March 26th 1839

In evening with my wife

Read the 24th Psalm.

"He shall light His torch of every man's candle."

Ps. 24.
Refuscitatio,
Or, Bringing into
PUBLIC LIGHT
SEVERALL PIECES,
OF THE WORKS,
Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological,
HITHERTO SLEEPING;
Of the Right Honourable
FRANCIS BACON
Baron of Vermam, Viscount Saint Alban.
According to the best Corrected COPPIES.
Together, With his Lordships LIFE.

By WILLIAM RAWLEY, Doctor in Divinity, His Lordships First, and Last, CHAPLEINE.
Afterwards, CHAPLEINE, to His late MAJESTY.

LONDON,
Printed by Sarah Griffin, for William Lee, and are to be sold at his Shop in Flete Street, at the sign of the Turke-head, near the Mitre Tavern, 1657.
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TO THE

READER.

Having been employed, as an Amansens, or daily instrument, to this Honourable Author; And acquainted with his Lordships Con- ceits, in the composing, of his Works, for many years together; Especially, in his writing Time; I conceived, that no Man, could pretend a better Interest, or Claim, to the ordering of them, after his Death, then myself. For which cause, I have compiled in one, whatsoever bears the true Stamp, of his Lordships excellent Genius; And hath hitherto slept, and been suppressed; In this present Volume; Not leaving any Thing, to a future Hand, which I found, to be of moment, and communicable to the Publick; Save onely some few Latine Works; Which, by Gods Favour and sufferance, shall soon after follow.

It is true, that for some of the Pieces, herein contained, his Lordship did not aim, at the Publication of them, but at the Preservation onely; And Prohibiting them from Perishing; So as, to have been reprosed, in some
The Epistle to the Reader.

some Private shrine, or Library: But now, for that, through the loose keeping, of his Lordships Papers, while he lived, divers Surreptitious Copies have been taken; which have since, employed the Press, with lunny Corrupt, and Mangled, Editions; whereby Nothing hath been more difficult, than to find the Lord Saint Alban, in the Lord Saint Alban; And which have presented, (some of them,) rather a Fardle of Non-sense, then any true Expressions, of his Lordships Happy Vein; I thought my self, in a sort, tied, to vindicate these Injuries, and wrongs, done to the Monuments, of his Lordships Penne; And at once, by setting forth, the true, and Genuine, writings themselves, to prevent the like Invasions, for the time to come. And the rather, in regard, of the Distance, of the time, since his Lordships Days; whereby, I shall not tread too near, upon the Heels of Truth; Or of the Passages, and Persons; then concerned, I was induced hereunto. Which, considering the Lubricity of Life; And for that, I account my self, to be; Not now in Vergentibus, but in Precipitamibus Annis, I was desirous to hasten.

Wherein, I shall crave leave, to open, my Counsels, and Purposes, as concerning this present Edition, in these five Particulars. First, I have ranked the severall Travels; Either, according to the Dignity, of the Work; as Demosthenes, or Cicero's, Orations, do precede Demosthenes, or Cicero's Epistles; Or else, according to the Series of the Times, wherein they were written; or to which, they refer. By which Means, they may give the better Light; the one Part, to the other.

Secondly, I thought it fitting, to intimate; That the Discourse, within contained; Entitled, A Collection, of the Felicitles, of Queen Elizabeth; was written, by his Lordship, in Latine onely: whereof, though his Lordship had his particular Ends, then; yet, in regard, that I held it a Duty, That her own Nation, over which she so happily reigned, for many years; should be
be acquainted, and possesed, with the Vertues, of that excellent Queen, as well as Forrein Nations; I was induced, many years agoe, to put the same, into the English Tongue; Not, Ad Verbum; For that had been but Flat, and Injudicious; But, (as far, as my flender Ability could reach,) according to the Expressions, which, I conceived; his Lordsip would have rendered it in, if he had written the same in English: Yet ever acknowledging, that Zeuxis, or Apelles, Pencill, could not be attained, but by Zeuxis, or Apelles, Himself. This Work, in the Latinie, his Lordsip so much affected; That He had ordained, by his last Will, and Testament, to have had it published, many years since: But that singular Person, entrusted therewith, soon after deceased. And therefore, it must now, expect a Time, to come forth, amongst his Lordsips, other Latin Works.

Thirdly, in the Collection of Letters; which is, as the Fourth Part, of this Volume; there are inserted some few, which were written, by other Penmen, and not by his Lordsips own: Like as we find, in the Epistolary Authors; Cicero, Plinius Secundus, and the rest: which because I found them inmixed, amongst his Lordsips Papers; And that they are written, with some similitude of Stile; I was loath, they should be left, to a Grave, at that time, when his Lordsips own Conceptions, were brought to life.

Fourthly, for that Treatise, of his Lordsips, Inscribed, A Confession of the Faith; I have ranked that, in the Close, of this whole Volume: Thereby, to demonstrate to the World; That he was a Master, in Divinity, as well as in Philosophy, or Politick; And that he was Vrrsed, no lesse, in the saving Knowledge; Than, in the Universal, and Adorning, Knowledges. For though, he compos'd the same, many years, before his Death, yet I thought that, to be the fitteast place; As the most acceptable Incense unto God, of the Faith, wherein he resigned his Breath; The Crowning, of all his other Per-

(b)
sections, and Abilities; And the best Perfume, of his Name, to the World, after his Death.

Lastly, if it be objected, that some few, of the Pieces, whereof this whole consiSteth, had visited the Publick Light before; It is true, that they had been obtruded, to the World, by unknown Hands; But with such Skars, and Blenishes, upon their Faces; That they could passe, but for a Spurious, and Adulterine Brood, and not for his Lordships Legitimate Issue: And the Publishers, and Printers, of them, deserve to have an Action, of Desolation, brought against them, by the State of Learning, for Disgracing, and Personating, his Lordships Works.

As for this present Collection, I doubt not, but that it will verifie it self, in the several Parcells thereof; And manifest, to all understanding, and unpartiall, Readers, who is the Author of it; By that Spirit, of Perkinsity, and Aptness, and Concisenesse, which runs through the whole Work; And is ever an Annex, of his Lordships Penne.

There is required now; And I have been moved by many; Both from Foreign Nations, and at Howe; who have held in Price, and been Admirers, of this Honourable Authors Conceits, and Apprehensions; That some Memorialls, might be added, concerning his Lordships Life; Wherein I have been more Willing, then sufficient, to satisfie their Requests: And to that End, have endeavoured, to contribute, not my Talent, but my Mite, in the next following Discourse; Though, to give the true Value, to his Lordships Worth; There were more need, of another Homer, to be the Trumpet, of Achilles Vertues.

WILLIAM RAWLEY.

THE
THE
LIFE
OF THE
HONOURABLE
AUTHOR.

FRANCIS BACON, the Glory, of 
his Age, and Nation; The Adorner, and 
Ornament, of Learning; Was born, in 
York House, or York Place, in the Strand; 
On the 22th Day of January; In the Year 
of our Lord, 1560. His Father, was that 
Famous Counsellor, to Queen Elizabeth; The Second 
Propp, of the Kingdom, in his Time; Sir Nicholas Bacon, 
Knight, Lord Keeper, of the Great Seal, of England; 
A Lord, of Known Prudence, Sufficiency, Moderation, and 
Integrity. His Mother, was Ann Cook, one of the Daugh-
ters, of Sir Anthony Cook; unto whom, the Erudition, of 
King Edward, the Sixth, had been committed: A choice 
Lady, and Eminent, for Piety, Vertue, and Learning; Being
exquisitely Skilled, for a Woman, in the Greek, and Latin, Tongues. These being the Parents, you may easily imagine, what the Issue was like to be; Having had, whatsoever, Nature, or Breeding, could put into Him.

His first, and childish, years, were not without some Mark of Eminency: At which Time, he was endued, with that Preg- nancy, and Towardness, of Wit; As they were Prelages, of that Deep, and Universal, Apprehension, which was mani- nifest in him, afterward: And caused him, to be taken notice of, by several Persons, of Worth, and Place; And, especially, by the Queen; who, (as I have been informed,) delighted much, then, to confer with him; And to prove him with Que- stions: unto whom, he delivered Himself, with that Gravity, and Maturity, above his years; That her Majesty, would of- ten term Him; The young Lord Keeper.

At the ordinary years, of Ripeness, for the university; or rather, something earlier; He was sent, by his Father, to Trinity College, in Cambridge; To be educated, and bred, under the Tuition, of Doctor John White-Gift, then Ma- ster of the College; Afterwards, the Renowned Arch-Bishop, of Canterbury; A Prelate, of the First Magnitude, for Sanctity, Learning, Patience, and Humility: Under whom, he was observed, to have been more, then an Ordinary Profi- cient, in the several Arts, and Sciences. Whilst he was con- morant, in the University, about 16. years of Age, (As his Lordship hath been pleased, to impart unto my Self:) he first fell, into the Dislike, of the Philosophy, of Aristotle: Not for the Worthlessness, of the Author, to whom he would ever ascribe, all High Attributes; But for the Unfruitful- ness, of the way; Being a Philosophy, (as his Lordship used to say,) only strong, for Disputations, and Contentions; But Barren, of the Production, of Works, for the Benefit, of the Life, of Man. In which Mind, he continued, to his Dying Day.

After he had passed, the Circle, of the Liberall Arts; His Father, thought fit, to frame, and mould him, for the Arts, of State: And, for that end, sent him over into France, with Sir
The Life of the Honourable Author.

Sir Amyas Paulet, then Employed Ambassadour Lieger, into France: By whom, he was, after a while, held fit to be entrusted, with some Message, or Advertisement, to the Queen: which having performed, with great Approbation, he returned back, into France again; With Intention, to continue, for some years, there. In his absence, in France, his Father, the Lord Keeper, died: Having collected, (as I have heard, of Knowing Persons,) a considerable summe of Money, which he had separated, with Intention, to have made a competent Purchase of Land, for the Lively-hood, of this his youngest Son; (who was only unprovided for; And though, he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest, in his Fathers Affection;) But the said Purchase, being unaccomplished, at his Fathers Death, there came no greater share to him, than his single Part, and Portion, of the Money, divideable amongst 5. Brethren: By which means, he lived, in some straits, and Necesities, in his younger years. For as for that pleasant Scite, and Mannour, of Gorhambury, he came not to it, till many years after, by the Death, of his Dearest Brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon; A Gentleman, equal to him, in Heighth of Wit; Though inferior to him, in the Endowments, of Learning, and Knowledge: Unto whom he was, most nearly, conjoin'd in Affection; They two, being the sole Male Issue, of a second Venter.

Being returned from Travaile, he applied himself, to the study, of the Common Law; which he took upon him, to be his Profession. In which, he obtained to great Excellency; Though he made that, (as himself said,) but as an Accessary, and not as his Principal study. He wrote, severall Tractates, upon that Subject. Wherein, though some great Maisters, of the Law, did out-go him, in Bulk, and Particularities of Cases; yet, in the Science, of the Grounds, and Mysteries, of the Law, he was exceeded by none. In this way, he was, after a while, sworn, of the Queens Counsell Learned, Extraordinary; A Grace, (if I err not,) scarce known before. He seated himself, for the Commodity, of his studies, and Practice; amongst the Honourable Society, of Greyes Inn;
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The Life of the Honourable Author.
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The Life of the Honourable Author.

It fell unto him. Which might be imputed; Not so much to her Majesties Averseness, or Disaffection, towards him; As to the Arts, and Policy, of a Great Staterman, then; who laboured, by all Industrious, and secret, Means, to suppress, and keep him down; Lest, if he had risen, he might have obscured his Glory.

But though, he stood long at a stay, in the Dayers, of his Mistress, Queen Elizabeth; Yet, after the change, and Coming in, of his New Master, King James, he made a great Progress; By whom, he was much comforted, in Places, of Trust, Honour, and Revenue. I have seen, a Letter, of his Lordships, to King James, wherein he makes Acknowledgment; That He was that Master to him, that had raised, and advanced him, nine times; Thrice in Dignity, and Six times, in Office. His Offices (as I conceive,) were; Counsell Learned Extraordinary, to his Majesty, as he had been, to Queen Elizabeth; Kings Solliciter General; His Majesties Attorney General; Counsellor of Estate, being yet but Attorney; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; Lastly, Lord Chancellor: Which two last Places, though they be the same, in Authority, and Power; yet the differ in Patent, Heigh, and Favour of the Prince: Since whose time, none of his Successors, did ever bear the Title, of Lord Chancellor. His Dignities were, first Knight; Then Baron of Verulam; Lastly, Viscount Saint Alban: Besides other good Gifts, and Bounties, of the Hand, which his Majesty gave him; Both out of the Broad Seal; And out of the Alienation Office.

Towards his Rising years, not before, he entered into a married Estate; And took to Wife, Alice, one of the Daughters, and Co-Heires, of Benedict Barnham, Esquire, and Alderman of London; with whom He received, a sufficiently ample, and liberal Portion, in Marriage. Children he had none; which though they be the Means, to perpetuate our Names, after our Deaths; yet he had other Issues, to perpetuate his Name; The Issues, of his Brain; In which he was e- ever happy, and admired; As Jupiter was, in the production of
The Life of the Honourable Author.

