love, to be attracted) and used it to denote the load-stone or magnet which attracts iron to it. So 'adamant of acquaintance' = means of attracting friends.

ESSAY XIX. OF EMPIRE

PAGE 66. 12. *the king's heart &c.*] Proverbs xxv. 3.

21. *Nero &c.*] Nero was Roman emperor A.D. 54-68, Domitian A.D. 81-96, Commodus A.D. 180-92, Caracalla A.D. 211-17.

33. *Alexander the Great*] Alexander, son of Philip, King of Macedon, 356-323 B.C., achieved great conquests in Asia.

Dioclesian] Diocletian, born A.D. 245 in Dalmatia, became Roman emperor in 284, but after a victorious career retired in 305 and died in 312. However, there is no historical evidence that he was 'superstitious and melancholy' in the last stage of his life, like Alexander and Charles V.

34. *Charles the Fifth*] On the death of Ferdinand in 1516, his grandson Charles became King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, and in 1519 he was elected Emperor of Germany. In 1556 he abdicated and died two years later.

PAGE 67. 5. *temper and distemper &c.*] i.e. Temper is the mixture of contrary ingredients in such proportions that they balance one another, distemper is a disproportionate mixture; e.g. the true temper of a soldier is the due mixture of daring and caution: he is 'distempered' if he has too much in him of either of these contraries or alternates between the two.

8. *Apollonius*] Apollonius was a philosopher who had a reputation for miraculous powers; Vespasian in A.D. 69, when preparing for his revolt against Vitellius (cf. Essay II), visited him at Alexandria.

27. *Sunt plerumque &c.*] i.e. 'The desires of kings are for the most part violent and inconsistent with one another'. The words in the text are not from Tacitus, but appear to be loosely quoted from Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 113.

PAGE 68. 7. *triumvirate of kings*] Henry VIII, King of England 1509-47, Francis I, King of France 1515-47,

and Charles V, Emperor of Germany 1519-56, by their mutual alliances and rivalries made and controlled European history during that period.

14. *that league, which &c.*] Ferdinando, King of Naples 1458-94, Lorenzo de Medici, ruler of Florence (born 1448, died 1492), a great patron of art and literature and founder of the famous Laurentian library at Florence, and Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan (born 1451, died 1508), formed a league in 1480 to repress the growing power of Venice. Guicciardini was a distinguished Florentine statesman (born 1482, died 1540), who wrote a history of Italy.

25. *Livia*] The reference may be either to Livia, the wife of Augustus (cf. Essay II), or to her grand-daughter Livia, the wife of Drusus, son of Tiberius. Both were accused of poisoning their husbands, but only in the case of the latter was there any real foundation for the charge.

26. *Roxolana*] Solyman the Great, Sultan of Turkey 1520-66, married Khourrem, called Roxolana, i. e. Russian woman. She brought about the execution of Mustapha, the eldest son of Solyman by another wife, in 1553, in order that one of her own sons, Selymus II, might succeed to the Turkish throne.

28. *Edward the Second*] Edward II, King of England 1307-27, was deposed and murdered, largely on account of an intrigue between his wife, Isabella of France, and Roger Mortimer.

PAGE 69. 4. *Crispus, &c.*] Constantinus the Great, Roman Emperor A. D. 306-37, caused his eldest son Crispus to be banished and executed at the instigation of his second wife Fausta. The empire was divided at his death among his three sons by Fausta, Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans. Constantinus was dissatisfied with the division, made war on Constans, and was killed in 340; Constans was killed in a revolt led by Magnentius in 350; Constantius defeated the usurper Magnentius, but his cousin Julianus, with whom he had quarrelled, was on the point of leading an army, which had already proclaimed him emperor in Gaul, against him, when Constantius died suddenly in 361. Julianus himself was killed in battle two years later.

10. *Demetrius*] Perseus, the elder son of Philip V of Macedon, miscalled Philip II by Bacon, suspected his younger brother Demetrius of intending to supplant him in the succession to the throne; he accordingly accused Demetrius

of plotting treason with the Romans and had him executed. Philip afterwards learning the truth was filled with remorse and died in the same year, 179 B. C.

16. *Selymus the First*] Bajazet II was Sultan of Turkey from 1481 to 1512, when he was deposed by his son Selymus.

17. *Henry the Second*] Henry II, King of England 1154-89, was much troubled in the latter part of his reign by rebellions raised by his sons Geoffrey, Richard, and John.

20. *Anselmus*] Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, but in 1097 was driven from the country by William II and did not return till after the accession of Henry I. However, trouble soon arose again and in 1103 he had to go abroad a second time. In 1106 he came back and remained till his death in 1109.

Thomas Becket] Becket became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162, and after a bitter controversy, in which he at last gave way, with Henry II over the claim of the Crown to try in the common courts and punish clergymen who broke the law, he fled to the continent in 1164. He returned in 1170, but again quarrelled with the king and was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral the same year.

26. *foreign authority*] i. e. the Pope.

PAGE 70. 8. *vena porta*] i. e. the portal vein, which leads into the liver. Cf. *porta icoris* in Latin and *πύλη* in Greek.

12. *hundred*] Most English counties were divided into 'hundreds', but the origin of the name is obscure. 'It has been regarded as denoting simply a division of a hundred hides of land; as the district which furnished a hundred warriors to the host; as representing the original settlement of the hundred warriors; or as composed of a hundred hides, each of which furnished a single warrior.'—STUBBS.

30. *Memento quod &c.*] 'Remember that you are a man,' and 'Remember that you are a god or God's deputy'.

ESSAY XX. OF COUNSEL

PAGE 71. 9. *The Counsellor*] Isaiah ix. 6.

10. *in counsel is stability*] Proverbs xx. 18 (paraphrased).

15. *Salomon's son*] i. e. Rehoboam. Cf. I Kings xii.

PAGE 72. 29. *cabinet counsels*] This is the earliest instance of the word 'cabinet' in a political sense, but it had not yet come to be used of any definite body of state counsellors in England. That came a little later in the reign of Charles I;

cf. 'These persons made up the Committee of State, which was reproachfully after called the Juncto and enviously then in the Court the Cabinet Council'.—CLARENDON. But it was not till the reign of Anne that anything like the modern Cabinet was established.

Plenus rimarum sum] i.e. 'I am full of chinks'. Terence, *Eunuchus*, i. 2. 25.

38. *to grind with a hand-mill*] i.e. to do his own work, fight his own battles.

PAGE 73. 5. *Morton and Fox*] John Morton was Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor to Henry VII. He had an ingenious and effective argument for extorting 'benevolences' for the king: if a man lived sumptuously, he must obviously have plenty of money, and if he lived inexpensively, he must be saving money; in either case he could afford to contribute towards the king's expenses. This dilemma was known as 'Morton's Fork'. Richard Fox was Bishop of Winchester and Privy Seal.

15. *non inveniet &c.*] i.e. 'he shall not find faith upon earth'. Cf. Essay I.

27. *Principis est &c.*] i.e. 'The greatest virtue in a prince is to know his people'. Martial, VIII. xv. 8.

PAGE 74. 9. *secundum genera*] i.e. 'according to their class'.

14. *Optimi consilarii mortui*] i.e. 'The dead are the best counsellors'.

23. *In nocte consilium*] i.e. 'In the night comes counsel'.

24. *commission of union &c.*] In 1604 a scheme for uniting the kingdoms of England and Scotland was discussed and almost agreed upon. It was only the obstinacy of King James on points of detail that prevented a complete settlement, and the Union was consequently delayed for a hundred years.

29. *hoc agere*] i.e. 'do the business which is before them'.

PAGE 75. 14. *take the wind of him*] i.e. see which way the wind blows and go in the same direction.

15. *placebo*] i.e. 'I will do what will please you'. Cf. 'Flateres been the develes chapelleyens that syngen evere *Placebo*' (Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*). The *Placebo* is properly the Roman evening hymn for the dead, beginning *Placebo Domino* (Psalm cxvi. 9).

ESSAY XXI. OF DELAYS

PAGE 75. 18. *Sibylla's offer*] According to legend Tarquinius Superbus, King of Rome B. C. 534-510, was once offered nine books for sale by a Sibylla, i. e. a prophetess. He refused to buy them; she went away, burnt three of them, and offered the remaining six at the same price. He again refused; she again went away, burnt three more, and offered the remaining three still at the same price. Tarquinius consulted the priests and on their advice bought the books, which were preserved in the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus till 82 B. C., when the temple was destroyed and the books with it.

21. *the common verse &c.*] The reference is apparently to a line of Erasmus, *Fronte capillata, post haec Occasio calva*. Cf. also Phaedrus, *Fabulae*, v. 8. 2, and the common saying 'to take time by the forelock'.

PAGE 76. 7. *Argus . . . Briareus*] These were monsters of Greek mythology.

9. *Pluto*] Pluto was the Greek god of the under-world and as such controlled all metals, whence his name, derived from *πλοῦτος* (= wealth). Cf. Essay XXXIV. For the reference to his helmet cf. *Iliad* v. 845.

ESSAY XXII. OF CUNNING

PAGE 76. 29. *in their own alley*] The metaphor is from the games of bowls and skittles, which are played in an 'alley', and is carried on in the following sentence in the phrase 'lost their aim'.

31. *Mitte ambos &c.*] i. e. 'Send them both unprepared among strangers, and you will see (the difference).' Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.

PAGE 77. 2. *the Jesuits*] The 'Society of Jesus', the members of which are commonly called Jesuits, is a Roman Catholic order founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1533. The order has got a bad name in history owing to its strict secret organization and the casuistry practised by some of its members.

32. *And I had not &c.*] Nehemiah ii. 1.

37. *as Narcissus did, &c.*] Narcissus was a freedman and favourite of the Roman Emperor Claudius (A. D. 41-54). He

became jealous and suspicious of Messalina, the wife of Claudius, arranged to have it reported to Claudius that Messalina had publicly married her paramour Silius, and then himself gave orders for their execution.

PAGE 78. 21. *I knew two &c.*] The reference is probably to Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley. Cecil's cunning got him the secretaryship.

36. *turning of the cat in the pan*] The meaning of this phrase is either (1) to make things appear to be the opposite of what they are (as here), or (2) to change sides (as in the well-known song *The Vicar of Bray*). 'Origin unknown; the suggestion that *cat* was originally *cate* does not agree with the history of that word' (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

PAGE 79. 6. *Se non diversas spes, &c.*] 'He, at any rate (viz. Tigellinus) had no aims of his own, but regarded solely the Emperor's safety.' Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv 57. Tigellinus was a profligate favourite in the court of Nero, and out of jealousy procured the death of Burrus, who was a staid adviser of the emperor.

23. *in Paul's*] i.e. in St. Paul's Cathedral, a favourite place for promenading and lounging in Bacon's time.

30. *But certainly some &c.*] The exact meaning of this passage is rather obscure. The French *ressorts* denotes the 'spring' of a machine, that which makes the machine move; this may be the explanation of 'resorts' here, used metaphorically in the sense of 'the first move, the start' of business. Such an interpretation is supported by a passage in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, 'Such histories do rather set forth the point of business than the true and inward resorts thereof.' 'Falls' may without difficulty be construed to mean the outcome or conclusion of the business, and 'the main' the solid part, the hard work between the 'resort' and the 'fall'. The whole passage can then be paraphrased thus: There are some cunning men who know how to start a thing, e. g. set an inquiry on foot, and how to sum up the results of it, but cannot work it out through its various stages; they leave the really hard work to others, and then claim the credit of it themselves, as having directed the course of the proceedings ('wits of direction'). The simile of the house is far fetched and inexact.

PAGE 80. 2. *Prudens advertit &c.*] i.e. 'The prudent man pays heed to his goings: but the fool turns aside to deceit'. Proverbs xiv. 8 (loosely quoted).

ESSAY XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

PAGE 80. 11. *stands fast upon his own centre; &c.*] Another allusion to Ptolemaic astronomy. Cf. Essay XV.

32. *a bias upon their bowl*] A bowl is weighted on one side to make it turn in its course, the word 'bias' being used to denote both the weighted side and its effect. Corrupt servants are 'biased' in their service by 'their own petty ends' and so do not go straight.

PAGE 81. 16. *crocodiles, that shed tears &c.*] Cf. 'In this river we saw many crocodils . . . His nature is ever when hee would have his prey to cry and sobbe like a Christian body to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them.' Hakluyt, *Sir J. Hawkins' Voyage*.

18. *sui amantes sine rivali*] i.e. 'Lovers of themselves without a rival'. Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem*, iii. 8 (loosely quoted).

ESSAY XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS

PAGE 81. 29. *for ill, &c.*] i.e. Human nature is corrupt and breeds evil from within, and as time goes on the evil increases in force; good is an attacking force and is weakened by the continual opposition of natural evil.

PAGE 82. 29. *we make a stand &c.*] Jeremiah vi. 16.

ESSAY XXV. OF DISPATCH

PAGE 83. 10. *false periods of business*] i.e. they pretend that business was done when in fact it was not done.

15. *a wise man*] It appears from the *Apophthegms* that this was Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador at the French Court, with whom Bacon stayed when he was a young man. (See Introduction.)

PAGE 84. 23. *ashes are more generative than dust*] Ashes are well known to be a good manure; they are negative in the sense that they represent something which no longer exists, but they are definite in quantity and come from a definite source. A definite scheme which fails is more likely to lead to a useful decision than mere indefinite talk.

ESSAY XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE

PAGE 84. 28. *Having a show &c.*] 2 Timothy iii. 5.

31. *magno conatu nugas*] i.e. 'trifles with great effort'. Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*, iii. 5. 8.

PAGE 85. 11. *Respondes, &c.*] i.e. 'You answer, with one eyebrow raised up to your forehead, and the other lowered to your chin, that cruelty does not please you'. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 6. Piso is a name which occurs often in Roman history; the one mentioned here was consul in 58 B. C., and joined with Clodius and others in forcing Cicero into banishment; he then went to Macedonia as governor, and on his return was attacked in the Senate by Cicero, who had meanwhile been recalled, for plundering the province.

21. *Hominem delirum, &c.*] i.e. 'A senseless man, who tries to break down weighty matters with verbal quibbles'. The quotation is not to be found in Gellius, but there is a similar passage in Quintilian (*De Inst. Orat.* x. 1. 130) which Bacon probably had in mind.

24. *Prodicus*] A sophist, against whom Socrates argues in Plato's *Protagoras*. He was especially noted for making distinctions between synonyms (cf. Plato, *Meno*, 75 E).

ESSAY XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP

PAGE 86. 3. *Whosoever is delighted &c.*] Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 2.

12. *Epimenides*] A Cretan poet who lived about 600 B. C. He is said to have done many miraculous things, amongst others to have slept continuously for 57 years, and to have stopped the plague at Athens about 596 B. C.

Numa] The second king of ancient Rome 716-673 B. C., and the legendary founder of many religious observances, with the help of the nymph Egeria, whom he used to meet secretly in a sacred grove.

13. *Empedocles*] A Sicilian philosopher who lived about 450 B. C. He is said to have thrown himself into the crater of Mount Aetna.

Apollonius] Cf. Essay XIX.

20. *Magna civitas, &c.*] i.e. 'A great city is great solitude'.

PAGE 87. 21. *participes curarum*] i. e. 'partners in their cares'.

30. *Sylla*] Cf. Essay XV. Lepidus was the friend for whom Pompey 'carried the consulship' against Sylla's wishes.

38. *Decimus Brutus*] Cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 'Nephew' should be 'great-nephew', viz. Octavius.

PAGE 88. 10. *Antonius, in a letter &c.*] Cicero, *Philippics*, xiii. 11.

12-14. *Agrippa . . . Maecenas*] Agrippa was a life-long friend of Augustus and a successful general. The passage quoted is from Dio Cassius, liv. 6. Maecenas, also an intimate friend and counsellor of Augustus, is famous chiefly as a patron of literature.

18. *Sejanus*] A friend of the Emperor Tiberius (cf. Essay II) and prefect of the Praetorian guard. He aimed at imperial power for himself, and Tiberius learning of his treachery sent Macro with a message from Capreae to the Senate, who immediately decreed the execution of Sejanus.

21. *Haec pro amicitia &c.*] i. e. 'These things in accordance with our friendship I have not concealed'. Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 40.

24. *Septimius Severus &c.*] Severus was emperor A.D. 193-211 (cf. Essay II), and his eldest son, who married the daughter of Plautianus, was Caracalla. Plautianus turned traitor, and was put to death in A.D. 203. The quotation 'I love, &c.' is from Dio Cassius, lxxv. 15.

30. *Trajan*] One of the greatest and best of the Roman emperors (A.D. 98-117).

31. *Marcus Aurelius*] Roman emperor A.D. 161-80, a successful and popular ruler, and a philosopher, whose 'Thoughts' are still widely read.

37. *as an half-piece*] The meaning of this phrase is not clear. 'Bacon is probably referring to the old practice of cutting silver pennies into halves to make up for the deficiency of smaller coins.'—REYNOLDS. But the simile is not very apt.

PAGE 89. 4. *Comineus &c.*] Philippe de Commines was secretary to Charles, commonly called 'the Bold', Duke of Burgundy (1433-77), and afterwards served Charles's enemy, Louis XI, King of France.

26. *alchemists &c.*] The derivation of the word 'alchemy' or 'alchemy' is curious. 'Al-' is the Arabian definite

article (cf. 'Alcoran', Essay XVI), and the latter part of the word has been connected with both *χυμεία* (=pouring, infusion) and *χημία*, a Greek form of *Khem*, i.e. 'Black Earth', the native name of Egypt; *χημία* is found in the Decree of Diocletian against 'the old writings of the Egyptians, which treat of the *χημία* (transmutation) of gold and silver'. The chemistry of the Middle Ages was mostly concerned with the problem of making gold out of baser metals, and the discovery of a universal medicine; it was supposed that the miracle could be performed by means of the 'Philosopher's Stone'.

PAGE 90. 12. *said by Themistocles &c.*] Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*, p. 96, where, however, the distinction is made between exact and inexact speaking, not between speech and thought. Themistocles was the most prominent Athenian at the time of the Persian invasion 480 B. C., when Xerxes was beaten at Salamis. In 471 B. C. he was banished, and went to the Persian court, where Artaxerxes who was then king received him with honour.

13. *cloth of Arras*] i.e. tapestry, so called from Arras, a town in Artois, where it was made.

23. *Dry light &c.*] Heraclitus was a philosopher of Ephesus, who lived about 500 B. C. What he said was—'A dry soul (*ψυχή*) is wisest and best'. In his *Apophthegms* Bacon quotes the sentence as 'the dry light was the best soul,' meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet nor, as it were, blooded by the affections'. Heraclitus was well called 'the Obscure'.

PAGE 91. 14. *that look sometimes &c.*] James i. 23-4.