Neither did the want of Children, detract from his good usage, of his Confort, during the Intermarriage: whom he prosecuted, with much Conjugall Love, and Respect; with many Rich Gifts, and Endowments; Besides a Roab of Honour, which he invested her withall; which she wore, untill her Dying Day; Being twenty years, and more, after his Death.

The last five years of his Life, being with-drawn from Civill Affairs, and from an Active Life, he employed wholly, in Contemplation, and Studies. A Thing, whereof his Lordship would often speak, during his Active Life; As if he affected to dye in the Shadow, and not in the Light; which also, may be found, in severall Passages, of his Works. In which time, he composed, the greatest Part, of his Books, and Writings; Both in English, and Latin: Which I will enumerat, (as near as I can,) in the just Order, wherein they were written. The History, of the Reign, of King Henry, the Seventh: Abecedarium Naturæ; or A Metaphysicall Piece; which is lost: Historia Ventrorum: Historia vitae & Mortis: Historia Denfi, & Rari, not yet Printed: Historia Gravis, & Levis, which is also lost: A Discourse, of a War, with Spain: A Dialogue, Touching an Holy War: The Fable, of the New Atlantis: A Preface, to a Digest, of the Lawes of England: The Beginning, of the History, of the Reign, of King Henry, the Eighth: De Augmentis Scientiarum; Or the Advancement of Learning, put into Latin, with severall Enrichments, and Enlargements: Counfells Civill, and Morall; Or his Book of Eflayes, likewise, Enriched, and enlarged: The Conversion, of certain Psalmes, into English Verse. The Translation into Latin; of the History, of King Henry the Seventh; of the Counfells, Civill, and Morall; of the Dialogue, of the Holy War; of the Fable, of the New Atlantis; For the Benefit, of other Nations. His Revising, of his Book, De Sapientiæ Veterum: Inquisitio de Magnete; Topica Inquisitionis, de Luce, & Lumine; Both these, not yet Printed. Lastly, Sylva Sylvævarum, or the Naturall History. These were the Fruits.
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fruits, and Productions, of his last five years. His Lordship also designed, upon the Motion, and Invitation, of his late Majesty; To have written the Reign, of King Henry, the Eighth; But that Work Perished, in the Designation, meekly; God not lending him Life, to proceed further upon it, then only, in one Morning’s Work: Whereof there is Extant, An, Ex Ungue Leonem, already Printed, in his Lordship’s Miscellany Works.

There is a Commemoration due; As well, to his Abilities, and Virtues, as to the Course, of his Life. Those Abilities, which, commonly, go single, in other Men, though of prime, and Observable, Parts, were all conjoin’d, and met, in Him. Those are, Sharpness of Wit, Memory, Judgement, and Elocution. For the Former Three, his Books are abounding speak them; which, with what Sufficiency he wrote, let the World judge; But with what Celerity he wrote them, I can best testify. But for the Fourth, his Elocution; I will only set down, what I heard, Sir Walter Rauleigh, once speak of him, by way of Comparison; ( whose Judgement may well be trusted;) That the Earl of Salisbury, was an excellent Speaker, but no good Pen-man; That the Earl of Northampton, (the Lord Henry Howard,) was an excellent Pen-man, but no good Speaker; But that, Sir Francis Bacon, was Eminent in Both.

I have been induced to think; That if there were, a Beame of Knowledge, derived from God, upon any Man, in these Modern Times, it was upon Him. For though he was a great Reader of Books; yet he had not his Knowledge from Books; But from some Grounds, and Notions, from within Himself. Which, notwithstanding, he vented, with great Caution, and Circumspection. His Book, of Instauratio Magna, (which, in his own Account, was thechiepest, of his works,) was no Slight Imagination, or Fancy, of his Brain; But a Setled, and Concocted, Notion; The Production, of many years, Labour, and Travell. I my Self, have seen, at the least, Twelve Coppies, of the Instauration; Revised, year by

(c) year
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year, one after another; And every year altered, and amended, in the Frame thereof; Till, at last, it came to that Modell, in which it was committed to the Press: As many Living Creatures, do lick their young ones, till they bring them, to their strength of Limbs.

In the Composing of his Books, he did rather drive, at a Masculine, and clear, Expression, than at any Finenes, or Affectation, of Phrases: And would often ask, if the Meaning were expressed, plainly enough: As being one, that accounted words, to be but subservient, or Ministerial, to Matter; And not the Principall. And if his Stile were Polite, it was because he could do nootherwise. Neither was he given, to any Light Conceits; Or Descanting upon Words; But did ever, purposely, and industriously, avoid them; For he held such Things, to be but Digressions, or Diversions, from the Scope intended; And to derogate, from the Weight, and Dignity, of the Stile.

He was no Plodder upon Books; Though he read much; And that, with great Judgement, and Rejection of Impertinences, incident to many Authors: For he would ever interlace, a Moderate Relaxation, of His Minde, with his Studies; As Walking; Or Taking the Aire abroad in his Coach; or some other befitting Recreation: And yet, he would loose no Time, In as much, as upon his First, and Immediate Return, he would fall to Reading again: And so suffer, no Moment of Time, to Slip from him, without some present Improvement.

His Meales, were Reflections, of the Earc, as well as of the Stomack: Like the Noctes Atticae; or Convivia Deip- no-Sophistarum; Wherein, a Man might be refreshed, in his Minde, and understanding, no lesse, than in his Body. And I have known some, of no mean Parts, that have professed, to make use, of their Note-Books, when they have risen, from his Table. In which Conversations, and otherwise, he was no Dashing Man; As some Men are; But ever, a Countenancer, and Fosterer, of another Mans Parts. Neither was he one, that would appropriate the Speech, wholly to Himself.
The Life of the Honourable Author.

self; or delight to out-vie others; But leave a Liberty, to the Co-Assiessours, to take their Turns. Wherein he would draw a Man on, and allure him, to speak upon such a Subject, as wherein he was peculiarly Skillfull, and would delight to speak. And, for Himself, he contemned no Mans Observations; But would light his Torch, at every Mans Candle.

His Opinions, and Affertions, were, for the most part, Binding; And not contradicted, by any. Rather like Oracles, then Discourses. Which may be imputed, either to the well weighing of his Sentence, by the Scales, of Truth, and Reason; Or else, to the Reverence, and Estimation, wherein he was, commonly, had, that no Man would contest with him. So that, there was no Argumentation, or Pro and Con, (as they term it,) at his Table: Or if their chances, to be any, it was Carried, with much Submission, and Moderation.

I have often observed; And so have other Men, of great Account: That if he had occasion, to repeat, another Mans Words, after him; he had an use, and Faculty, to dress them, in better Vestments, and Apparel, then they had before: So that, the Author, should finde his own Speech much amended; And yet the Substance, of it, still retained. As if, it had been Natural to him, to use good Forms; As Ovid spake, of his Faculty, of Verifying;

Et quod tentabam Scribere, Verius erat.

When his Office, called him, as he was of the Kings Counsell Learned, to charge any Offenders, either in Criminals, or Capitals; He was never of an Insulting, or Domineering Nature, over them; But alwayes tender Hearted, and carrying himself decently towards the Parties; (Though it was his Duty, to charge them home:) But yet, as one, that looked upon the Example, with the Eye of Severity; But upon the Person, with the Eye, of Pity, and Compassion. And in Civill Business, as he was Counsellor of Estate, he had the best way of Advising; Not engaging his Mafter, in any Precipitate, or grievous, Course; But in Moderate, and Fair, Proceedings: The King, whom he served, giving him this Testimony; That he ever dealt, in Business, Suavibus (c 2) Modis;
The Life of the Honourable Author.

Modis; Which, was the way, that was most according to his own Heart.

Neither was He, in his time, less gracious with the Subject, than with his Sovereign: He was ever acceptable, to the House of Commons, when He was a Member thereof. Being the Kings Attorney, & chosen to a place, in Parliament; He was allowed, and dispensed with, to sit in the House; which was not permitted, to other Attorneys.

And as he was, a good Servant, to his Master; Being never, in 19 years Service, (as himself averred,) relinquet by the King, for any Thing, relating to his Majesty; So he was, a good Master, to his servants; And rewarded, their long Attendance, with good Places, freely, when they fell into his Power. Which was the Cause, that so many young Gentlemen, of Blood, and Quality; Sought to lift themselves, in his Retinue. And if he were abused, by any of them, in their Places; It was only the Errour, of the Goodness, of his Nature; But the Badges of their Indiscretions, and Intemperances.

This Lord was Religious: For though the World be apt, to suspect, and prejudice, Great Wits, and Politicks, to have somewhat, of the Atheist; Yet he was conversant with God: As appeareth, by several Passages, throughout the whole Current, of his Writings. Otherwise, he should have crossed, his own Principles; which were; That a little Philosophy, maketh Men apt, to forget God; As attributing too much, to Second Causes; But Depth of Philosophy, bringeth a Man back, to God again. Now, I am sure, there is no Man, that will deny him, or account otherwise of him, but to have been, a deep Philosopher. And not only so; But he was able, to render a Reason, of the Hope, which was in him; Which that Writing of his, of the Confession, of the Faith, doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently, when his Health would permit him, to the Service, of the Church; To hear Sermons; To the Administration, of the Sacrament, of the Blessed Body, and Blood, of Christ; And died, in the true Faith, established in the Church, of England.
The Life of the Honourable Author.

This is most true; He was free from Malice; which, (as he said Himself,) He never bred, nor fed. He was no Revenger of Injuries; which if he had minded, he bad both Opportunity, and Place High enough, to have done it. He was no Heaver of Men, out of their Places; As delighting, in their Ruine, and Undoing. He was no Defamer, of any Man, to his Prince. One Day, when a great States-Man, was newly Dead; That had not been his Friend; The King asked him; What he thought, of that Lord, which was gone? He answered; That he would not have made, his Majesties Estate better; But he was sure, he would have kept it, from being worse. Which was the worst, he would say of him. Which I reckon, not amongst his Marall, but his Christian, Vertues.

His Fame is greater, and sounds louder, in Forraign Parts, abroad, then at home, in his own Nation. Thereby verifying that Divine Sentence; A Prophet is not without Honour, have in his own Countrey, and in his own House. Concerning which, I will give you a Task only, out of a Letter, written from Italy, (The Store-House of Refined Witts,) to the late Earle of Devonshire; Then, the Lord Candish. I will expect the New Essayes, of my Lord Chancellor Bacon; As also his History, with a great deal of Desire; And whatsoever else, he shall compose. But in Particular, of his History, I promise my Self, a Thing perfect, and Singular; especially in Henry the Seventh; Where he may exercise, the Talent, of his Divine Understanding. This Lord is, more and more, known; And his Books here, more and more, delighted in; And those Men, that have more than ordinary Knowledge, in Humane Affaires, esteem him, one of the most capable Spirits, of this Age; And he is truly such. Now his Fame doth not decrease with Days since, but rather increase. Divers of his Works, have been, anciently, and yet lately translated, into other Tongues, both Learned, and Modern, by Forraign Pens! Several Persons of Quality, during his Lordships Life, crossed the Seas on purpose, to gain an
The Life of the Honourable Author.

ar Opportunity, of Seeing him, and Discoursing with him: whereof one, carried his Lordships Picture, from Head to Foot, over with Him, into France; As a Thing, which he foresaw, would be much desired there; That so they might enjoy, the Image of his Person; As well as the Images of his Brain, his Books. Amongst the rest, Marquis Fiat; A French Nobleman; who came Ambassadour into England, in the Beginning, of Queen Mary, Wife to King Charles; was taken, with an extraordinary Desire of Seeing him: For which, he made way, by a Friend: And when he came to him, being then, through weakness, confined to his Bed; The Marquis saluted him, with this High Expression; That his Lordship, had been ever to Him, like the Angels; of whom he had often heard; And read much of them in Books; But he never saw them. After which, they contracted an intimate Acquaintance; And the Marquis did so much reverence him; That besides his Frequent visits; They wrote Letters, one to the other, under the Titles, and Appellations, of Father, and Son. As for his many Salutations, by Letters, from Foreign Worthies, devoted to Learning; I forbear to mention them; Because that is a Thing, common to other Men, of Learning, or Note, together with him.

But yet, in this Matter of his Fame, I speak, in the Comparative, only, and not in the Exclusive. For his Reputation is great, in his own Nation, also; Especially amongst those, that are, of a more Acute, and sharper, Judgement: Which I will exemplifie, but with two Testimonies, and no more. The Former; When his History, of King Henry, the Seventh was to come forth; It was delivered, to the old Lord Brooke, to be perused by him; who when he had dispatched it, returned it to the Author, with this Eulogy: Commend me, to my Lord; And bid him take care, to get good Paper & Inke; For the Work is Incomparable. The other, shall be that, of Doctor Samuel Collins, late Provost, of Kings Colledge, in Cambridge; A Man of no vulgar Wit; who affirmed unto me; That when he had read, the Book of the Advancement of Learning; He found Himself;
The Life of the Honourable Author.

It hath been desired; That something should be signified, touching his Diet; And the Regiment, of his Health: Of which, in regard, of his Universal Insight, into Nature, he may, (perhaps,) be, to some, an Example. For his Diet: It was rather a plentiful, and liberal, Diet, as his Stomack would bear it, then a Restrained. Which he also commended, in his Book, of the History, of Life, and Death. In his younger years, he was much given, to the Finer, and Lighter, sort of Meats; As of Fowles, and such like: But afterward, when he grew more Judicious: He preferred the stronger Meats; such as the Shambles afforded; As those Meats, which bred the more firm, and substantial Juyces, of the Body; And lease Diffusable: upon which, he would often make his Meal; Though he had other Meats, upon the Table. You may be sure; He would not neglect that Himself, which He so much extolled, in his Writings; And that was the Use of Nitre: Whereof he took, in the Quantity, of about three Grains, in thin, warm, Broath, every Morning, for thirty years together, next before his Death. And for Physick, he did, indeed, live Physically, but not miserably: For he took only, a Maceration of Rhubarb; Infused into a Draught of White Wine, and Beer, mingled together, for the Space of half an Hour; Once in six, or seven Dayes; Immediately before his Meal, (whether Dinner, or Supper,) that it might dry, the Body, lese which, (as he said,) did carry away frequently, the Grooser Humours, of the Body; And not diminish, or carry away, any of the Spirits; As Sweating doth. And this was no Grieuous Thing to take. As for other Physick, in an ordinary way, (whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken;) he took not. His Receit, for the Gout; which did, constantly, ease him of his Pain, within two Hours, Is already set down, in the End, of the Natural History.

It may seem, the Moon, had some Principall Place, in the Figure, of his Nativity. For the Moon, was never in her Passion, or Eclipsed, but he was surprized, with a sudden Fit,
The Life of the Honourable Author.

Fit, of Fainting: And that, though he observed not, nor took any previous Knowledge, of the Eclipse thereof: And soon as the Eclipse ceased, he was restored, to his former Strength again.

He died, on the 9th. Day of April, in the year 1626; In the early Morning, of the Day, then celebrated, for our Saviour's Resurrection; In the 66th. year of his Age; At the Earle of Arundells Houfe, in High-gate, near London; To which Place, he casually repaired, about a week before; God so ordaining, that he should dye there: Of a Gentle Feaver, accidentally accompanied, with a great Cold; whereby the Defluxion of Rheume, fell so plentifully upon his Breast, that he dyed by Suffocation: And was buried, in Saint Michael's Church, at Saint Albans; Being the Place, designed for his Euriall, by his last Will, and Testament; Both because, the Body, of his Mother, was interred there; And because, it was the onely Church, then remaining, within the Precincts, of old Verulam: Where he hath a Monument, erected for him, of White Marble; (By the Care, and Gratitude, of Sir Thomas Meautys, Knight, formerly his Lordship's Secretary; Afterwards Clerk, of the Kings Honourable Privy Council, under two Kings:) Representing his full Portraiture, in the Posture, of studying; with an Inscription, composed, by that Accomplisht Gentleman, and Rare Wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

But howsoever, his Body, was Mortall; yet, no doubt, his Memory, and Works, will live; And will, in all probability, last, as long as the World lasteth. In order to which, I have endeavoured, (after my poor Ability,) to do this Honour, to his Lordship, by way, of conducing to the same.

SPEECHES
SPEECHES
IN
Parliament,
STAR-CHAMBER,
Kings Bench,
CHANCERY,
AND
OTHER-WHERE,
Of the Right Honourable
FRANCIS BACON,
Baron of Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban.

LONDON,
Printed by Sarah Griffin, for William Lee, and are to be sold at
his Shop in Fleetstreet, at the sign of the Turks-head, near
the Mitre Tavern, 1657.
A

SPEECH

IN

PARLIAMENT,

Elizabeth 39.

UPON THE

MOTION of SUBSIDY.

AND please you, (Mr. Speaker,) I must consider the time, which is spent; yet so, as I must consider also the matter, which is great. This great cause was, at the first, so materially, and weightily, propounded; and after, in such sort persuaded, and enforced; And by Him, that last spake, so much time taken, and yet to good purpose; As I shall speak at a great disadvantage: But because it hath been always used, and the mixture of this house doth so require it; That in causes of this nature, there be some speech and opinion, as well from persons of generality, as by persons of authority; I will say somewhat, and not much; wherein it shall not be fit for me, to enter into, or to insist, upon secrets, either of her Majesties coffers, or of her Council, but my speech must be, of a more vulgar nature. I will not enter (Mr. Speaker) into a laudative speech, of the high and singular benefits, which, by her Majesties most politick, and happy Government, we receive, thereby to incite you to a
A Speech in Parliament.

Retribution; partly, because no breath of Man, can set them forth worthily; and partly, because I know her Majesty, in her Magnanimity, doth bestow her benefits, like her free Patents, dunque aliqua inde reeddendo; Not looking for any thing again, (if it were in respect only of her particular,) but Love, and Loyalty. Neither, will I now, at this time, put the case of this Realm of England, too precisely; How it standeth with the Subject, in point of payments to the Crown; Though I could make it appear by Demonstration, (what opinion ever be conceived,) that never Subjects were partakers of greater Freedome, and Ease; And that, whether you look abroad, into other Countries, at this present time; or look back to former Times, in our own Country; we shall find an exceeding Difference, in matter of Taxes; which now I reserve to mention; not so much in doubt to acquaint your Ears with Foreign Strains, or to digge up the Sepulchers of Buried and Forgotten Impostions, which in this case, (as by way of Comparison,) it is necessary you understand; But because Speech in the House, is set to perswade the general point; And particularity is more proper and reasonable for the Committee. Neither will I make any Observations, upon her Majesty's manner of expenditure and influing Treasure; being not upon excessive and exorbitant Donatives; nor upon sumptuous and unnecessary Triumphs, Buildings, or like Magnificence; but upon the Preservation, Protection, and Honour of the Realm. For I dare not scan upon her Majesty's Actions; which it becometh me, rather to admire in silence, then to glos, or discourse upon them, though with never so good a meaning. Sure I am, that the Treasure that commeth from you to her Majesty, is but as a Vapour, which riseth from the Earth, and gathereth into a Cloud, and stayeth not there long; but upon the same Earth it falleth again; and what if some drops of this, do fall upon France, or Flanders? It is like a sweet Odour of Honour, and Reputation, to our Nation throughout the World. But I will onely insist upon the Natural, and Inviolate, Law of Preservation.

It is a Truth, (Mr. Speaker,) and a familiar Truth, that safety, and preseruation, is to be preferred before Benefit, or Encrease: In as much as those Counsels which tend to preservation, seem to be attended with necessity; whereas those Deliberations, which tend to Benefit, seem only accompanied with persuasio. And it is ever gain, and no loss, when at the foot of the account, there remains the purchase of safety. The Prints of this are, everywhere, to be found: The Patient, will ever part, with some of his Blood, to save and clear the rest. The Sea-faring Man will, in a Storm, cast over some of his Goods, to save and assure the rest. The Husband-man will afford some Foot of Ground, for his Hedge and Ditch, to fortifie and defend the rest. Why (Mr. Speaker) the Disputer will, if he be wife, and cunning,
grant somewhat, that seemeth to make against him, because he will keep himself within the strength of his opinion, and the better maintain the rest. But this Place advertiteth me, not to handle the Matter, in a Common Place. I will now deliver unto you that, which upon a *probatum effe*, hath wrought upon my self, knowing your Affections to be like mine own. There hath fallen out, since the last Parliament, four Accidents or Occurrences of State; Things published and known to you all, by every one whereof, it seemeth to me, in my vulgar understanding, that the danger of this *realm* is encreased: Which I speak not, by way of apprehending fear; For I know, I speak to English Courages; But by way of prefixed Provision; For I do find, (Mr. Speaker,) that when Kingdoms and States are entred into T'arms and Resolutions of Hostility, one against the other, yet they are, many times, restrained from their Attempts, by four Impediments.

The first is by this same *Alind agere*, when they have their Hands full of other Matters, which they have embraced, and serveth for a diversion of their Hostile purposes.

The next is, when they want the Commodity, or opportunity, of some places of near Approach.

The third, when they have conceived an apprehension of the Difficulty, and churlishness of the enterprise, and that it is not prepared to their Hand.

And the fourth is, when a *State*, through the Age of the Monarch, groweth heavy, and indigested, to actions of great Perill, and Motion, and this dull Humour, is not sharpened, nor inflamed, by any provocations, or scorns. Now if it please you to examine, whither by removing the Impediments in these four kinds, the Danger be not grown, so many degrees nearer us, by accidents (as I said) fresh, and all dated since the last Parliament.

Soon after the last Parliament, you may be pleased to remember, how the French King revolted from his Religion; whereby every Man of common understanding, may infer, that the Quarrell between France, and Spain, is more reconcileable; And a greater inclination of affairs to a peace than before: which supposed, it followeth, Spain shall be more free, to intend his Malice, against this Realm.

Since the last Parliament, it is also notorious, in every mans knowledge, and remembrance; That the Spaniards have poffefed themselves, of that Avenue, and place of approach, for England, which was never in the Hands of any King of Spain before; And that is Calais; which, in true Reason, and Consideration of estate, of what value or service it is, I know not; but in common understanding, it is a knocking at our Doors.

Since the last Parliament also, that Ulcer of Ireland, which indeed brake forth before, hath run on, and raged more: which cannot but be a great Attractive, to the Ambition, of the Council.
of Spain, who by former experience know, of how tough a Complexion, this Realm of England is, to be affailed: And therefore (as Rheumes, and Fluxes, of Humours,) is like to refer to that part, which is weak, and distempered.

And lastly, it is famous now, and so will be many Ages hence, how by these two Sea-Journies, we have braved him, and objected him to scorn: so that no Blood, can be so frozen, or mortified, but must needs take Flames of Revenge, upon so mighty Disgrace.

So as this Concurrence of Occurrences, all since our last Assembly; some to deliver, and free, our Enemies; some to advance, and bring him, on his way; some to tempt, and allure him; some to spur on, and provoke him; cannot but threaten, an encrease of our Perill, in great Proportion.

Lastly, (Mr. Speaker,) I will but reduce to the Memory of this House, one other Argument, for ample and large providing, and supplying Treasure; And this it is.

I see, Men do with great Alacrity, and Spirit, proceed, when they have obtained a course, they long wished for, and were restrained from. My self can remember, both in this Honourable Assembly, and in all other places of this Realm, how forward, and affectionate, men were, to have an Invasive War. Then we would say; A Defensive War, was like eating, and consuming Interest; And needs we would be Adventurers, and Assaultants. Habes quod tota mente petisti. Shall we not now make it good? especially, when we have tasted, so prosperous Fruit, of our Desires?

The first of these Expeditions Invasive, was achieved with great Felicity; ravished a strong and famous Port, in the Lap, and Bosome, of their high Countries; Brought them to such Despair, as they fired themselves, and their Indian Fleet; in Sacrifice, as a good Oudour unto God, for the great and Barbarous Cruelties, which they have committed, upon the poor Indians, whither that Fleet was sayling; Difordred their Reckonings; so as the next News we heard of, was nothing but proftecting of Bills, and Breaking credit.

The second Journey, was, with notable Resolution, born up against Weather, and all Difficulties; And besides the success, in amusing him, and putting him to infinite charge, sure I am, it was like a Tartar, or Parthian Bow, which shoteth backward; And had, a most strong, and violent effect, and Operation, both in France and Flanders, so that our Neighbours, and Confedraters, have receated the Harvest of it; And while the Life Blood of Spain, went inward to the Heart, the outward Limmes, and Members trembled, and could not resist. And lastly, we have a perfect account, of all the Noble, and good Blood, that was carried forth; And of all our Sea-walls, and good Shipping without Mortality of Persons, wreck of Vessels, or any manner of Diminution.
minution. And these have been the happy Effects, of our, so long, and so much desired, Invasive War.

To conclude (Mr. Speaker) therefore I doubt not, but every Man will confess, that our Gift must bear, these two Marks, and Badges: The one, of the Danger, of the Realm, by so great a Proportion, since the last Parliament, increased: The other, of the satisfaction we receive, in having obtained, our so earnest, and ardent Desire, of an Invasive War.

A Speech made by Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight, chosen by the Commons, to present a Petition, touching Purveyors, delivered to his Majesty, in the with-draw ing Chamber, at White-Hall, in the Parliament, held the first Session.

It is well known, to your Majesty, (excellent King) that the Emperors of Rome, for their better Glory, and Ornament, did use in their Titles, the Additions of the Countries and Nations, where they had obtained victories: As Germanicus, Britannicus, & the like: But after all those Names, as in the higher place, followed the Name of Pater Patriae, as the greatest Name of all human Honour, immediately preceding that Name of Augustus; whereby they took themselves, to express some Affinity, that they had, (in respect of their Office,) with Divine Honour. Your Majesty mought, with good reason, assume to yourself, many of those other Names: As, Germanicus, Saxonius, Britannicus, Francicus, Danicus, Gothicus, and others, as appertaining to you; Not by Bloud-hed, (as they bare them,) but by Bloud: your Majesty's Royall Person, being a noble confluence, of streams, and veynes, wherein the Royall Bloud of many Kingdoms of Europe, are met, and united. But no Name is more worthy of you, nor may more truly be ascribed unto you, than that Name, of Father of your people, which you bear, and express, not in the Formality of your Title, but in the real Course of your Government. We ought not to lay unto you, as was said to Cesar Julius; Que miramur, habemus, quaelaudamus, exspectamus: That we have already, wherefore to admire you. And that now we expect somewhat, for which to commend you. For we may, (without suspicion of Flattery) acknowledge, that we have found in your Majesty, great Cause, both of Admiration, and Commendation. For great is the Admiration, therewith you have possesled us, since this Parliament began, in those two Causes, wherein we have had acceffe unto you, and heard your Voice: That of the return of Sr. Francis Goodwin; And that of the Union: Whereby it seemeth unto us, The one of these, being so subtile a Question of
of Law; And the other, so high a Cause of Estate; That, as the Scripture saith, of the wisest King; That his Heart was as the Sands of the Sea; which, though it be one of the largest, and vastest Bodies, yet it consisteth, of the smallest Moats, and Portions. So (I say) it appeareth unto us, in these two examples, that God hath given your Majesty a rare sufficiency, both to compass, and fathom, the greatest matters, and to discern the least. And for matter of Præcie, and Commendation, which chiefly belongeth to Goodness, we cannot but with great thankfulness profess; That your Majesty, within the Circle of one Year, of your Reign, (infra Orbem Annorum Fortentis) hath endeavoured, to unite your Church, which was divided; To supply your Nobility, which was diminished; And to ease your People, in Cases, where they were burthened, and oppressed.