19. *four and twenty letters*] Cf. Essay XXXVIII. An angry man should say over the alphabet before acting, as the pause may prevent him from acting unwisely. I and J were regarded as one letter only, as were U and V.

PAGE 92. 17. *a friend is another himself*] This is supposed to be a saying originally of Pythagoras; it occurs twice in Aristotle, viz. *Nic. Eth.* ix. 4. 5 and *Eud. Eth.* vii. 12. 1.

21. *bestowing of a child*] i.e. in marriage.

ESSAY XXVIII. OF EXPENSE

PAGE 93. 9. *voluntary undoing &c.*] As riches often make it difficult for a man to 'enter the kingdom of heaven', and it may be necessary for a man in order to clear the way to unburden himself of them (cf. Matthew xix. 21 *et seq.*),

so, says Bacon, it may be well for a man voluntarily to beggar himself for the good of his country.

PAGE 94. 1. *In clearing &c.*] i. e. In clearing himself of debt a man may lose more by a forced sale of his property than by having to pay interest on the debt.

ESSAY XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

PAGE 94. 15. *Themistocles*] Cf. Essay XXVII. This story is told by Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles*, p. 84).

PAGE 95. 5. *negotiis pares*] i. e. 'equal to their business'.

24. *kingdom of heaven &c.*] Matthew xiii. 31.

38. *It never troubles &c.*] Virgil, *Eclogues*, vii. 52.

PAGE 96. 2. *plains of Arbela &c.*] Alexander the Great (cf. Essay XIX) defeated the army of Darius, King of Persia, near Arbela in Assyria, 331 B. C. The saying quoted here is recorded by Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, p. 472).

7. *Tigranes, &c.*] Tigranes, King of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithridates, was defeated at Tigranocerta by the Romans under Lucullus 69 B. C. The quotation is from Plutarch (*Life of Lucullus*, p. 353).

20. *Solon &c.*] Solon was an Athenian statesman, who at a time of serious civil commotion (594 B. C.) restored order by a thorough revision of the constitution. Croesus became King of Lydia 560 B. C. The story, which is probably fictitious, of his meeting with Solon is recorded by Herodotus, and the sentence quoted here comes from Lucian (*Charon*, 7).

33. *blessing of Judah and Issachar*] Genesis xlix. 9, 14.

PAGE 97. 37. *Terra potens &c.*] i. e. 'A land mighty in arms and in fruitfulness'. Virgil, *Aeneid* i. 531.

PAGE 98. 14. *Nebuchadnezzar's tree*] Daniel iv. 10 *et seq.*

33. *jus civitatis, &c.*] i. e. 'the right of citizenship', comprising 'the right of trading, the right of intermarriage, the right of inheritance, the right of voting, and the right of candidature for civic office'.

PAGE 99. 15. *pragmatical sanction*] This term was first used of decrees published by the Byzantine emperors, and was afterwards applied to any imperial decree affecting a whole community. The 'sanction' here mentioned was published by Philip IV in 1622, giving special privileges to married men, more particularly to those who had six or more children.

PAGE 100. 2. *Romulus*] The legendary founder of Rome, 753 B. C.

PAGE 101. 12. *war for the liberty of Graecia*] i. e. the war (200–196 B. C.) between the Romans and Philip of Macedon, who persisted against the protests of Rome in occupying Greece with his troops.

13. *Lacedaemonians and Athenians &c.*] Most of the little wars in different parts of the Greek world, which together constituted the so-called Peloponnesian War, were connected directly or indirectly with quarrels between the oligarchical and the democratic factions in one or other of the lesser Greek states, the Lacedaemonians siding with the former and the Athenians with the latter.

32. *giveth the law, &c.*] i. e. It confers actual domination over neighbouring states, or at least inspires respect in them.

38. *Consilium Pompeii &c.*] i. e. 'Pompey's policy is clearly that of Themistocles; for he considers that the man who commands the sea commands the situation'. Cicero, *ad Atticum*, x. 8 (inaccurately quoted). The combination of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, commonly called the first Triumvirate, which for a time directed the fortunes of Rome, began 60 B. C. Crassus killed himself after a defeat by the Parthians at Carrhae 53 B. C., and soon afterwards Pompey began to drift away from Caesar. The breach developed into civil war 49 B. C.; the next year Pompey's army was routed at Pharsalus in Greece, and he fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated.

PAGE 102. 5. *battle of Actium*] Octavius (Augustus) defeated Antony off Actium on the west coast of Greece 31 B. C. and made himself master of the Roman world.

6. *battle of Lepanto*] The Christian fleet decisively defeated the Turks off Lepanto on the Gulf of Corinth in 1571.

PAGE 103. 13. *no man can by care taking &c.*] Matthew vi. 27.

ESSAY XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

PAGE 103. 30. *which are owing &c.*] i. e. By excesses in his youth a man piles up a debt to nature which he will have to pay in his old age.

PAGE 104. 33. *Celsus &c.*] A writer on medicine in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius; his treatise *De Medicina* is in eight books.

ESSAY XXXI. OF SUSPICION

PAGE 106. 18. *Sospetto licentia fede*] i. e. 'Suspicion bids loyalty go'.

ESSAY XXXII. OF DISCOURSE

PAGE 107. 11. *Parce, puer &c.*] i. e. 'Spare the goad, boy, and pull more firmly with the reins'. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 127.

37. *as a field, &c.*] i. e. Discourse should have a wide scope and be general, not directed towards individuals.

PAGE 108. 5. *dry blow &c.*] i. e. A blow which does not draw blood, causing a bruise not a wound.

ESSAY XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS

PAGE 109. 1. *It is a shameful &c.*] Transportation of criminals had been a few years in operation when this was written.

18. *artichokes of Jerusalem*] 'Jerusalem' is probably a corruption of the Italian *girasole* (= sunflower). The plant came originally from tropical America and was introduced into Europe, first into Italy, early in the seventeenth century.

PAGE 110. 7. *Making of bay-salt*] Bay-salt is salt in large crystals, made originally by evaporation of sea-water. The name is supposed to be derived from the Bay of Biscay.

ESSAY XXXIV. OF RICHES

PAGE 111. 27. *Where much is, &c.*] Ecclesiastes v. 11.

PAGE 112. 5. *Riches are as a stronghold &c.*] Proverbs xviii. 11.

12. *friarly*] Cf. Essay II.

14. *In studio rei &c.*] i. e. 'In his keenness to increase his wealth it was clear that he sought not the gratification of avarice but the means to do good'. Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 2. Rabirius was accused 63 B. C. of having murdered Saturninus thirty-seven years before; the prosecution was a political move instigated by Caesar against the Senate; Rabirius was defended by Cicero, but the case was not pressed to a conviction.

17. *Qui festinat &c.*] i. e. 'He who hastens to get riches will not be guiltless'. Proverbs xxviii. 20.

18-20. *Plutus . . . Pluto*] Cf. Essay XXI.

PAGE 113. 25. *in sudore vultus alieni*] i. e. 'in the sweat of another's brow'. Genesis iii. 19.

26. *plough upon Sundays*] i. e. Money lent upon usury earns interest on Sundays as on weekdays. Cf. Essay XLI.

28. *do value unsound men*] i. e. Financial agents, being paid by commission, are apt to recommend men of no substance to money-lenders.

32. *Canaries*] Sugar was introduced into the Canary Islands in A. D. 1507.

PAGE 114. 1. *Monopolies*] i. e. 'Licence or privilege allowed by the king for the sole buying and selling, making, working, or using of any thing whatsoever; whereby the subject in general is restrained from that liberty of manufacturing or trading which he had before. These had been carried to an enormous height during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.'—BLACKSTONE. The right of the king to grant these patents of monopoly was one of the most burning political questions of Bacon's time, and his attitude towards it vacillating and unsatisfactory. Finally the Statute of Monopolies (1624) was passed defining the law: rights of monopoly were reserved to certain corporations, companies, and societies of merchants, and (for a period not exceeding fourteen years) to the authors of new inventions; otherwise monopolies were declared to be illegal, except in a few special industries, such as the making of gunpowder, shot, and ordnance. That Act of Parliament still represents the general principles of patent-law in England.

2. *coemption of wares*] i. e. 'engrossing'. Cf. Essay XV.

5. *Riches gotten by service, &c.*] i. e. The service of great men is one of the most honourable means of becoming rich (N. B. 'rise' = 'source'), unless the service consists of servile flattery, in which case it is one of the most dishonourable.

10. *Testamenta et orbos &c.*] i. e. 'Wills and childless men were caught in a net as it were'. Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 42. But Tacitus was not speaking of Seneca.

ESSAY XXXV. OF PROPHECIES

PAGE 115. 1. *Pythonissa &c.*] 1 Samuel xxviii. 7, 1 Chronicles x. 13. In the Vulgate version of the latter passage the Witch of Endor is called *Pythonissa*, which is translated in the English 'one that had a familiar spirit'.

Python is said to have been the name of the legendary serpent killed by Apollo near Delphi, whence Apollo took the name Pythius, and the Delphic Oracle was called Pythian.

4. *At domus Aeneae &c.*] i. e. 'But the house of Aeneas shall lord it over all lands, they and their sons' sons and the generations after them'. Virgil, *Aeneid* iii. 97-8, loosely translating *Iliad* xx. 307-8.