In the last of these, your high Merits; That is the Ease, and Comfort, of your People; Doth fall out to be comprehended, the Message, which I now bring unto your Majesty, concerning the great Grievance, arising, by the manifold Abuses, of Taxgivers; Differing, in some Degree, from most of the things, wherein we deal, and consult; For it is true, that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, are a Representative Body, of your Commons, and Third Estate: And in many matters, although we apply our selves, to perform the truth, of those that choose us; yet, it may be, we do speak much, out of our own Sense, and Discourses. But in this Grievance, being of that Nature, whereunto the poor People is most exposed, and Men of Quality least; we shall most humbly desire your Majesty, to conceive, That your Majesty, doth not hear, our Opinions, or Senses, but the very Groans, and Complaints themselves, of your Commons, more truly, and vively, then by Representation. For there is no Grievance, in your Kingdom, so general, so continual, so sensible, and so bitter unto the common Subject, as this whereof we now speak. Wherein, it may please your Majesty, to vouchsafe me leave; First, to set forth unto you, the dutifull, and respective Carriage, of our proceeding; Next the Subsistence of our Petition; And Thirdly, some Reasons and Motives, which, in all Humbleness, we do offer to your Majesty, Royall Confederation, or Commiffion: as flattering our selves, that never King reign'd, that had better Notions of Head, and Motions of Heart, for the Good, and Comfort, of his loving Subjects.

For the first; In the Course of Remedy, which we desire, we pretend not, nor intend not, in any fort, to derogate from your Majesty's Prerogative; Nor to touch, diminish, or question, any your Majesty's Realities, or Rights. For we seek nothing, but the Reformation of Abuses, and the Execution of former Laws, whereunto we are born. And although, it be not strange Thing in Parliament, for new Abuses, to crave new Remedies; ye nevertheless in these Abuses, (which, if not in Nature, yet in extremi-
Of the Houses concerning Purveyors.

ty, and Heighth of them, are most of them new) we content our selves with the old Laws: Oneley we desire a Confirmation, and Quickening of them, in their Execution; So far are we, from any Humour of Innovation, or Incroachment.

As to the Court, of the Green-Cloth, ordained, for the Provision, of your Majesties most Honourable Houfhold, we hold it Ancient, we hold it Reverent. Other Courts respect your Politick Person, but that respects your Natural Person. But yet notwithstanding, (most Excellent King,) to use that Freedom, which to Subjects, that pour out their Griefs before so gracious a King, is allowable, we may very well alledge unto your Majestie, a Comparison, or Similitude, used by one of the Fathers, in another Matter: And not unifitly representing, our Cafe, in this point: And it is of the Leaves, and Roots, of Nettles. The Leaves, are venemous, and stinging, where they touch: The Root is not so, but is without Venome, or Malignity: And yet it is that Root, that bears, and supports, all the Leaves.

To come now, to the substance, of our Petition. It is no other, then by the Benefit of your Majesties Laws, to be relieved, of the Abuses, of Purveyors; Which Abuses, do naturally divide themselves, into three forts. The firft, they take in Kind, that they ought not to take. The second, they take in Quantity, a far greater proportion, then commeth to your Majesties Life. The Third, they take in an unlawfull manner: In a manner, (I say,) directly, and expressly, prohibited, by divers Laws.

For the Firft of thefe; I am a little to alter their Name. For instead of Takers, they become Taxers: Instead of taking Provision for your Majesties service, they tax your people, ad redimendum vacactionem: Imposing upon them, and extorting from them, divers sums of Money, sometimes in gros, sometimes in the nature of Stipends annually paid, Nemo nemi, to be freed, and eafe d, of their oppression. Again, they take Trees, which by Law they cannot do; Timber-Trees, which are the Beauty, Countenance, and Shelter, of Mens Houfes; That Men have long spared, from their own purse, and profit; That Men esteem, (for their use, and delight,) above ten times the value: That are a Lofs, which Men cannot repair, or recover. These do they take, to the Defacing, and Spoyling, of your Subjects Mansions, and Dwellings; Except they may be compounded with, to their own Appetites. And if a Gentleman, be too hard for them, while he is at home; They will watch their time, when there is but a Bayliffe, or a Servant, remaining, And put the Axe to the Root of the Tree, ere ever the Master can stop it. Again they use a strange, and most unjust, Excition; In causing the Subjects, to pay Poundage, of their own Debts, due from your Majesty unto them: So as a poor Man, when he hath had his Hay, or his Wood, or his Poultry, (which, perchance, he was full loath to part with,) and had, for the Provision, of his own Family, and not, to put to Sale,) taken from
A Speech to King James, at his presenting the Petition

from him; And that not at a just Price, but under the value; And commeth to receive his Mony, he shall have, after the rate, of 12. pence in the Pound, abated, for Poundage, of his due Payment, upon so hard Conditions. Nay further, they are grown to that extremity, (as is affirmed,) though it be scarce credible; save that in such Persons, all things are Credible: that they will take double Poundage; Once when the Deponent is made; And again the second time, when the Money is paid.

For the second Point, (most Gracious Sovereign,) touching the Quantity which they take, far above that which is answer'd to your Majesties use, they are the only Multipliers in the world: They have the Art of Multiplication: For it is affirmed unto me, by divers Gentlemen, of good report, and Experience, in these Causes, as a Matter, which I may safely avouch, before your Majesties, (To whom we owe all Truth, as well of Information, as Subjection;) That there is no Pound Profit, which redoundeth to your Majesties, in this Course: But induceth, and begetteth, three Pound damage upon your Subjects; Besides the Discontentment. And to the end, they may make their Spoil, more securely, what do they? whereas divers Statutes, do stricly provide, that whatsoever they take, shall be registred, and attested; To the end, that by making a Collation, Of that which is taken from the Countrey, and that which is answer'd above, their Deceits might appear; They, to the end, to obscure their Deceits, utterly omit the Observation of this, which the Law preferibeth.

And therefore to descend, if it may please your Majesties, to the Third sort of Abuses which is of the unlawful Manner of their Taking, whereof this Question is a Branch; It is so manifold, as it rather asketh an Enumeration, of some of the Particulars, then a Prosecution of all. For their Price: By Law they ought to take, as they can agree with the Subject; By Abuse they take, at an imposed, and enforced, Price: By Law, they ought to make, but one Aprizement, by Neighbours, in the Countrey; By Abuse, they make a second Aprizement at the Court Gate: And when the Subject's Cattell, come up, many Miles, lean, and out of Plight, by reason of their Travell, then they prize them anew, at an abated price: By Law, they ought to take, between Sun and Sun; By Abuse, they take by Twilight, and in the Night time, A Time well chosen for Malefactors: By Law, they ought not to take in the High ways, (A place, by your Majesties high prerogative, protected; And by Statute, by speciall words, excepted;) By Abuse, they take in the ways, in Contempt of your Majesties prerogative, and Laws: By Law, they ought to shew their Commission; And the Form of Commission, is, by Law set down: The Commissions, they bring down, are against the Law; And because, they know so much, they will not shew them. A number of other particulars there are, whereof, (as I have given your Majesties,)
of the House concerning Purveyors.

Majesty a Taft, so the chief of them, upon deliberate Advice, are set down in writing, by the Labour of certain Committees, and approbation of the whole House, more particularly, and lively, than I can express them; My self having them at the second hand, by reason of my Absence above. But this writing, is a Collection of theirs, who dwell amongst the Abuses of these offenders, and Complaints of the People: And therefore, must needs have, a more perfect understanding, of all the Circumstances of them.

It remaineth only, that I use a few words, the rather, to move your Majesty, in this cause. A few words, (I say,) a very few, For neither need so great Enormities any aggravating: Neither needeth so great Grace, as uieith of itself, to flow from your Majesty's Princely Goodness, any Artificial persuading. There be two Things only, which I think good, to set before your Majesty. The one, the Example, of your most Noble Progeniours, Kings of this Realm: who from the First King, that endowed this Kingdom, with the Great Charters of their Liberties, until the last, have ordained, most of them, in their several Raignes, some Laws, or Law against this kind of Offenders: And specially the Example of one of them, That King, who for his Greatness, Wisdom, Glory, and Union of several Kingdoms, resembled your Majesty most, both in Vertue, and Fortune, King Edward the Third; who, in his time only, made ten several Laws, against this Mischief. The second, is the Example, of God himself; who hath said and pronounced; That he will not hold them guilty, that take his Name in vain. For all these great Misdemeanours, are committed, in, and under your Majesty's Name. And therefore we hope your Majesty, will hold them twice guilty, that commit these offences: Once for the Oppressing, of the People: And once more, for doing it, under the Colour, and abuse, of your Majesty's most dreaded, and beloved Name. So then, I will conclude, with the saying of Pindarus; Optimus Res Aqua: Not for the Excellency, but for the Common use of it: And so contrary-wise, the Matter of Abuse of Purveyance, (if it be not the most hainous Abuse,) yet certainly, it is the most common, and general; Abuse, of all others, in this Kingdom.

It reflecteth, that according to the Command laid upon me, I do, in all Humbleness, present this writing, to your Majesty's Royal Hands; with most humble Petition, on the Behalf of the Commons: That, as your Majesty hath been pleased, to vouchsafe, your Gracious Audience, to hear me speak: So you would be pleased, to enlarge your Patience, to hear this writing read, which is more Material.
A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon in the Lower House of Parliament, 155. Jacobi, concerning the Article, of general Naturalization, of the Scottifh Nation.

It may please you, (Mr. Speaker,) Preface will I use none, but put my Self, upon your good Opinions, to which I have been accustomed beyond my Deservings. Neither will I hold you in suspense, what way I will choose; But now, at the first, declare my Self, that I mean to counfell the Houfe, to naturalize the Nation. Wherein, nevertheless, I have a request to make unto you; which is of more Efficacy, to the purpofe, I have in Hand, then all that I shall say afterwards. And it is the fame, which Democritus did, more then once, in great Caufes of Eftate, make to the People of Athens; Ut cum Calculis Suffragiorum, jument Magnanimitateam Reip. That when they took into their Hands, the Balls, whereby to give their Voices, (according as the manner of them was, They would raise their Thoughts, and lay aside those Considerations, which their private Vocations, and Degrees, mought minifter, and reprefent unto them: And would take upon them, Cogitations, and Minds, agreeable to the Dignity, and Honour, of the Eftate.

For, Mr. Speaker, as it was aptly, and sharply faid, by Alexander, to Parmenio, when upon the Recital, of the great offers, which Darius made, Parmenio faid unto him, I would accept these offers, were I as Alexander: He Turned it upon him again; So would I, (faith he,) were I as Parmenio. So, in this caufe, if an honest English Merchant, (I do not fingle out that State, in disgrace; For this Island ever held it Honourable, But onely for an Instance, of a private profeflion:) If an English Merchant should fay, Surely I would proceed no further in the union, were I as the King: It mought be reafonably anfwered; No more would the King, were he as an English Merchant. And the like may be faid of a Gentleman of the Country, he never fo worthy, and fufficient; Or of a Lawyer, he never fo wise, and learned; Or of any other particular Condition, in this Kingdom. For certainly, Mr. Speaker, if a Man shall be onely, or chiefly, fensible, of thofe Refpects, which his particular Vocacion, and Degree, shall fuggéft, and infufe, into him; And not enter into true, and worthy Considerations, of Eftate, he fhall never be able aright to give Counfell, or take Counfell, in this Matter. So that if this Refeaf be granted, I account the Caufe obtained.

But to proceed to the Matter it Self. All Consultations, do reft, upon Questions Comparative. For when a Quefition is, De vero, it is simple. For there is but one Truth: But when a Quefition is De bono, it is for the moft part Comparative: For there be differing
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Differing Degrees, of Good, and Evil; And the best, of the Good, is to be preferred, and chosen; And the worst, of the Evil, is to be declined, and avoided. And therefore, in a Question of this Nature, you may not look for Answers, proper to every Inconvenience, alleged: For somewhat that cannot be specially answered, may, nevertheless, be encountered, and over-weighed, by matter of greater moment. And therefore the Matter, which I shall set forth unto you, will naturally receive this Distribution of three parts.

First, an Answer, unto those Inconveniences, which have been alleged, to ensue, if we should give way to this Naturalization: which, I suppose, you will find, not to be so great, as they have been made: But that much Dross, is put into the Ballance, to help to make weight.

Secondly, an Encounter against the Remain, of those Inconveniences, which cannot properly be answered; By much greater Inconveniences, which we shall incur, if we do not proceed, to this Naturalization.

Thirdly, an Encounter likewise, but of another Nature; That is, by the gain, and benefit, which we shall draw, and purchase to our selves, by proceeding to this Naturalization: And yet to avoid Confusion, which every more followeth of too much Generality, it is necessary for me, before I proceed to perswasion, to use some Distribution of the Points, or Parts of Naturalization: Which certainly can be no better, nor none other, than the ancient Distribution, of Jus Civitatis, Jus Suffragii, vel Tribus, and Petitionis, Sue Honorum. For all Ability, and Capacity, is either of private Interest, of Mens & Tham, or of publick Service. And the publick conflicteth chiefly, either in Voice, or in Office. Now it is the First of these, Mr. Speaker, that I will onely handle at this Time, and in this Place; And reserve the other two, for a Committee; Because they receive, more Diminution, and Restriction.

To come therefore, to the Inconveniences, alleged on the other part. The first of them is, that there may ensue of this Naturalization, a surcharge of people upon this Realm of England, which is supposed already, to have the full charge, and content: & therefore, there cannot be an admission of the adoptive, without a Diminution, of the Fortunes, and Conditions, of those that are Native Subjects of this Realm. A grave Objection, Mr. Speaker, and very dutifull: For it proceedeth not, of any unkindnes, to the Scottish Nation, but of a Natural Faintheart to our selves. For that Answer of the Virgin; Ne forte non sufficiat Vobis & Nobis, proceeded, not out of any Envy, or malign humour, but out of providence, and that originall charity, which begins with our selves. And I must confess, Mr. Speaker, that, as the Gentleman said, when Abr. Banet, and Lot, in regard of the Greatnes of their Families, grew pent, and straitened; it is true, that (Brethren though...
they were) they grew to difference, and to those words; *Vade in ad Dextram,* &c. *ego ad Simfram,* &c. But certainly, I should never have brought that Example on that side, For we see what followed of it; How that this Separation, *ad Dextram,* and *ad Simfram,* caus'd the miserable Captivity of the one Brother, and the Dangerous, though prosperous War, of the other, for his Refuge, and Recovery.

But to this Objection, Mr. Speaker, being so weighty, and so principall, I mean to give three leverall Answers; every one of them, being, to mine understanding, by it self sufficient.

The first is, that this Opinion, of the Numbers, of the Scottifh Nation, that should be likely, to plant themselves, here amongst us, will be found, to be a Thing, rather in Conceit, then in Event. For (Mr. Speaker) you shall find these plausible Similitudes, of a Tree, that will thrive the better, if it be removed in to the more fruitfull Soil! And of Sheep, or Cattell, that, if they find a Gap, or passage open, will leave the more barren Pasture, and get into the more rich and plentiful; To be but Arguments, meerly superficially, and to have no sound Refemblance, with the Transplanting, or Transferrring of Families. For the Tree, we know, by nature, as soon as it is set in the better Ground, can fasten upon it, and take Nutriment from it: And a sheep, as soon as he gets into the better Pasture, what should let him to graze, and feed? But there longeth more, (I take it,) to a Family, or particular Person, that shall remove, from one Nation, to another. For if (Mr. Speaker) they have not Stock, Means, Acquaintance and Cuftome, Habitation, Trades, Countenance, and the like; I hope, you doubt not, but they will starve, in the midst, of the rich Pasture; And are far enough off, from grazing, at their pleasure. And therefore, in this Point, which is conjectural, Experience is the best Guide: For the Time past, is a Pattern, of the Time to come. I think, no Man doubteth, Mr. Speaker, but his Majesties first coming in, was as the greatest Spring-tide, for the Confluence, and Entrance, of that Nation. Now I would fain understand, in these four years space, and in the fulness, and Strength, of the Current, and Tide, how many Families, of the Scottifh Men, are planted, in the Cities, Enrrougbs, and Towns, of this kingdom? For I do allure myfelf, that more then some Persons of Quality, about his Majesties Perfon, here at the Court, and in London, And some other infeurior Perions, that have a Dependency upon them; The Return and Certificate, if such a Survey, should be made, would be, of a Number, extremely small. I report me, to all your private knowledges, of the places, where you inhabit.

Now (Mr. Speaker,) as I said; *Si in Ligno viridi ita fit, quid sit in arido?* I am sure there will be no more such Spring-Tides. But you will tell me, of a multitude of Families, of the Scottifh Nation, in Polonia: And if they multiply, in a Country, so far off, how much
much more here at hand? For that (Mr. Speaker) you must impute it, of necessity, to some special Accident, of Time, and place, that drew them thither. For you see, plainly, before your eyes, that in Germany, which is much nearer; and in France, where they are invited with privileges, and with this very privilege, of Naturalization, yet no such Number can be found. So as it cannot be, either nearness of place, or privilege of Person, that is the Cause. But shall I tell you (Mr. Speaker) what I think: Of all the places in the world, near or far of, they will never take, that course of life, in this Kingdom, which they content themselves with, in Poland. For we see it, to be the Nature of all men, that they will rather discover Poverty abroad, than at home. There is never a Gentleman, that hath overreached himself in Expence, and thereby must abate his Countenance, but he will rather travel, and do it abroad, than at home. And we know well, they have good high Stomachs, and have ever flood, in some terms, and Emulation, with us; And therefore they will never live here, except they can live in good fashion. So as I assure you (Mr. Speaker,) I am of Opinion, that the strife, which we now have to admit them, will have like Sequel, as that Contention had, between the Nobility, and People of Rome, for the admitting of a Plebian Conful, which while it was in Passing, was very vehement, and mightily stood upon: And when the People had obtained it; they never made any Plebian Conful; No, not in 60. years after. And so will this be for many years, as I am persuaded, rather a Matter in Opinion, then in life, or effect: And this is the First Answer, that I give to this main Inconvenience, pretended, of Surcharge of People.

The Second Answer, which I give to this Objection, is this: I must have leave to doubt, (Mr. Speaker,) that this Realm of England, is not yet peopled to the full. For certain it is, that the Territories of France, Italy, Flanders, and some parts of Germany, do in equal space of Ground, bear and contain, a far greater Quantity of People, if they were mustrated by the Poll. Neither can I see, that this Kingdom, is so much inferior, unto those forrain Parts in fruitfulness, as it is in population; which makes me conceive, we have not our full charge. Besides, I do see manifestly among us, the Badges, and Tokens, rather of Scarcenes, then of Prey of People; as Drowned Grounds, Commons, Waites, and the like: Which is a plain Demonstration, that however there may be, an overswelling throng, and press of People, here about London, which is most in our Eye; yet the Body of the Kingdom, is but thin sown with People. And whatsoever shall compare, the Ruines, and Decayes, of ancient Towns, in this Realm, with the Erections, and Augmentations, of new; cannot but judge, that this Realm, hath been far better peopled in former times; it may be, in the Heptarchy, or otherwise; For generally the Rule holdeth, The smaller State, the greater Population.
proratâ. And whether, this be true, or no, we need not seek further, then to call to our remembrance, how many of us, serve here, in this place, for desolate, and decayed, Burroughs. Again (Mr. Speaker,) whosoever looketh into the Principles of Estate, must hold it, that it is the Mediterranean Countries, and not the Maritime, which need to fear surcharge of People. For all Sea roundes, and specially Islands, have another Element, besides the Earth, and Soil, for their Sustentation. For what an infinite, Number of people, are, and may be sustaine by Fishings, Carriage by Sea, and Merchandizing? wherein, I do again discover, that we are not at all pinched, by Multitude of People. For if we were, it were not possible, that we should relinquish, and resign, such an infinite Benefit, of Fishings, to the Flemings, as it is well known, we do. And therefore, I see, that we have waftes by Sea, as well as by Land: which still is an infallible Argument, that our Industry, is not awaked, to seek maintenance, by any over great Prest, or charge of people.

And lastly (Mr. Speaker,) there was never any Kingdom, in the Ages of the world, had, I think, so fair, and happy means, to issue, and discharge, the Multitude of their People, (if it were too great,) as this Kingdom hath; In regard, of that desolate, and wafted, Kingdom of Ireland, which, (being a Country, blefled, with almost all the Dowries of Nature; As Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soyl, and temperate Climate; And now at last, under his Majesty, blefled also with obedience,) Doth, as it were, continually call unto us, for our Colonies, and Plantations. And so I conclude, my second Answer, to this pretended Inconvenience, of surcharge of People.

The Third Answer, (Mr. Speaker,) which I give, is this. I demand, what is the worst Effect, which can follow of Surcharge of People? Look into all Stories, and you shall find it none other, then some Honourable War, for the Enlargement of their Bordes, which find themselves pent, upon Forrain parts. Which Inconvenience, in a valourous, and Warlike Nation, I know not, whether I should term an Inconvenience, or no? For the saying is most true, though in another Sense; Omnium Forti Patria. It was spoken, indeed, of the patience, of an exild Man: But it is no les true, of the Valour of a Warlike Nation. And certainly, (Mr. Speaker,) I hope, I may speak it without offence: That if we did hold our selves worthy, whensoever just Cause should be given; Either to recover our ancient Rights; Or to revenge our late wrongs; Or to attain the Honour of our Ancestors; Or to enlarge the Patrimony of our Posterity; We would never, in this manner, forget Considerations, of Amplitude, and Greatness, and fall at variance, about profit, and Reckonings; Fitter, a great deal, for private Persons, then for Parliaments, and Kingdoms. And thus, (Mr. Speaker,) I leave this first objection, to such Satisfaction, as you have heard,
The second Objection is, that the Fundamentall Laws of both these Kingdoms, of England, and Scotland, are yet divers, and several. Nay more, that it is declared, by the Instrument, that they shall so continue; And that there is no intent, in his Majesty, to make Innovation in them: And therefore, that it should not be feasible, to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endow them, with our Rights, and Privileges; except they should likewise receive, and submit themselves, to our Laws. And this Objection, likewise, (Mr. Speaker) I allow to be a weighty Objection, and worthy to be well answered, and discussed.

The Answer, which I shall offer, is this. It is true, for mine own part, (Mr. Speaker,) that I hold our Laws, with some reduction, worthy to govern, if it were, the world. But this is that which may, and I desire therein your Attention; That, according to true reason of Estate, Naturalization is, in Order, First, and precedent, to union of Laws. In degree, a less Matter, than union of Laws; And, in Nature, separable, not inseparable, from union of Laws. For Naturalization, doth but take out, the Marks of a Forrainer; But union of Laws, makes them entirely as our selves: Naturalization taketh away separation; But union of Laws doth take away Distinction. Do we not see, (Mr. Speaker,) that, in the Administration, of the world, under the great Monarch, God himself, that his Laws are divers; One Law in Spirits, another in Bodies; One Law in Regions celestial, another in Elementary? And yet the Creatures, are all one Mass; and Lump, without any vacuum, or separation? Do we not see, likewise, in the State of the Church, that amongst People, of all Languages, and Linages, there is one Communion of Saints? And that, we are all Fellow Citizens, and naturalized, of the Heavenly Hierusalem? And yet, nevertheless, divers, and several, Ecclesiasticall Laws, Policies, and Hierarchies, According to the Speech, of that worthy Father; In veste varietas est, sequar non sit. And therefore, certainly, (Mr. Speaker,) the Bond of Law, is the more special, and private, Bond; And the Bond of Naturalization, the more common, and general. For the Laws, are rather

Figura Reip., then Forma; And rather Bonds of Perfection, then Bonds of Entireness. And therefore, we see, in the Experience, of our own Government, that in the Kingdome of Ireland, all our Statute-Laws, since Feynings Law, are not in force; And yet we deny them not, the Benefit, of Naturalization. In Gersey, Carneyse, and the Isle of Man, our Common-Laws are not in force; And yet they have the Benefit of Naturalization. Neither need any Man doubt, but that our Laws, and Customes, must, in small time, gather, and win, upon theirs. For here's the Seat of the Kingdome, whence come the supreme Directions of Estate; Here is the Kings Person, and Example, of which the Verse faith.

Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

And
A Speech in Parliament touching

And therefore, it is not possible; Although not by solemn, and formall, Act of Estates; yet by the secret Operation, of no long time, but they will come under the yoke of our Laws; And so, 

But the third Objection, is, some Inequality, in the Fortunes, of these two Nations, England and Scotland; By the Commixture whereof, there may ensue Advantage to them, and Loss to us. Wherein, (Mr. Speaker) it is well, that this Difference, or Disparity, contesteth, but in external Goods, of Fortune. For indeed, it must needs be confessed, that for the Goods of the Mind, and the Body, they are Alteri Nor; Other our selves. For to do them but right, we know, in their Capacity, and understanding; they are a people Ingenious; In Labour, Industrious; In Courage, Valiant; In Body, Hard, Active, and Comely. More might be said, but in commending them, we do but, in effect, commend our selves: For they are of one Piece, and Continent, with us: And Truth is, we are participant, both of their Vertues, and Vices. For if they have been noted, to be a people not so tractable in Government, we cannot, without flattering our selves, free our selves, altogether, from that Fault; Being, indeed, a thing incident, to all Martiall People. As we see it evident, by the Example, of the Romans, and others. Even like unto Fierce Horses, that though they be, of better Service then others, yet are they harder, to guide, and to manage.