8. *Venient annis &c.*] i. e. 'A time shall come after the passing of years, when Ocean shall loose the bonds of the world, a vast land shall appear, and Tiphys shall discover new worlds; nor shall Thule be the end of the earth'. Seneca, *Medea*, 374-9. Tiphys was one of the Argonauts, who according to the Greek legend sailed to Colchis in quest of a golden fleece guarded by a dragon. Jason was in command: Medea, daughter of the King of Colchis, fell in love with him, and with her help he carried off the fleece. Thule is commonly supposed to have been Iceland or one of the Shetland Islands.

15. *Polycrates*] Tyrant of Samos in the fifth century B. C. The story of his daughter's dream is told by Herodotus (iii. 124).

19. *Philip of Macedon &c.*] Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, was born 382 B. C., became King of Macedonia in 360, and after many successful campaigns was murdered in 336 at the instigation of his wife Olympias, whom he had deserted.

24. *Philippis iterum me videbis*] i. e. 'Thou shalt see me again at Philippi'. The story of the appearance of Caesar's ghost to Brutus is told by Plutarch (*Life of Brutus*, p. 673) and used by Shakespeare (*Julius Cæsar*, iv. iii).

25. *Tu quoque, Galba, &c.*] i. e. 'You too, Galba, will taste imperial power'. Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 20. Cf. Essay II.

26. *In Vespasian's time &c.*] Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 13.

30. *Domitian dreamed, &c.*] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 23. Cf. Essay XIX.

34. *Henry the Sixth &c.*] Cf. Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI*, iv. vi.

37. *When I was in France, &c.*] Bacon was in France during 1576-9. Henry II, the husband of Catherine de Medici, was King of France from 1547 to 1559.

PAGE 116. 18. *the king's style &c.*] James I, being already King of Scotland, assumed the title of 'King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland'.

23. *the Baugh and the May*] These are two islands in the Firth of Forth. The Baugh is now known as the Bass Rock.

28. *the Spanish Fleet &c.*] i. e. The Spanish Armada which sailed against England in 1588. There is no corroboration of the statement that the King of Spain's surname was 'Norway'.

31. *Regiomontanus &c.*] Johann Müller, an eminent German scholar and astrologer, assumed this name from his birth-place, Königsberg (= King's Mountain). He lived in the fifteenth century and prophesied a revolution in 1588—'eighty-eight will be a wonderful year'. The Latin version quoted by Bacon was made by Bruschius, another German scholar, in 1553.

36. *Cleon's dream*] Aristophanes, *Equites*, 197 *et seq.* Cleon was a tanner and the most prominent of the democratic party at Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

PAGE 117. 25. *Timaeus, . . . Atlanticus*] These are two Dialogues of Plato, the latter more commonly known as *Critias*, in which he describes a great imaginary island called Atlantis to the west of the Pillars of Hercules (viz. Gibraltar).

ESSAY XXXVI. OF AMBITION

PAGE 117. 31. *cholera, which is an humour &c.*] The four cardinal 'humours' are blood, cholera, phlegm, and melancholy, which according to ancient and mediaeval physiology by the proportion in which they are present in a man determine his physical and mental qualities. Cholera, i. e. bile, produced irascibility.

PAGE 118. 27-8. *Tiberius . . . Macro . . . Sejanus*] Cf. Essay XXVII.

ESSAY XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

PAGE 120. *Masques and Triumphs*] Cf. Essay I.

7. *broken music*] i. e. music arranged for several instruments. Cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. i.

18. *take the sense, &c.*] i. e. please the senses of sight and hearing, without troubling to create surprise by incidents on the stage.

PAGE 121. 4. *anti-masques*] i. e. short comic interludes played between the acts of a masque as a foil (*anti-*) to the principal entertainment.

19. *justs and tourneys and barriers*] These belong to 'triumphs'. *Justs* were single combats, *tourneys* combats between parties of knights; *barriers* were properly the palisades enclosing the ground where these martial exercises took place, and came to be used for the sports themselves.

ESSAY XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN

PAGE 122. 9. *the four and twenty letters*] Cf. Essay XXVII. 15. *optimus ille &c.*] i. e. 'He best frees his spirit who bursts the bonds that hurt his heart and ends his pain once and for all'. Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 293. Bacon alters *fruit* to *animi*.

27. *nature will lay buried*] It is only in quite recent times that this use of *lay* for *lie* has been regarded as a solecism.

PAGE 123. 2. *Multum incola &c.*] i. e. 'My soul has long been a sojourner'. Psalm cxx. 6.

ESSAY XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

PAGE 123. 16. *Machiavel*] Cf. Essay XIII.

24. *Friar Clement*] Cf. Essay IV.

Ravillac] A Roman Catholic fanatic who assassinated Henry IV of France in 1610 on account of the toleration shown towards the Huguenots.

Jaur-guy] A servant of a Spanish merchant at Antwerp, who attempted to assassinate William the Silent, Prince of Orange, in 1582.

24. *Baltazar Gerard*] Assassinated William the Silent in 1584.

27. *men of the first blood*] i. e. men committing their first murder.

PAGE 124. 4. *Indians &c.*] i. e. the Gymnosophists, ascetic and mystical philosophers, of whom reports were brought to Europe by the companions of Alexander the Great. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, p. 484, and Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27.

34. *in his exaltation*] A metaphor from astrology, exaltation being the place of a planet in the Zodiac when it is supposed to exert its greatest influence.

ESSAY XL. OF FORTUNE

PAGE 125. 7. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*] i. e. 'Every man is the maker of his own fortune'. The quotation is

from Appius Claudius (*circa* 300 B.C.), the earliest Latin poet of whom any work is now extant.

11. *Serpens nisi serpentem* &c.] i. e. 'A serpent, unless it first eats a serpent, does not become a dragon'.

15. *disemboltura*] Apparently this is a mis-spelling of *desenvoltura* (= 'graceful, easy carriage').

20. *In illo viro*, &c.] i. e. 'There was in that man such power both physical and mental that in whatever circumstances he had started life he seemed bound to achieve success'. *Versatile ingenium* = 'a versatile genius'. The words are loosely quoted from Livy, xxxix. 40. Cato was born 234 B.C., the son of a farmer at Tusculum; after serving for 26 years with conspicuous success in the army, he turned to civil life and vigorously attacked the growing luxury of the nobles at Rome. He died 149 B.C.

34. *poco di matto*] i. e. 'little of the fool'.

PAGE 126. 7. *entreprenant or remuant*] i. e. 'adventurous or restless'. Bacon's attempt to anglicize these French words is not successful. *Exercised fortune* means 'fortune won by hard work and training'.

13. *to decline the envy*] i. e. to avert the 'evil eye', the consequence of boasting. Cf. Essay IX.

17. *Caesarem portas* &c.] i. e. 'You carry Caesar and his fortune'. Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, p. 502.

18. *Felix* &c.] i. e. 'The Fortunate' not 'The Great'.

21. *Timotheus*] An Athenian general in the earlier part of the fourth century B.C.

28. *Timoleon*] A Greek general chiefly distinguished for a successful campaign in Sicily against a much superior force of Carthaginians, 343-338 B.C.

29. *Agelaus*] King of Sparta, 398-361 B.C.

Epaminondas] The only great statesman produced by Thebes. He was killed in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

ESSAY XLI. OF USURY

PAGE 126. 33. *the tithe*] Tithe means 'tenth part'. The reference is to a statute of 1545, re-enacted in 1561, limiting money-lenders' interest to 10 per cent.

greatest Sabbath-breaker, &c.] Cf. Essay XXXIV.

PAGE 127. 4. *Ignarum fucos pecus* &c.] i. e. 'The idle pack of drones they keep from the hive'. Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 168.

6. *in sudore &c.*] i.e. 'In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread', not 'in the sweat of another's brow'. Genesis iii. 19.

8. *orange-tawny bonnets, &c.*] During the Middle Ages in England Jews were under various legal disabilities, and were required to wear some distinguishing mark, generally a yellow cap.

11. *concessum propter duritiem cordis*] i.e. 'a thing allowed by reason of the hardness of men's hearts'.

15. *banks*] Modern banking began in Italy, e.g. at Florence and Venice, and spread thence to other European countries, but in Bacon's time it was not yet established in England. The Bank of England received its charter in 1694.

26. *vena porta*] Cf. Essay XIX.

PAGE 128. 21. *mortgaging or pawning*] Shortly, the principle of a mortgage is this: the legal ownership of the thing or land mortgaged passes from the mortgagor (i.e. the borrower) to the mortgagee (i.e. the lender): the mortgagee may at any time enter into possession of the property, but if he does so he must account so strictly for all profits which he makes or ought to make out of it that he generally finds it more convenient to leave the mortgagor in possession; the mortgagor may at any time redeem the mortgage by repaying the loan and all interest due; if he fails to repay after due notice or falls behind in paying the interest, the mortgagee can acquire absolute ownership of the property. A pawn or pledge gives the pawnee (i.e. the lender) a right to the possession, but not to the use of the thing pawned; but if it is not redeemed, he may after a certain period sell it.

34. *Utopia*] Sir Thomas More wrote a prose romance under this title describing an ideal republic. It was published in 1516. The name is derived from the Greek οὐ = 'not' and τόπος = 'place', so 'nowhere'.

ESSAY XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE

PAGE 130. 33. *Juventutem egit &c.*] i.e. 'His youth was full of blunders, or rather acts of madness'. Cf. Essay II.

PAGE 131. 2. *Cosmus*] Cf. Essay IV.

3. *Gaston de Foix*] Nephew of Louis XII, and Duke of Nemours. He commanded the French army both in Italy

and Spain and was killed at the battle of Ravenna A.D. 1512 at the age of twenty-three only.

31. *for externe accidents*] i. e. for persons not directly concerned.

35. *Your young men &c.*] Joel ii. 28.