But for this Objection, (Mr. Speaker) I purpose to answer it; Not by Authority of Scripture, which faith. But by an Authority framed, and derived, from the Judgement of our selves, and our Ancestors, in the same case, as to this point. For, (Mr. Speaker,) in all the Line of our Kings, none hath to carry, greater Commendation, then his Majesties Noble Progenitor, King Edward, the First of that Name: And amongst his other Commendations, both of War, and Pollicy, none is more celebrated, then his purpose, and Enterprize, for the Conquest of Scotland: As not bending his Designs to glorious Acquests abroad, but to solid Strength at home; which, nevertheless, if it had succedeed well, could not, but have brought in, all those Inconveniences, of the Commixture, of a more Ouplent Kingdom, with a less, that are now allledged. For it is not the Yoke, either of our Arms, or of our Lawes, that can alter the nature of the Climate, or the Nature of the Soyl: Neither is it, the Manner, of the Commixture, that can alter, the Matter, of the Commixture. And therefore, (Mr. Speaker,) if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; And not to be prised the less, because we paid not so dear for it. But a more full Answer to this Objection, I refer ever to that, which will come after to be spoken, touching Surety, and Greatness.

The fourth Objection, (Mr. Speaker,) is not properly an Objection.
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jection, but rather a preoccupation, of an Objection, of the other side: For it may be said, and very materially, whereabout do we contend? The Benefit of Naturalization is, by the Law, in as many, as have been, or shall be born, since his Majesty coming to the Crown, already settled, and invested. There is no more then, but to bring the Ante-Nati, into the Degree of the Post-Nati; that Men grown, that have well deserved, may be in no worse case, then children, which have not deserved: And Elder Brothers, in no worse case, then younger Brothers. So as we stand, upon Quiddam, not Quantum; Being but a little difference of Time, of one Generation, from another.

To this, (Mr. Speaker,) it is said by some; That the Law is not so, but that the Post-Nati, are Aliens, as well as the rest. A point, that I mean not much to argue; Both because it hath been well spoken to, by the Gentleman, that spake last before me; And because I do desire, in this Case, and in this place, to speak rather of Convenience, then of Law. Only this will I say; That that Opinion, seems to me, Contrary to reason of Law; Contrary to form of pleading in Law; And Contrary to Authority, and Experience, of Law. For Reason of Law, when I meditate of it; Methinks, the wisdom, of the Common Laws of England, well observed, is Admiraible, in the Distribution, of the Benefit, and protection, of the Laws; According to the several Conditions of Persons, in an excellent Proportion. The Degrees are four, but bipartite. Two of Aliens, and Two of Subjects. The first Degree, is of an Alien, born, under a King, or State, that is an Enemy. If such an one, come into this Kingdom, without safe Conduct, it is at his peril: The Law giveth him no protection, neither for Body, Lands, nor Goods: So as if he be slain, there is no Remedy, by any Appeal, at the parties suit, although his wife were an English Woman: Marry at the King's suit, the Case may be otherwise, in regard of the offence to the Peace. The second Degree, is, of an Alien, that is born under the faith, and Allegiance, of a King, or State, that is a friend. Unto such a Person, the Law doth impart, a greater Benefit, and protection; That is, concerning things personal, Transitory, and Moveable; As Goods, and Chattels, Contracts, and the like: But not concerning Freehold, and Inheritance. And the reason is, because he may be an Enemy, though he be not. For the State, under the Obeisance of which he is, may enter into Quarrel, and Hostility; And therefore, as the Law hath but a Transitory Assurance of him, so it rewards him, but with Transitory Benefits. The third Degree, is, of a Subject, who having been an Alien, is, by Charter made Denizen. To such an one, the Law doth impart, yet, a more ample Benefit: For it gives him power, to purchase Free-Hold, and Inheritance, to his Own use: And likewise, enables the Children, born after his Denization, to inherit. But yet, nevertheless, he cannot make Title, or...
convey Pedegree, from any Ancestour Paramount. For the Law, thinks not good, to make him, in the same Degree, with a Subject born: Because he was once an Alien, and so ought once have been an Enemy. And Namob Subito singitum: Mens Affections, cannot be so settled, by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity, they were by inheritance, and inherent. And the fourth Degree, which is the perfect Degree, is, of such a Person, that neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy, in time to come; Nor could have been Enemy, at any time past; And therefore, the Law gives unto him, the full Benefit, of Naturalization. Now, (Mr. Speaker,) if these be the true Steps, and Paces, of the Law, no Man can deny, but whatsoever is born under the King's Obedience, never could, in Aliquo puncto temporis, be an Enemy; (A Rebell, he might be, but no Enemy;) And therefore, in Reason of Law, is naturalized. Nay contrary-wife, he is bound, Jure Nativitatis, to defend this King-dome of England, against all Invaders or Rebels: And therefore, as he is obliged, to the protection of Arms; And that perpetually, and universally; so he is to have, the perpetuall, and univers-al, Benefit, and protection of Law, which is Naturalization.

For Form of Pleading, it is true, that hath been said; That if a Man, would plead another, to be an Alien; He must not only set forth, negatively, and privatively, that he was born, out of the Obedience, of our Sovereign Lord the King; But affirmatively, under the Obedience, of a forraine King, or State, in particular; which never can be done in this case.

As for Authority, I will not press it; you know all what hath been published, by the King's Proclamation.

And for Experience of Law, we see it in the Subjects of Ireland; In the Subjects of Gerscy, and Gernsey, parcels of the Dutchy of Normandy; In the Subjects of Calleiz, (when it was English,) which was parcel of the Crown of France. But, as I said, I am not willing, to enter into an Argument of Law, but to hold my self, to point of Convenience.

So as, for my part, I hold all Post-Nati, Naturalized, ipso Jure. But yet, I am far from Opinion, that it should be a thing superfluous, to have it done by Parliament; Chiefly, in respect, of that true principle; Principum Actiones precipue ad Famam sunt componentes. It will lift up a Sign, to all the World, of our Love towards them, and good agreement with them. And these are, (Mr. Speaker,) the Materiall Objections, which have been made of the other Side, whereunto you have heard mine Answers: Weigh them in your Wifdomes; And so I conclude that General Part.

Now, (Mr. Speaker,) according as I promised, I must fill the other Ballance, in expressing unto you, the Inconveniences, which we shall incurre, if we shall not proceed, to this Naturalization, wherein, that Inconvenience, which of all others, and alone by it self, if there were none other, doth exceedingly move me, and
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may move you, is a Position of Estate, collected out of the Records of Time, which is this: That where severall Kingdoms, or Estates, have been united in Sovereignty; If that Union, hath not been fortified, and bound in, with a further Union; And namely that, which is now in Question, of Naturalization; This hath followed: That at one time, or other, they have broken again, being upon all Occasions apt to revolt, and relapse, to the former Separation.

Of this Affection, the first Example, which I will set before you, is of that memorable UNION, which was between the Romans, and the Latines, which continued, from the Battaile, at the Lake of Regilla, for many years, until the Consullhips of T. Manlius, and P. Decius. At what time, there began, about this very point of Naturalization, that War, which was called Bellum Societatis; Being the most bloody, and Pernicious War, that ever the Roman State endured. wherein after Numbers of Battailes, and infinite Seiges, and Surprises of Towns, the Romans, in the end, prevailed, and mastered the Latines. But allsoon as ever they had the Honour of the War, looking back into what Perdition, and Confusion, they were near to have been brought, they presently naturalized them all. You speak of a Naturalization in Blood; There was a Naturalization indeed in Blood.

Let me set, before you, again, the Example of Sparta, and the rest of Peloponnesus, their Associates. The State of Sparta, was a Nice, and Jealous, State, in this point, of imparting Naturalization, to their Confederates, But what was the issue of it? After they had held them, in a kind of Society, and Amity, for divers years: upon the first occasion given, (which was no more, then the Surprize, of the Castle of Thebes, by certain desperate Conspirators, in the habit of Masquers; There ensued immediately, a general Revolt, and Defection, of their Associates; which was the Ruine of their State, never afterwards to be recovered.

Of later time, let me lead your Consideration to behold, the like Events, in the Kingdom of Arragon, which Kingdom was united with Castile, and the rest of Spain, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella; And so continued many years; But yet so, as it stood, a Kingdom, severed, and divided, from the rest, of the Body, of Spain, in priviledges; And directly, in this point of Naturalization, or Capacity of Inheritance. What came of this? Thus much: That now of fresh Memory, not past twelve years since, onely upon the voice of a Condemned Man, out of the Grate of a Prison, towards the Street, that cried Enros; (which is as much as Liberties, or Priviledges;) There was raised a dangerous Rebellion, which was suppressed, with Difficulty, with an Army Royal; And their priviledges disannulled, and they incorporated, with the rest of Spain. Upon so small a Spark, notwithstanding so long continuance, were they ready to break, and never again.
The like may be said, of the states of Florence, and Pisa: Which City of Pisa, being united unto Florence, but not endued with the Benefit of Naturalization, upon the first light of foreign Assistance, by the Expedition, of Charles the eighth, of France, into Italy, did revolt; though it be since, again reunited; and incorporated.

The same Effect, we see, in the most Barbarous Government; which shews it, the rather, to be an Effect of Nature. For it was thought, a fit Pollicy, by the Council of Constantinople, to retain the three Provinces, of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia, (which were, as the very Nurtures of Constantinople, in respect of their Provisions,) to the end, they might be the less waited, only under Vayvods, as Vaffals and Homagers; and not under Pasha's, and Provinces of the Turkish Empire; Which Pollicy, we see, by late Experience, proved unfortunate; as appeared, by the Revolt, of the same three Provinces, under the Arms and Conduct of Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania; A Leader, very famous, for a time; which Revolt is not yet, fully recovered. Whereas we seldom, or never hear, of Revolts of Princes, incorporate, to the Turkish Empire.

On the other part, (Mr. Speaker,) because it is true, which the Logicians say; Opposta, juxta se posita, magis cluefcent; let us take a view, and we shall find; That wherefoever, Kingdoms, and States, have been united; and that union Corroborate, by the Bond of mutuall Naturalization; you shall never observe them, afterwards, upon any Occasion of Trouble, or otherwife, to break and sever again: As we see, most evidently, before our eyes, in divers Provinces of France; That is to say, Guien, Provence, Normandy, Brittain; which, notwithstanding, the infinite infecting Troubles, of that Kingdom, never offered to break again.

We see the like Effect, in all the Kingdoms, of Spain, which are mutually naturalized; As Leon, Castile, Valencia, Andaluzia, Granada, and the rest: Except Aragon, which held the contrary Course, and therefore had the contrary Success, as we said: And Portugal, of which, there is not yet, sufficient Triall.

And lastly, we see the like effect, in our own Nation, which never rent afunder, after it was once united; so as we now scarce know, whether the Heptarchy, were a Story, or a Fable. And therefore, (Mr. Speaker,) when I revolve with my Self, these Examples, and others, so lively expressing the necessity of a Naturalization, to avoid a relapse into a Separation; and do hear so many Arguments, and Scruples, made on the other side; It makes me think on the old Bishop; which upon a publick Disputation, of certain Diviners, Christians, with some learned Men of the Heathen, did extremely premise to be heard; and they were loath to suffer him, because they knew he was unlearned, though otherwise an Holy and well-meaning Man; But, at last, with much ado, he got to be heard. And when he came to speak, instead of using Argument, he did only lay over his Belief: But did it with such
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Such Assurance, and Constancy, as it did strike the Minds, of those that heard him, more then any Argument had done. And so, (Mr. Speaker,) against all these witty and subtile Arguments, I say, that I do believe, and I would be sorry to be found a Prophet in it; That except we proceed, with this Naturalization; (Though not perhaps in his Majestie time, who hath such Interest in both Nations,) yet in the time of his Descendants, these Realms will be in continuall Danger, to divide, and break again. Now if any Man, be of that carelesse mind,

—Maneat nosivos ea Cura Nepotes;

Or of that hard Mind, to leave things, to be tried, by the sharpest Sword; for I am, he is not of Saint Paul's Opinion; who affirmed; That whosoever, useth not Fore-sight, and Provision for his Family, is worse then an unbeliever: Much more, if we shall not use fore-sight for these two Kingdoms, that comprehend so many Families: But leave things open, to the peril of future Divisions. And thus have I expresed unto you the Inconvenience, which, of all other, sinketh deepest with me, as the most weighty.

Neither do there want, other Inconveniences, (Mr. Speaker,) the Effect, and Influence whereof, I fear, will not be adjourned to so long a Day, as this, that I have spoken of. For I leave it, to your wisdom, to consider; whether you do not think, in case, by the denial of this Naturalization, any Pike of Alienation, or unkindness; (I do not say,) should be thought to be, or noised to be, between these two Nations; whether it will not quicken, and excite, all the Envious, and Malicious, Humours, wheresoever, (which are now covered,) against us, either for, or at home; And so open the way to practises, and other Engines, and Machinations, to the Disturbance, of this State. As for that other Inconvenience, of his Majesties Engagement, into this Action, it is too binding, and preffing, to be spoken of; And may do better, a great deal, in you Minds, then in my Mouth; Or in the mouth of any man else; because, as I say, it doth pres, our Liberty, too far. And therefore, (Mr. Speaker,) I come now, to the third general part, of my Division, concerning the Benefits, which we shall purchase, by this knitting of the knot, fairer, and freighter, between these two Kingdoms, by the Communicating of Naturalization.