PAGE 132. 7. *Hermogenes*] A Greek rhetorician of the second century A. D., born at Tarsus.

13. *Idem manebat, &c.*] i. e. 'He remained the same, but the same was no longer becoming to him', Cicero, *Brutus*, 95. Hortensius (114-50 B. C.) was one of the greatest orators of Rome, surpassed by none except perhaps Cicero.

17. *Ultima primis cedebant*] i. e. 'The end was not equal to the beginning'. Scipio was born 234 B. C., and it was mainly due to him that the Second Punic War was brought to a successful end in 202 B. C. Later he was accused of accepting bribes from Antiochus, King of Syria, left Rome in indignation, and died in retirement 183 B. C.

ESSAY XLIII. OF BEAUTY

PAGE 132. 27. *Titus Vespasianus*] Roman Emperor A. D. 79-81, son of Vespasian.

28. *Philip le Bel*] King of France A. D. 1285-1314.

Edward the Fourth] King of England A. D. 1461-83.

29. *Alcibiades*] A brilliant but (according to the more general opinion) unscrupulous Athenian statesman at the time of the Peloponnesian War; he died 404 B. C.

Ismael] The first of the Sophy dynasty in Persia A. D. 1502.

PAGE 133. 2. *first sight of the life*] i. e. the first sight of the person.

4. *Apelles*] The most celebrated of Greek painters, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who had a high opinion of him. But he is mentioned by Bacon here apparently in mistake for Zeuxis, also a distinguished painter, who flourished about sixty years before Apelles: Cicero relates that he used five models for one picture of Helen.

5. *Albert Durer*] A German artist, both painter and engraver, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the following sentence 'the one' refers to Durer, 'the other' to Zeuxis.

18. *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*] i. e. 'The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful'.

19. *but by pardon*] i. e. except by making allowances.

24. *if it light well &c.*] It is probable that Bacon has sacrificed exactitude to make a neat epigram. It may well be that beauty in a good man adds lustre to his virtues and makes them shine out, but whose vices does it cause to blush? Not his own, for *ex hypothesi* he is virtuous not vicious; and there is no reason why it should affect others' vices. Various explanations have been suggested; the best, though it is not convincing, is that the words 'if it light well' govern only the first part of the sentence, i. e. as far as 'shine', and that the last three words taken by themselves mean 'and beauty shows up the shamefulness of vice'.

ESSAY XLIV. OF DEFORMITY

PAGE 133. 29. *void of natural affection.* Cf. Romans i. 31, 2 Timothy iii. 3. But Scripture does not say that deformed persons are without natural affection.

35. *stars of natural inclination*] There is probably an allusion here to astrology, the belief that a man's natural character is influenced by the position of the stars at the time of his birth.

PAGE 134. 30. *Agesilaus*] Cf. Essay XL.

Zanger] Son of Solyman by Roxolana. Cf. Essay XIX. He is said to have been so greatly distressed by the murder of his half-brother Mustapha, that he killed himself.

31. *Aesop*] Cf. Essay XIII. There is no evidence in the classics that he was deformed.

Gasca] Besides being President of Peru, he took an important part in the diplomatic negotiations between England and Spain in the reign of Henry VIII.

32. *Socrates*] A great Athenian philosopher, the principal character in Plato's Dialogues, born 468 B. C., put to death on a charge of impiety 399 B. C.

ESSAY XLV. OF BUILDING

PAGE 135. 14. *consult with Momus*] Momus was the Greek god of mockery and faultfinding; he is said to have criticized a house built by Athena, complaining that it ought to have had wheels so that it might be moved away from disagreeable company.

25. *hath a great living &c.*] i. e. there is abundance of provisions near at hand, but little is to be had.

31. *Lucullus*] As a soldier Lucullus met with considerable success in the war with Mithridates, but in 66 B.C. he was superseded by Pompey who finished the war and got the credit for it. He was famous for his luxury and extravagance.

PAGE 136. 6. *Vatican and Escorial*] The Vatican is the Pope's palace at Rome, a huge structure; the Escorial is the principal palace of the Spanish kings, about thirty miles from Madrid.

10. *the book of Hester*] Esther i. 5.

22. *at the first*] i. e. 'in the first place', or 'in the front part'.

35. *cast into a brass colour*] i. e. coloured to look like brass.

PAGE 137. 14. *some side alleys &c.*] i. e. There should be a path along each side of the court, and others forming a cross in the middle, leaving four plots of grass.

ESSAY XLVI. OF GARDENS

PAGE 139. 1. *God Almighty &c.*] Genesis ii. 8.

PAGE 140. 17. *ver perpetuum*] i. e. 'perpetual spring'.

32. *Bartholomew-tide*] St. Bartholomew's Day is August 24.

PAGE 144. 28. *deceive the trees*] i. e. take away nourishment from the trees.

ESSAY XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING

PAGE 146. 8. *doth not well bear out itself*] i. e. in a weak case with no obvious merits to commend it.

17. *upon conditions &c.*] i. e. If you are negotiating with a man on the terms that you are to have a *quid pro quo*, the important thing is that he should do his part first; you can reasonably expect this in three cases, viz. (1) if in the nature of things what he has to do precedes what you have to do, (2) if you can persuade him that you will need his services again, and so are not likely to fail him now, and (3) if you can persuade him that you have a higher reputation for honesty than he has.

23. *to discover or to work*] i. e. The principles of negotiation are two, viz. (1) to find out the character and the circumstances of the man with whom you are dealing, and (2) to use your knowledge of his character in persuading him to do what you want.

ESSAY XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

PAGE 147. 2. *maketh his train longer &c.*] i. e. they give him an appearance of importance, but hamper his enterprises; the metaphor is suggested by the peacock.

22. *exchange tales*] i. e. they bring back tales about others, which they have got in exchange for the tales they have told about their master.

PAGE 148. 16. *of the last impression*] i. e. susceptible to each new influence that is brought to bear on him.

ESSAY XLIX. OF SUITORS

PAGE 148. 31. *may be life in the matter &c.*] i. e. The suit may be brought to a successful issue by the help of some one else.

PAGE 149. 25. *In suits of favour, &c.*] i. e. If a favour is asked of you, mere priority of application ought not to count for much; but if you would otherwise not have known of the matter at all, you ought to respect the confidence reposed in you at least so far as not to use the information to the disadvantage of the first applicant (e. g. by inducing some one else to oppose him); you ought to leave him 'to his other means', i. e. to the merits of his case, and to some extent it should tell in his favour that he confided in you.

33. *Secrecy in suits &c.*] i. e. It is wise to keep quiet, until you have got what you want; if you boast of the progress which your suit is making, it may discourage some of your competitors, but it will stimulate others to greater efforts.

PAGE 150. 4. *The reparation of a denial &c.*] i. e. If after failing in your suit once you try again and succeed, it is sometimes as good as if you had succeeded the first time.

7. *Iniquum petas, &c.*] i. e. 'Ask more than your due, that you may get your due'.

8. *strength of favour*] i. e. strong influence with the person to whom the suit is made.

9. *better rise in his suit; &c.*] i. e. If you ask too much at the start, your patron may refuse to have anything to do with you; but if he has already granted you lesser favours, he is more likely to grant a great favour, because he will be loth to forfeit the obligation under which he has already placed you.

13. *his letter*] i. e. a letter of recommendation.

16. *general contrivers of suits*] i. e. those who grant requests indiscriminately.

ESSAY L. OF STUDIES

PAGE 151. 23. *Abeunt studia in mores*] i. e. 'Studies pass into character'. Ovid, *Heroides*, xv. 83.

27. *shooting*] i. e. of course, archery.

33. *schoolmen*] Cf. Essay XVII.

34. *Cymini sectores*] i. e. 'dividers of cummin-seeds'. Cf. in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*: 'A carver or divider of cummin-seed which is one of the least seeds.' But the Greek word *κυμνοπρίστης*, from which Bacon obviously took the phrase, means a 'skinflint', not a 'hair-splitter', which is the sense here.

36. *study the lawyers' cases*] Lawyers, especially in England, where until quite recent years there has been no codification of the law, have to refer to decided cases, in which similar questions to that on which they have to argue or advise have been considered and discussed.

ESSAY LI. OF FACTION

PAGE 152. 13. *to adhere so moderately &c.*] i. e. The best way to succeed is for a man to be so moderate a member of his own party as to make the opposite party well disposed towards him.

20. *Lucullus &c.*] Cf. Essay XLV. On Pompey's return after the end of the Mithridatic War, the Senate, at the instance of Lucullus, refused to ratify his acts in Asia. This move forced Pompey into an alliance with Caesar 60 B. C.

25. *Antonius and Octavianus &c.*] After the murder of Caesar 44 B. C. Antony and Octavianus (Augustus) joined forces against the republican party led by Brutus and Cassius and utterly routed them at Philippi 42 B. C. Their friendship lasted on-and-off till 33 B. C., when it broke completely; a short civil war followed and ended in the battle of Actium 31 B. C., when Antony was defeated; he fled to Egypt and destroyed himself the next year.

PAGE 153. 12. *Padre commune*] i. e. 'Common Father'.

19. *tanquam unus ex nobis*] i. e. 'As if he were one of us'.

20. *League of France*] Cf. Essay XV.

25. *inferior orbs, &c.*] Cf. Essay XV.

ESSAY LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

PAGE 153. 28. *only real*] i. e. simply his natural self without affectation.

PAGE 154. 6. *Queen Isabella*] Queen of Spain, died in 1504.

PAGE 155. 2. *that attribute*] i. e. That they are 'too perfect in compliment'.

6. *He that considereth &c.*] Ecclesiastes xi. 4.

ESSAY LIII. OF PRAISE

PAGE 155. 19. *species virtutibus similes*] i. e. 'pretences appearing like virtues'.

24. *Nomen bonum &c.*] i. e. 'A good name is like sweet-smelling ointment'. Ecclesiastes vii. 1.

PAGE 156. 4. *entitle him to &c.*] i. e. force him to claim qualities which he knows he has not, 'defying conscience.'

7. *laudando praecipere*] i. e. 'to advise by praising', e. g. to persuade a man to take courageous action by praising his courage.

11. *Pessimum genus &c.*] i. e. 'Those who praise are the worst kind of enemies'.

12. *proverb amongst the Grecians*] Cf. Theocritus, *Idylls*, xii. 24.

17. *He that praiseth &c.*] Proverbs xxvii. 14.

34. *Magnificabo apostolatium meum*] i. e. 'I will magnify my apostleship'. Romans xi. 13.

ESSAY LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY

PAGE 157. 4. *moreth upon greater means*] i. e. is set on foot by others more capable than themselves.

16. *Antiochus and the Aetolians*] Antiochus, King of Syria, 223-187 B. C., promised his help to the Aetolians, a state in central Greece, in their revolt against the Romans. Each had overestimated the strength of the other, and the revolt was put down without great difficulty.

34. *Qui de contemnenda &c.*] i. e. 'Those who write books on contempt of vain-glory, put their own names on the title-page'. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15 (inexactly quoted).

PAGE 158. 1. *Socrates*] Cf. Essay XLIV.

2. *Aristotle*] The most celebrated of Greek philosophical writers 384-322 B. C.

Galen] A voluminous and able Greek writer of medical treatises A. D. 130-200.

4. *virtue was never so beholding &c.*] i. e. Human nature is such that the memory of a man's virtue is more often perpetuated by his own expressed opinion of himself, than by others' opinions of him.

7. *Plinius Secundus*] A Roman writer of the latter part of the first century A. D. A *Panegyric* on the Emperor Trajan and ten books of Letters written by him are extant.

12. *Omnium quae dixerat &c.*] i. e. 'One who was almost an artist in making known what he had said and done'. Mucianus was a loyal supporter of Vespasian and helped him materially in his revolt against Vitellius A. D. 69.

ESSAY LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

PAGE 159. 9. *the music will be the fuller*] i. e. the chorus of praise will be louder and more general.

13. *broken upon another*] The context makes the general meaning of this phrase clear, viz. 'gained in hard competition', but it is difficult to see how the meaning comes. Perhaps it is that the severe blows received in competition break the smooth dull surface of untried honour and give it sharp bright edges like a cut diamond.

18. *Omnis fama &c.*] i. e. 'All reputation comes from a man's own household'.

26. *Romulus*] The legendary founder of Rome 753 B. C.

Cyrus] The founder of the Persian Empire 559 B. C.

Caesar] Julius Caesar, though he refused the crown, was practically the founder of the Roman Empire.

27. *Ottoman*] i. e. Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty in Turkey about A. D. 1300.

Ismael] The founder of the Sophy dynasty in Persia A. D. 1502.

29. *perpetui principes*] i. e. 'perpetual rulers'.

30. *Lycurgus*] The framer of the Spartan constitution in the ninth or tenth century B. C.

31. *Solon*] Cf. Essay XXIX.

Justinian] Roman Emperor A. D. 527-65. He compiled a complete digest of Roman Law.

Edgar] King of England A. D. 958-75. With the help of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, he did much to put the English constitution on a firm and definite basis.

Alphonsus of Castile] i.e. Alphonso X, King of Castile A.D. 1252-82. The *Siete Partidas* (i.e. 'Seven Parts') is the code of Spanish law compiled by him.

35. *Augustus Caesar*] The Battle of Actium 31 B.C., in which Augustus (then Octavianus) defeated Antony, marked the end of the long series of civil wars which had troubled Rome for some seventy years.

36. *Vespasianus*] The civil wars in the Roman Empire during the year A.D. 69, in which three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, perished, ended on the accession of Vespasian.

Aurelianus] Roman Emperor A.D. 270-5. He succeeded in reuniting the empire which had already begun to fall to pieces. His walls (or a great part of them) still surround the city of Rome.

Theodoricus] King of the Ostrogoths. In A.D. 488 he invaded Italy, and five years later became Roman Emperor.

Henry the Seventh of England] His accession to the throne in 1485 marked the end of the Wars of the Roses.

37. *Henry the Fourth of France*] After the murder of Henry III (cf. Essay IV) in 1589 the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in France continued. Henry IV was leader of the Protestant party, but in 1593, to effect a compromise, he publicly professed himself a Catholic, and in return the Catholics agreed to tolerate the Protestants.

38. *propagatores &c.*] i.e. 'enlargers or defenders of an empire'.

PAGE 160. 3. *patres patriae*] i.e. 'fathers of their country', a title of honour accorded to Roman citizens in return for exceptional services to the state.

7. *participes curarum*] i.e. 'partners in the cares of government'. Cf. Essay XXVII.

9. *duces belli*] i.e. 'leaders in war'.

14. *negotiis pares*] i.e. 'men who are equal to their business'. Cf. Essay XXIX.

20. *M. Regulus*] A Roman general who was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians 255 B.C.; he was sent to Rome to offer terms of peace, but he himself persuaded the Senate to refuse them and returned to Carthage, where he was put to death.

the two Decii] (1) Publius Decius Mus, one of the Roman consuls, sacrificed his life in a battle against the Latins 340 B.C., and by his courage so stimulated his men that they won a great victory. (2) Publius Decius Mus, the son of the

former, followed his father's example in a battle against the Samnites 295 B. C.

ESSAY LVI. OF JUDICATURE

PAGE 160. 31. *Cursed is he &c.*] Deuteronomy xxvii. 17.

PAGE 161. 5. *Fons turbatus &c.*] i. e. 'A just man failing in his cause before his adversary is as a troubled fountain and a defiled spring'. Proverbs xxv. 26 (loosely quoted).

11. *There be that turn &c.*] Amos v. 7.

21. *by raising valleys &c.*] Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

26. *Qui fortiter &c.*] i. e. 'He who wrings the nose violently, draws blood'. Proverbs xxx. 33.

35. *Pluet super eos laqueos*] i. e. 'He shall rain snares upon them'. Psalm xi. 6.

PAGE 162. 2. *Judicis officium &c.*] i. e. 'The duty of a judge is to regard not only facts but their occasions', Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 1. 37.

9. *well-tuned cymbal*] Psalm cl. 5.

26. *represseth the presumptuous &c.*] Proverbs iii. 34.

PAGE 163. 11. *Grapes will not &c.* Matthew vii. 16.

14. *catching and polling clerks*] The phrase *catching and polling* is coined from the word *catchpole* (cf. Essay LIII), an opprobrious term for a constable or bailiff. The word is said to be of Provençal origin and to mean literally 'fowl-chaser'.

19. *amici curiae, &c.*] i. e. not 'friends of the court' but 'parasites of the court'. A barrister who, though not engaged in the case, happens to be present and assists the judge (e. g. by referring him to a decided case) in dealing with a difficult point of law, is said to be *amicus curiae*.

37. *Twelve Tables*] These were the earliest code of Roman law, drawn up 451-450 B. C. by ten commissioners (*Decemviri*) specially appointed.

Salus populi suprema lex] i. e. 'The people's safety is the highest law'.

PAGE 164. 8. *things deduced to judgement &c.*] i. e. Cases in the courts may nominally be concerned only with questions of private property, but nevertheless have great public importance.

18. *Salomon's throne &c.*] 1 Kings x. 19-20.

26. *Nos scimus quia &c.*] i. e. 'We know that the law is good only if a man use it lawfully', 1 Timothy i. 8.

ESSAY LVII. OF ANGER

PAGE 164. 29. *the Stoics*] Cf. Essay II.

Be angry, but &c.] Ephesians iv. 26.

PAGE 165. 7. *anger is like ruin &c.*] Seneca, *De Ira*, i. *Ruin* is used in the concrete sense, viz. 'a thing falling'.

9. *possess our souls in patience*] Luke xxi. 19.

12. *animasque in vulnere ponunt*] i. e. 'and they leave their life in the wound'. Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 238.

27. *the apprehension and construction &c.*] i. e. If a man interprets an injury done to him as a deliberate insult.

33. *opinion of the touch &c.*] i. e. If a man thinks that his reputation is attacked.

36. *Telam honoris crassiorem*] i. e. 'A thicker web of honour'. Consalvo (A. D. 1443-1515) was a distinguished Spanish soldier.

PAGE 166. 7. *communia maledicta*] i. e. 'general abuse'.

ESSAY LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

PAGE 166. 25. *There is no new thing &c.*] Ecclesiastes i. 9.

26. *knowledge was but remembrance*] It is part of Plato's argument, especially in the *Phaedo*, to prove the immortality of the soul, that human knowledge is not got for the first time in a man's life on earth but is a remembrance of what he, i. e. his soul, knew in earlier existence. This is known as the theory of *ἀνάμνησις*.

28. *all novelty is but oblivion*] This is not a quotation but rather an inexact summary of Ecclesiastes i. 9-11.

29. *river of Lethe*] One of the rivers of Hades in Greek legend; the souls of the dead drank of it and forgot their life on earth.