The Benefits may appear to be two; The one Surety, the other Greatness. Touching Surety, (Mr. Speaker,) it was well laid by Titus Quintius, the Roman, touching the State of Peloponnesus; That the Tortois is safe within her shell: Testudo intra tegumentum tuta est. But if there be any Parts, that lye open, they endanger all the rest. We know well, that although the State, at this time, be in a happy peace; Yet, for the time past, the more Ancient Enemy, to this Kingdom, hath been the French; and the more late, the Spaniard: And both these, had, as it were, their severall po-
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stern Gates; whereby they might have approach, and Entrance, to annoy us. France had Scotland, and Spain had Ireland: For these were the two Accesles, which did comfort, and encourage, both these Enemies, to assail, and trouble us. We see, that of Scotland, is cut off, by the Union, of both these Kingdoms; if that, it shall be now made constant, and permanent. That of Ireland, is likewise cut off, by the convenient situation, of the North of Scotland, toward the North of Ireland, where the Sore was: Which, we see, being suddenly closed, hath continued closed, by means of this Salve; So as now, there are no Parts, of this State, exposed to Danger, to be a Temptation, to the Ambition of Forrainers, but their approaches, and Avenues, are taken away. For, I do little doubt, but these Forrainers, which had so little success, when they had these advantages, will have much lesser comfort now, that they be taken from them. And so much for Surety.

For Greatness, (Mr. Speaker,) I think a Man may speak it soberly, and without Bravery; That this Kingdom of England, having Scotland united, Ireland reduced, the Sea Provinces of the Low-Countries contracted, and Shipping maintained; Is one of the greatest Monarchies, in Forces, truly esteemed, that hath been in the world. For certainly, the Kingdoms here on Earth, have a Resemblance with the Kingdom of Heaven; which our Savour compareth, not to any great Kermell, or Nut, but to a very small Grain; yet such an one, as is apt, to grow, and spread. And such, do I take to be, the Constitution of this Kingdom, Ifindeed, we shall refer our Counsels, to Greatness, and Power; And not quench them, too much, with Consideration, of Utility, and Wealth. For (Mr. Speaker,) was it not, think you, a true Answer, that Solon of Greece, made, to the Rich King Cresus of Lydia, when he flewed unto him, a great Quantity of Gold, that he had gathered together, in Offentation of his Greatness; & might? But Solon said to him, contrary to his Expectation; Why Sir, if another come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Lord, of all your Gold. Neither is the Authority of Machiavel to be despised; who feometh the Proverb of eflate, taken first from a Speech of Maccus: That Monies are the Sinevus of War; And faith, There are no true Sinevus of War, but the very Sinevus, of the Arms, of valiant Men. Nay more, (Mr. Speaker,) whatsoever shall look, into the Seminaries, and Beginnings, of the Monarchies, of the world, he shall find them founded in Poverty. Persia, a Country barren, and poor, in respect of the Medes, whom they subdued. Macedon, a Kingdom ignoble, and Mercenary, until the Time, of Philip, the Son of Amyntas, Rome had poor, and parcell Beginnings. The Turks, a Band of Sarmatian Scythes, that, in a vagabond manner, made Impression, upon that part of Asia, which is yet called Turcomania. Out of which, after much variety of Fortune, sprung the Ottoman Family, now the Terrour of the world. So we know the Goths, Men...
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dals, Alani, Huns, Lombards, Normans, and the rest of the Northern People, in one Age of the World, made their Deponent, or Expedition, upon the Roman Empire; And came not, as Rovers, to carry away prey, and be gone again; But planted themselves, in a number, of fruitful, and rich, Provinces; Where, not only their Generations, but their Names, remain, till this Day; witness Lombardy; Catalonia, A name compounded of Goth & Alani; Andalusia, A name corrupted from Vandelia; Hungary; Normandy; and others. Nay, the Fortune of the Swizzes, of late years, (which are bred, in a barren, and Mountainous Country,) is not to be forgotten; Who first ruined the Duke of Burgundy; The same, who had almost ruined, the Kingdom of France: what time, after the Battle of Granjon, the Rich Jewell of Burgundy, prized at many Thousands, was sold for a few pence, by a common Swizz, That knew no more, what a Jewell meant, than did Fopp Cock. And again, the same Nation, in revenge of a Scorn, was the Ruin of the French King's Affairs in Italy, Licks the 12th. For that King, when he was presied somewhat rudely, by an Agent of the Swizzes, to raise their Penfions, brake into Words of Cholier; What, (said he,) will these Villains of the Mountaines, put a Tax upon me? which words, lost him his Entree of Affillation, and chased him out of Italy. All which Examples, (Mr. Speaker,) do well prove Solons opinion, of the Authority, and Mastry, that Iron hath over Gold. And therefore, if I shall speak unto you, mine own Heart; Me thinks, we should a little disdain, that the Nation of Spain, (which, howsoever of late, it hath grown to Rule, yet of ancient times served many Ages; First under Carthage, then under Rome, after under Sarazens, Goths, and others;) should, of late years, take unto themselves that Spirit, as to dream, of a Monarchy, in the West, according to that Devife; Video Soli in Orientem in Occidenta: Onely, because they have ravished, from some wild, and unarmed, People, Mines, and Store, of Gold; And, on the other Side, that this Island of Britann, seeded, and manned, as it is, and that hath, (I make no question,) the best Iron in the World; (That is, the best Soldiers of the World;) should think of nothing, but Reckonings, and Audits, and Monums and Tunn, and I cannot tell what.

Mr. Speaker,) I have, (I take it,) gone through the Parts, which I propounded to my Self; Wherein, if any Man, shall think, that I have sung Placebo; For mine own particular, I would have him know, that I am not so unfeen in the world, but that I discern, it were much alike, for my private fortune, to reef a Placebo, as to sing a Placebo, in this Business. But I have spoken, out of the Fountain, of my Heart: Crecedi, propter quod locutus sum; I believed, therefore I spake. So as my Duty is performed: The Judgement is yours: God direct it for the best.
A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon in the Lower House of Parliament, by occasion, of a Motion, concerning the Union of Laws.

And it please you, (Mr. Speaker,) were it now a time to Wiff, as it is to Advise; No Man should be more forward, or more earnest, then my self, in this wish; That his Majesties Subjects, of England and Scotland, were governed by one Law; And that for many Reasons.

First, because it will be an infallible Assurance, that there will never be, any Relapse, in succeeding Ages, to a Separation.

Secondly, Euleis tractus pari juge: If the Draught lye most upon us, and the Toke lightest upon them, it is not equall.

Thirdly, the Qualities, and, (as I may term it,) the Elements of their Laws, and ours, are such, as do promise, an excellent Temperature, in the compounded Body: For if the prerogative here be too indefinite, it may be the Liberty there is too unbounded: If our Laws, and proceedings, be too Prolix, and Formal; it may be theirs, are too informal, and Summary.

Fourthly, I do discern, to my understanding, there will be no great Difficulty, in this Work. For their Laws, by that I can learn, compared with ours, are like their Language, compared with ours. For as their Language, hath the same Roots, that ours hath, but hath a little more mixture of Latine, and French; So their Laws and Customs, have the like Grounds, that ours have, with a little more mixture, of the Civill Law, and French Customs.

Lastly, the Mean to this work, seemeth to me, no lesse excellent, then the Work it self: For if both Laws shall be united, it is of necessity, for preparation, and Inducement thereunto, that our own Laws, be reviewed, and recompiled. Then the which, I think, there cannot be a work, that his Majesty can undertake, in these his times of Peace, more Politique, more Honourable, nor more Beneficial, to his Subjects, for all Ages; Jura sum, Legesque tuli justissimus Auctor.

For this continuall Heaping up, of Laws, without digesting them, maketh but a Chaos and Confusion: And turneth the Laws, many times, to become but Snare for the People, as is said, in the Scripture, Thet super eos Laqueos. Now, Non sunt peiores Laquei, quam Laquei Legum. And therefore, this work, I esteem to be, indeed, a work, (rightly to term it,) Heroical. So that, for this good wish, of Union of Laws, I do consent to the full; And, I think, you may perceive, by that which I have said, that I come not in this, to the Opinion of Others, but that I was, long ago, settled in it, my Self. Nevertheless, as this is moved out of zeal,
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If I take it, to be moved out of Time, as commonly zealous Motions are, while Men are, so fast, carried on, to the End, as they give no Attention to the Mean. For if it be Time, to talk of this now; it is, either because the Business, now in hand, cannot proceed without it; or because, in Time, and Order, this Matter should be precedent; or because, we shall lose some advantage, towards this Effect, so much desired, if we should go on, in the course, we are about. But none of these three, in my judgment, are true; and therefore, the Motion, as I said, unfeasable.

For first, that there may not be, a Naturalization, without an Union in Laws, cannot be maintained. Look into the Example, of the Church; and the Union thereof; you shall see several Churches, that join in one Faith, one Baptism, (which are the points of spiritual Naturalization,) do, many times, in Policy, Constitutions, and Customes, differ. And therefore, one of the Fathers, made an excellent observation, upon the two Mysteries: the one, that in the Gospel, where the Garment of Christ, is said to have been without Seams; the other, that in the Pyram, where the Garment, of the Queen is said, to have been of divers Colours; and concludeth, In vixina Varietas fit, Scissura non fit. So, in this Case, (Mr. Speaker,) we are now in hand, to make this Monarchy of one Piece, and not of one Colour. Look again, into the Examples, of Foreign Countries; and take, that next us, of France; and there, you shall find, that they have this Distinction, Paris du droit Escript, and Pais du droit Consomnuier. For Gascoigne, Languedock, Provence, Dauphine, are Countries, governed by the Letter, or Text, of the Civil Law; but the Isle of France, Touraine, Berry, Anjou, and the rest; and most of all Britain, and Normandy, are governed by Customs, which amount unto a Municipal Law; and use the Civil Law, but only for Grounds; and to decide new, and rare, Cases; and yet, nevertheless, Naturalization, passeth through all.

Secondly, that this Union of Laws, should precede the Naturalization; or that it should go on, pari passu, hand in hand, I suppose; likewise, can hardly be maintained: but the contrary, that Naturalization ought to precede. Of which my Opinion, as I could yield many reasons, so because all this, is but a Digression, and therefore ought to be short; I will hold my self now, only to one, which is briefly and plainily this: That the Union of Laws, will ask a great Time, to be perfected, both for the Preparing, and for the Passing: During all which time, if this Mark of Strangers, should be denied, to be taken away; I fear it may induce, such a Habit of Strangerries, as will rather be an Impediment, to a preparation, to further proceeding. For he was a wise Man, that said, Opportuni Maginis Consilium Transitor Rerum. And in those Cases, Non progresci est Regredi. An likes as in a pair of Tables, you must put out the former writing, before you can put
in new; And again, that which you write in, you write Letter by Letter; but that which you put out, you put out at once. So we have now to deal with the Tables of Mens Hearts, wherein it is in vain, to think you can enter, the willing Acceptance of our Laws, and Customs, except you first put forth, all Notes, either of Hostility, or Foreign Condition. And these, are to be put out, simulet femele, at once, without Gradations; whereas the other points, are to be imprinted, and engraven, distinctly, and by degrees.

Thirdly, whereas it is conceived by some, that the Communication, of our Benefits, and privileges, is a good Hold, that we have over them, to draw them to submit themselves to our Laws: It is an Argument, of some probability, but yet to be answered, many ways. For first, the Intent is mistaken; Which is not, as I conceive it, to draw them wholly, to a Subjection to our Laws; but to draw, both Nations, to one uniformity, of Laws. Again to think, that there should be, a kind of Articulate, and Indented, Contract; That they should receive our Laws, to obtain our privileges, is a Matter in reason of Estate not to be expected; Being that, which scarcely a private Man, will acknowledge, if it come to that, whereof Seneca speaketh; Beneficium accepere, et Libertatem vendere: No, but Courses of Estate, do describe, and delineate, another way; Which is, to win them, either by Benefit, or Custom. For we see, in all Creatures, that Men do Feed them first, and Reclaim them after. And so, in the first Institution of Kingdomes, Kings did first win People, by many Benefits, and Protections, before they pretend any Vote. And for Custom, which the Poets call, Imponere Rerum: Who doubts, but that the Seat of the Kingdom, and the Example of the King, resting here with us, our Manners will quickly be there, to make all things ready for our Laws?

And lastly, the Naturalization, which is now propounded, is qualified, with such Restrictions, as there will be enough kept back, to be used, at all times, for an Adamant, of drawing them further on to our Desires. And therefore, to conclude, I hold this Motion, of Union of Laws, very worthy, and arising from very good Minds, but not proper for this Time.

To come therefore to that, which is now in Question: It is no more, but whither, there should be a Difference made, in this privilege of Naturalization, between the Ante-Nati, and the Post-Nati? Not in point of Law, (for that will otherwise be decided,) but only in point of Convenience; [As if a Law, were now to be made, de novo.] In which Question, I will, at this time, only answer two Objections; And use two Arguments, and so leave it to your Judgement.