PAGE 167. 1. *diurnal motion*] i. e. The daily revolution of the Primum Mobile (cf. Essay XV). The quotation cannot be certainly traced.

3. *in a perpetual flux*] This is an allusion to Heraclitus (cf. Essay XXVII), the first philosopher who laid down the theory that everything is 'in a perpetual flux' (*πάντα ῥεῖ*).

7. *Phaeton's car*] According to a Greek legend Phaethon, the son of Helios (the Sun), got leave to drive his father's chariot for one day in its journey across the sky; but he was not strong enough to control it, and the chariot came so near the earth as almost to set it on fire, but Zeus averted the danger by killing Phaethon with a thunderbolt.

8. *three years' drought, &c.*] 1 Kings xvii-xviii.

22. *Egyptian priest told Solon, &c.*] Plato, *Timaeus*, 25 D. Cf. Essay XXXV.

34. *Gregory the Great &c.*] Gregory I, Pope A. D. 590-604, was a zealous missionary and reformer; his successor Sabinian was Pope for a few months only. The principal evidence in support of Machiavelli's charge against Gregory comes from Sabinian himself.

PAGE 168. 1. *the superior globe*] i. e. the heavens.

3. *Plato's Great Year*] *Timaeus*, 38. The 'Great Year', an idea which was continued by later philosophers, is the period of unknown length at the end of which all the heavenly bodies will have arrived again at exactly the same positions as those in which they were at the beginning of the world.

28. *those orbs*] A metaphor from the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Cf. Essay XV.

29. *built upon the rock*] Matthew xvi. 18.

PAGE 169. 4. *Mahomet*] Cf. Essay III.

10. *Arians*] In the fourth century A. D. Arius of Alexandria denied that Jesus Christ was consubstantial, i. e. of the same essence or substance, with God. This heresy, which had a considerable following, was condemned by the Council of Nicaea A. D. 325.

11. *Arminians*] James Harnensen or Arminius was a professor of theology at Leyden about A. D. 1600, who strongly opposed the doctrines of Calvin, especially in denying predestination. After his death his opinions were condemned by the Synod of Dort (1618).

33-4. *Gauls . . . two incursions*] In 390 B. C. the Gauls invaded Italy and captured Rome all but the Capitol; in 278 B. C. a party of Gauls settled in Asia Minor; and the district was called after them Galatia or Gallo-Graecia.

PAGE 170. 19. *Charles the Great*] Born A. D. 742, died 814. His empire comprised Germany (Almaigne), France, and parts of Italy and Spain.

PAGE 171. 7. *Oxidrakcs*] A tribe in the Punjab, the furthest point reached by Alexander the Great. The statement that they knew the use of ordnance rests on very slight evidence.

LIX. A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY. OF FAME

[This fragment was not included in any of the three editions of the Essays published in Bacon's lifetime. It was first added by his admirer Dr. Rawley in 1657.]

PAGE 172. 3. *Fame a monster &c.*] Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* iv. 175 et seq., and Essay XV.

PAGE 173. 4. *Mucianus &c.*] Cf. Essay VI.

9. *Julius Cæsar &c.*] Plutarch, *Life of Julius Caesar*, p. 499.

14. *Livia &c.*] Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 5, and Essay II.

21. *Themistocles &c.*] Cf. Essay XXVII.

GLOSSARY

[The numbers refer to the pages.]

- Abridgement*, concise description or definition, 101.
absurd, unreasonable, *passim*.
abuse, double-dealing, 149.
accommodate, settle, compromise, 25.
account upon, treat, deal with, 106.
actor, pleader, disputant, 83.
aculeate, pointed, stinging, 166.
adamant, magnet, 65 (cf. Note).
admittance, take by, take for granted, 85.
adust, parched, blighted, 118.
advouress, adulteress, 68.
affect, aspire to, seek, practise, *passim*.
affection, inclination, 34, 46.
agitation, tossing, discussion, 71 (where there is a play on the two meanings).
allow, approve, *passim*.
almost, generally, 132.
and, if, *passim*.
answer (verb), pay, 130.
answerable to, corresponding to, 147.
antecamera, ante-room, 138.
antic, buffoon, 121.
appetite, in, eager to get something, 146.
apply, adapt, *passim*.
oppose, question, 78.
apprehend, intend, 147.
arietation, use of a battering-ram, 171.
- art*, artifice, 30.
artificial, artful, 57.
assay, attempt, 53.
attemper, moderate, qualify, 51, 164.
aversation, dislike, 86.
avoidance, outlet (for water), 138.
- Band*, bond of union, 23.
bashaw, pasha, prince, 173.
battaile, battalion, 171.
bear it, carry a point, 85.
beat over, examine, investigate, 79, 151.
bent, coarse grass, 140.
blacks, mourning clothes, 22.
blanch, flatter, (or perhaps) flinch, 74 ; shirk, gloss over, 85.
borderer, one living on the border of a country, 101.
brave (verb), defy, despise, 42, pretend boldly, 58.
brave (adj.), excellent, 110.
bravery, boasting, splendour, *passim*.
broke, do business, 113.
bruit, noise, 157.
buckling towards, arming in preparation for, 76.
bullace, a kind of small plum, 140.
burse, bourse, money-exchange, 64.
busy, meddlesome, officious, *passim*.

- by-ways*, indirect and unfair means, 162.
- Cabinet*, museum, 64.
- can*, be able, 44.
- cantass*, intrigue, 76.
- card*, map, 65, 95.
- cashier*, discard, dismiss, 152.
- cast*, contrive, 137; settle (a balance), 153.
- castoreum*, a drug obtained from the beaver, 87.
- catchpole*, constable, 156.
- cauterized*, seared in conscience, 61.
- censure*, opinion, 94.
- certify*, send reports, 109.
- cession*, concession, 158.
- challenge*, expect, claim, 147, 149.
- chamairis*, dwarf iris, 139.
- chapman*, buyer, 113.
- charge*, cost, expense, *passim*.
- chargeable*, costly, 101.
- check with*, interfere with, 43, 105.
- chop*, bandy words, 163.
- civil*, lay, not ecclesiastical, 87; seemly, orderly, *passim*.
- codlin*, a kind of apple, 140.
- collect*, infer, 117.
- colour*, lend (other men's) money as if it were one's own, 180.
- composition*, temperament, *passim*.
- compound*, compromise, 149.
- conscience*, consciousness, 44.
- contain*, restrain, 166.
- cornelian*, cornel, 139.
- curious*, subtle, careful to excess, *passim*; magical, 116.
- Dart at*, make attacks on the character of, 79.
- deceivable*, deceptive, 134.
- delivery*, means of deliverance, 67; means of expressing (oneself), 125.
- deny*, refuse, 149.
- dependencies*, power, authority, 73.
- derive*, turn aside, 40.
- diet*, live, spend time, 65.
- discoursing*, discursive, rambling, 19.
- dispatch*, urgency, importance, 77.
- distaste*, disgust, 149.
- Edge*, stimulate, 129.
- embase*, make base, degrade, 21, 43.
- embossment*, projection, 142.
- engross*, obtain a monopoly, 39, 57.
- epicure*, epicurean, a disciple of Epicurus, 27.
- equipollent*, equally strong, 123.
- espial*, spy, 147.
- estate*, state, business (national or personal), class, *passim*.
- estivation*, spending the summer, 138.
- except*, retort, 35.
- expect*, wait for, 113.
- Facile*, easily influenced, 35.
- fact*, act, 27.
- fair*, simply, just, 33.
- fall*, issue, 79.
- full under*, be capable of, admit of, 95, 171.
- fast*, retentive, 140.
- flashy*, insipid, 151.
- flos Africanus*, African marigold, 140.
- flower-de-luces*, iris, lily, 139.
- fly*, attack (with a hawk), 172.
- foil*, metal leaf in which precious stones are set, 153.
- foot*, under, below the true value, at a loss, 128.

foot-pace, daïs, 163.
force, attack openly, 75.
formalist, pedant, 84.
foundation, endowed institution
 (e. g. a college or hospital),
 33.
fume, cloud, mist, 55; vain
 fancy, 168.
futile, talkative, 31, 72.

Galliard, a French dance, 107.
gaudery, vain display, 103.
giddiness, levity, fickleness, 19.
gingle, rattle, 111.
ginniting, a kind of apple, 140.
globe, compact mass, 44.
glorious, ostentatious, *passim*.
grace, bring credit to, 146.
gracing, compliment, 162.
graze, be turfed, 137.
green, fresh, 28.

Habilitation, means to ability,
 99.

handsomely, skilfully, 77.
herba muscaria, grape hyacinth,
 140.
high, noble, 29.
housoever, whatever may be the
 reason why, 20.
humorous, fanciful, 35.
hundred, hundredth, 97.
hyperbole, exaggeration, 42.

Inbowed (windows), bow-win-
 dows, 137.

impertinence, matter of no im-
 portance, 35.

import, be important, *passim*.
impose, put restraint upon, 19.

imposthumation, abscess, 57.

imprinting, impressive, 154.

incensed, burnt, 30.

incur, become prominent, ob-
 vious, 38.

industriously, on purpose, 31.

information, make an, make a
 thing known, 149.

inure, train, 119.

invisible, safe from detection, 31.
inward, intimate, 46; secret,
 not apparent, 85.

Jade, ride too hard, 107.

Janizaries, Turkish Sultan's
 body-guard, 70.

judatize, behave like Jews, 127.

Knap, hillock, 135.

knee-timber, crooked timber, 50.

knot, flower-bed, 141.

Lay, lie, 122.

leads, lead-covered roof, 136.

leese, lose, *passim*.

let, obstruct, 142.

letter, letter of recommendation,
 150.

light, unencumbered (and so
 able to run away), 35.

lightly, generally, 153.

lilium convallium, lily of the
 valley, 140.

lively, vividly, 29.

load, be a burden upon, 50, 63.

loose, way out of a difficulty, 79.

lot, spell, 40.

lurch, absorb, 135.

Main, principal, 32; principal
 or essential part, 79.

mainly, abundantly, 113.

manage, management, 131.

manure, cultivate, 109.

marsh, marshy, 110.

masteries, superiority, 67, 105.

mate, overcome, 22, 55.

material, strictly relevant, 84.

mean, in a, without exaggera-
 tion, 29.

meere, boundary, 160.

melocotone, a kind of peach,
 140.

merely, entirely, *passim*.

mew, moult, 96.

- militar*, military, 157.
mintman, expert in coining, 75.
misanthrope, haters of mankind, 50.
moderator, chairman, president, 83.
moil, work, 110.
mought, might, *passim*.
moun ebank, quack, 47.
muniting, fortifying, 26.

Naught, bad, 113, 155.
newcl, the centre of a spiral stair, 136.
niceness, fastidiousness, 22.
nourish, get nourishment, 70.

Obnoxious, dependent, 74, 119; obsequious, 134.
oe, spangle, 120.
officious, willing to serve, 134, 147.
over come, take advantage of, 113.

Pack, arrange (cards) fraudulently, *ib*.
pair, impair, 82.
parдон, by, by making allowances, 133.
partially, in a partisan spirit, 25.
passable, mediocre, 147; acceptable, 152.
passage, digression, 84.
peal, summons, 21.
perish, destroy, 89.
personate, assign a part to, 27.
philology, literature, 172.
piece, fit, 82.
pineapple-tree, pine-tree, 139.
plantation, colony, 108.
platform, plan, 145.
ply, take the, be pliant, 124.
point, appoint, 136, 171.
point device, exactly fitting, 155.
politic, politician, *passim*.
poll, fleece, plunder, 163.
poller, plunderer (i.e. biliff), 163.

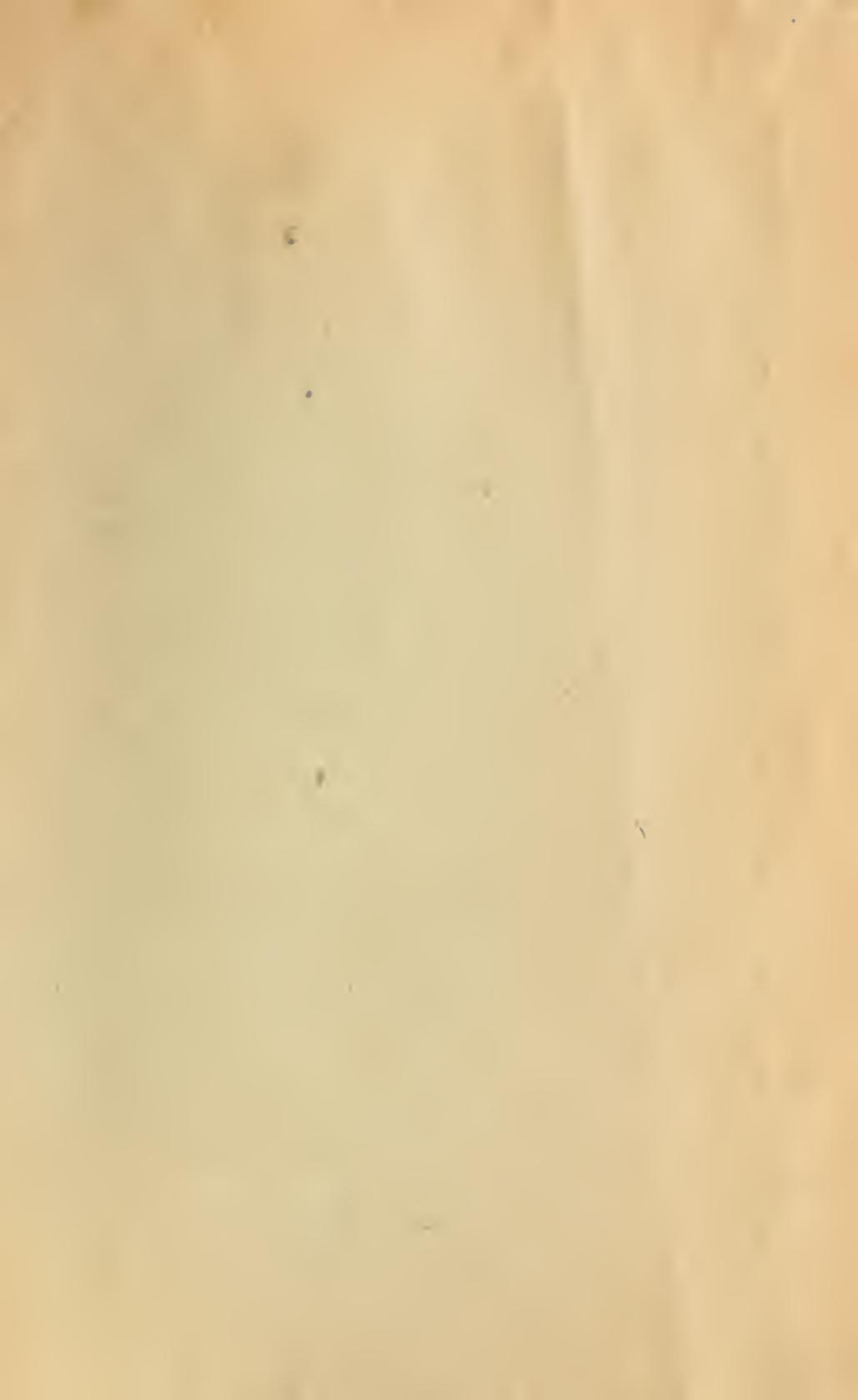
poser, examiner, 107.
practice, underhand dealing, *passim*.
preoccupate, anticipate, 22.
prescription, prescriptive right, reputation, 146.
present, message, 100.
pre-ently, immediately, 91, 128.
press, depress, 51.
prest, prompt, 101.
prick, p'ant, 66, 144.
principlal, initial, 116.
private, personal benefit, 109.
privateness, private life, retirement, 44.
proof, result, 34.
propriety, distinguishing character, 24.
prospectives, optical glasses, 84.
proyn, cultivate, 150.
purprise, enclosure, 163.
push, pimple, 156.
puzzle, preoccupation, 44.

Quarrel, reason, 36, 100.
quech, finch, 124.

Race, extent, scope, 164.
raspe, raspberry, 140.
real, natural, unaffected, 153.
rocamera, back-room, 138.
receipt, medicine, 87, 91; receptacle, 143.
reciproque, requited, mutual, 42.
referendary, referee, 149.
regard, in, because, 97.
regiment, regimen, regulation, 103.
reglement, regulation, 128.
resort, starting-point, source, 79.
rest, stake of a whole fortune, 102.
restiveness, obstinacy, 125.
return, wing (of a building), 136.

- ribes*, currant, 140.
rid, do, deal with, 99.
round, honest, 21; direct, 33.
- Sarza*, sarsaparilla (a drug), 87.
satyrian, a kind of orchid, 140.
scantling, limit, 160.
scope, aim, object, 100.
scraps pickings, 163.
scrivener, financial agent, 113.
second, secondary, inferior, 143.
security, freedom from anxiety, 29.
seeled, blinded by having the eyelids sewn together, 118.
seeling, panelling, 153.
sentence, terse epigrammatic saying, 22, 166.
sharing, partnership, 113.
shrewd, cursed, mischievous, 80.
slide, easy progress, 52, 126.
slope, sloping, 142.
slug, impediment, 123.
soap-ash, alkali, 110.
softly, slowly, 31, 54.
solecism, mistake, 67.
solution of continuity, cut, laceration, 23.
sort agree, harmonize, 30, 93, 123; associate, 34; result, 34, 87, 98; arrange, 135.
spang, spangle, 120.
spial, spy, 134.
staddle, young tree, 97.
stand, at a, at a loss, 19.
steal, do stealthily, 46.
stick, hesitate, 79, 160.
stirp, hereditary stock, 51.
stond, block, stoppage, 125, 151.
stove, grow in a hot-house, 139.
strait, narrow, precise, 155.
- suit*, sequence, 168.
surcharge, excessive number, 110.
- Tax*, blame, 45.
temperature, temperament, 33.
tender, needing delicate handling, 77, 145.
theatre, spectacle of things done, 44.
theologie, theologian, 156.
towardness, docility, 69.
toy, trifle, *passim*.
tract, movement of the features, 32.
transcendency, flight of imagination, 29.
treaty, treatise, 24.
trench to, touch upon, 164.
tribunitious, overbearing, 75.
turquet, Turkish dwarf, 121.
- Unready*, untrained, 131.
unsecreting, publication, 72.
ure, practice, 32.
use, interest, 123.
- Value*, recommend, 113.
vature, carriage, 53.
version, direction, 168.
vindictive, revengeful, 29.
virtuous, able, capable, 52.
vizor, mask, 121.
rotary, bound by a vow, 123.
vouch, cite, call in evidence, 24.
- Warden*, a kind of pear, 140.
welt, border, 142.
withe, withy, twig of osier, 124.
witty, ingenious, adroit, 25.
work, design, 137.
- Zealant*, zealot, enthusiast, 24.







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