The first objection hath been; That if a Difference, should be, it ought to be in favour of the Ante-Nati; Because, they are Persons, of Merit, Service, and Proof; whereas the Post-Nati are Infants,
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This were good Reason, (Mr. Speaker,) if the Question were, of Naturalizing some particular Persons, by a private Bill: But it hath no proportion, with the general Case. For now, we are not to look to respects, that are proper to some, but to those, which are common to all. Now then, how can it be imagined, but that those, that took their first Breath, since this happy Union, inherent in his Majesty's Person, must be more allured, and affectionate to this Kingdom, then those generally can be presumed to be, which were sometimes Strangers? For, Naturalization: The Conversions of Minds, are not so swift, as the Conversions of Times. Nay, in Effects of Grace, which exceed far the Effects of Nature, we see, Saint Paul, makes a difference, between those he calls Neophites; That is, newly grafted into Christianity; And those, that are brought up, in the Faith. And so, we see, by the Lawes of the Church, that the Children of Christians, shall be Baptized, in regard, of the Faith, of their Parents; But the Child of an Ethnike, may not receive Baptism, till he be able, to make, an understanding Profession, of his Faith.

Another Objection hath been made; That we ought, to be more provident, and referred, to restrain the Post-Nati, then the Ante-Nati: Because, during his Majesty's time, being a Prince of so approved Wisdom, and Judgement, we need no better Caution, then the Confidence, we may repose in Him: But in the Future Reigns, of succeeding Ages, our Caution must be in Re, and not in Person.

But, (Mr. Speaker,) to this I answer; That as we cannot expect a Prince hereafter, less like to err, in respect of his Judgement: So again, we cannot expect a Prince, so like to exceed, (if I may so term it,) in this point of Beneficence, to that Nation, in respect of the Occasion. For whereas all Princes, and all Men are won, either by Merit, or Conversation, there is no Appearance, that any of his Majesties Descendants, can have either of these Causes, of Bounty, towards that Nation, in so ample Degree, as his Majesty hath. And these be, the two Objections, which seemed to me most Material, why the Post-Nati, should be left free, and not be concluded, in the same Restrictions, with the Ante-Nati, whereunto you have heard the Answers.

The two Reasons, which I will use, on the other side, are briefly these. The one, being a Reason, of Common Sense; The other, a Reason, of Estate. We see, (Mr. Speaker,) the Time of the Nativity, is, in most Cases, principally regarded. In Nature, the Time of planting, and setting, is chiefly observed. And we see, the Astrologers, pretend to judge, of the Fortune of the Party, by the Time of the Nativity. In Laws, we may, not unfitly, apply, the Case of Legitimation, to the Case of Naturalization. For it is true, that the Common Canon Law, doth put the Ante-Natu, and
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the Post-Natns, in one Degree; But when it was moved, to the Parliament of England; Barones und voces respondent, Nolumus Leges Anglicae mutare. And though, it must be confess'd, that the Ante-Natns, and Post-Natns, are in the same Degree, in Dignities; yet were they never so, in Abilities: Forno Man doubts, but the Son, of an Earl, or Baron, before his Creation, or Call, shall inherit the Dignity, as well as the Son born after.

But the Son, of an Attaintted Person, born before the Attainder, shall not inherit, as the After born shall, notwithstanding Charter of Pardon.

The Reason of Estate is; That any Restriction, of the Ante-Natns, is Temporary; And expir'd with this Generation: But if you make it in the Post-Natns also, you do, but in substance, pen, a perpetuity of separation.

(Mr. Speaker, in this point, I have been short, because I little expected this Doubt, as to point of Convenience: And therefore will not much labour, where I suppose, there is no greater Opposition.

A Report, made by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, in the House of Commons, of a Speech, delivered by the Earl of Salisbury; And another Speech, delivered by the Earl of Northampton, at a Conference, concerning the Petition of the Merchants, upon the Spanish grievances, Parliament 50. Jacobi.

And it please you, (Mr. Speaker,) I do not find my self, any ways bound, to report that, which passed, at the last conference, touching the Spanish Grievances; Having been neither employed to speak, nor appointed to Report in that Cause. But because it is put upon me, by a silent Expectation, grounded upon nothing (that I know,) more then that I was observ'd, diligently to take notes; I am content, (if that Provision, which I made for mine own Remembrance, may serve this House for a Report,) not to deny you that Sheafe, that I have, in haste, bound up. It is true, that one of his Majesties Principal Counsellors in Causes of Estate, did use a Speech, that contained a World of Matter: But how, I shall be able to make a Globe, of that World, therein I fear mine own strength.

His Lordship, took the occasion, of this, which I shall now report, upon the Answer, which was by us made, to the Amendments, propounded, upon the Bill of Hostile Lanes; Quitting that Business, with these few words; That he would discharge, our Expectation of Reply, because their Lordships had, no Warrant.
to dispute. Then, continuing his speech, he fell into this other cause, and said; That being now, to make answer, to a proposition of ours, as we had done to one of theirs, he wished it could be passed over, with like brevity. But he did foresee his way, that it would prove, not only long, but likewise hard to find; and hard to keep. This cause, being so to be carried, as above all, no wrong be done, to the Kings sovereignty, and authority; And in second place, no misunderstanding do ensue between the two houses. And therefore, that he hoped, his words should receive a benign interpretation; knowing well, that pursuit, and drift of speech, and multitude of matter, might breed words to pass from him, beyond the compass of his intention: And therefore, he placed more assurance, and caution, in the innocency of his own meaning, and in the experience of his favours, then in any his wariness, or watchfulness, over his own speech.

This respective preface used, his Lordship descended to the matter itself; which he divided into three considerations: For, he said, he would consider of the petition.

First, as it proceeded, from the merchants.
Secondly, as from them, it was offered, to the lower house.
And thirdly, as from the lower house, it was recommended to the higher house.

In the first of these considerations, there fell out naturally, a subdivision, into the persons of the petitioners; and the matter, and parts, of the petition. In the persons of the merchants, his Lordship made, (as I have collected them,) in number, eight observations; whereof, the three first, respected the general condition of merchants; and the five following, were applied, to the particular circumstances, of the merchants, now complainting.

His Lordships first, general observation, was; That merchants were of two sorts: The one sought their fortunes, (as the verse saith,) per sacra, per ignes: And, as it is said, in the same place, extremas currit mercator ad indos;Subjecting themselves, to weather, and tempest; to absence, and, as it were, exile, out of their native countries; to arrests, in entrances of war; to foreign injustice, and rigour, in times of peace; And many other sufferances, and adventures. But that there were others, that took, a more safe, but a less generous course, in raising their fortunes. He taxed none, but did attribute, much more respect, to the former.

The second general observation, which his Lordship made was, That the complaints of merchants, were, usually, subject, to much error; in regard, that they spoke, (for the most part,) but upon information; And that carried through many hands; and of matters done in remote parts: So as, a false, or factious, factour, might, oftentimes, make great tragedies, upon no great ground. Whereof, towards the end of
A Report, in the House of Commons, of the Earl of Salisbury's, of his Speech, he brought an Insinuate, of one trading as Levant: That complained, of an Arrest of his Ship; And polished the Council-Table, with the same Complaint, in a vehemence, and bitter, fashion; Depriving, and presenting, some present, and Exploatory Letters, touching the same. Whereupon, some Councilors, well acquainted with the like Heates, and Forwardness, in Complaints, happened to say to him, Out of Conjeacrure, and not out of any Intelligence, What will you say, if your Ship, which you complain to be under Arrest, be now under Sail, in your homewards? Which fell out accordingly: The same Person, confessing, five days after, to the Lords, that he was indeed, in her way homewards.

The third general Observation, which his Lordship made, was this, in Effect: That, although, he granted, that the Wealth, and Welfare of the Merchant, was not, without a Sympathy, with the generall Stock, and State of a Nation, especially an Island; yet nevertheless, it was a Thing, too familiar, with the Merchant, to make the Cafe of his Particular Profit, the publick Cafe of the Kingdom.

There follow, the particular Observations, which have a reference, and application, to the Merchants, that trade to Spain, and the Levant: Wherein his Lordship, did first, honourably, and tenderly, acknowledge, that their Grievances were great, That they did multiply; And that they do deserve, compassion, and help; But yet, nevertheless, that he must use, that loving plainness to them, as to tell them, that in many things, they were Authors, of their own Miseries. For since the Dissolving of the Company, which was termed the Monopoly; And was set free, by the especiall Insinuate, of this House; There hath followed, such a Confusion, and Relaxation, in Order, and Government, amongst them; As they do not only incur, many Inconveniences; And commit many Errors; But in the pursuities, of their own Remedies, and suits, they do it so impolitiquely, and after such a Fashion; As Except, Legier Embassador, (which are the Eyes, of Kings, in foreign Parts,) should leave their Centinell, and become Merchants Fallours, and Sollicitours, their Caufes can hardly prosper. And which is more, such is now the Confusion, in the Trade; As Shop-Keepers, and Handy-Crafts-Men, become Merchants there; Who being bound, to no Orders, seek safe means, by Gifts, and Bribery, to procure favours, at the Hands, of Officers there. So as the honest Merchant, that trades like a substantiall Merchant; And loves not to take Servile Courses, to buy the Right due to him, by the Amity of the Princes, can have no Justice, without treading in their steps.

Secondly, his Lordship did observe, some Improbability, that the wrongs should be so great, considering Trading, into those parts, was never greater; whereas if the wrongs, and griefs, were so intolerable, and continuall, as they propound them; It would work,
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work, rather, a general Discouragement, and Coldness, of Trade, in Fact; Then an earnest, and hot Complaint, in Words.

Thirdly, his Lordship did observe; That it is a Court, (howsoever it may be with a good Intent,) yet of no small pretension, for Merchants, upon their particular Grievances, to urge things, tending to a direct War; Considering, that nothing, is more usuall, in Treaties, then such particular Dammages, and Molefations of Subjects, are left to a Form of Jusifice, to be righted: And that the more high Articles, do retain, nevertheless; their vigour inviolably; And that the great Bargain, of the Kingdome, for War, and Peace, may, in no wise, depend, upon such petty Forfeitures; No more, then in common Assurance, between Man and Man, it were fit, that upon every breach of Covenants, there should be limited a Re-entry.

Fourthly, his Lordship did observe; In the manner, of preferring their Petition, they had inverted due order; Addressing themselves, to the Foot, and not to the Head. For considering, that they prayed, no new Law, for their Relief; And that, it concerned, Matter of Inducement, to War, or Peace; They ought, to have begun, with his Majesty's, unto whose Royall Judgement, Power, and Office, did properly belong, the discerning of that, which was desired; The putting in Act of that, which ought be granted; And the Thanks for that, which might be obtained.

Fifthly, his Lordship did observe; That as they had not preferred their Petition as it should be; So, they had not pursued their own Directions, as it was. For, having directed their Petition to the King, the Lords spiritual, and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled; It imported, as if they had offered the like Petition, to the Lords, which they never did; Contrary, Not onely, to their own Direction, but, likewise, to our Concept; who presupposed, (as it should seem,) by some Speech, that passed from us, at a former Conference; That they had offered, severall Petitions, of like tenor, to both Housers. So, have you now, those eight Observations, part General, part Special, which his Lordship made touching the Persons of those, which exhibited the Petition, and the Circumstances of the same.

For the Matter, of the Petition, it self, his Lordship made this Division; That it consisteth of three parts.

First, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Fact.

Secondly, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Law; As they may be truly termed; That is, of the Inequality of Laws, which do regulate the Trade.

And thirdly, the Remedy desired, by Letters of Mart.

The wrongs, in Fact, receive a local Distribution, of three. In the Trade to Spain; In the Trade to the West Indies; And in the Trade to the Levant.

Concerning the Trade to Spain: Although his Lordship did use, much signification, of Compassion, of the Injuries, which the Merchants
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 Merchants received; and attributed to much, to their Profession, and Estate: As from such a mouth in such a Person, they ought to receive, for a great deal, of Honour, and Comfort; (which Kind of Demonstration, he did enterlace, throughout his whole Speech, as proceeding, Ex Abundantia Cordis,) yet, nevertheless, he did remember four Exculpations, or rather Extenuations, of those wrongs.

The first was, that the Injustices, complained of, were not in the Highest Degree; Because, they were Delayes, and hard proceedings, and not Inique Sentences, or definitive Condemnations. Wherein I called to mind, what I heard a great Bishop say, That Courts of Justice, though they did not turn Justice into Wormwood, by Corruption; yet, they turned it into Vinegar, by Delayes, which soured it. Such a Difference did his Lordship make, which, no question, is a Difference, secundum Magis & Minus.

Secondly, his Lordship ascribed these Delayes, not so much to Malice, or Alienation of Mind, towards us; As to the Nature, of the People, and Nation, which is Proud, and therefore Dilatory: For all proud Men are full of Delayes, and must be waited on; And specially, to the Multitudes, and Diversities, of Tribunals, and places of Justice; And the Number of the King's Counsels, full of Referings, which ever prove, of Necessity, to be Referings; Besides, the great Distance of Territories. All which, have made, the Delayes, of Spain, to come into a Byword, through the World. Wherein, I think, his Lordship might allude, to the Proverb of Italy; Memi tandem la Morte di Spagna. Let my Death come from Spain: For then, it is sure, to be long a coming.

Thirdly, his Lordship did use, an Extenuation of these wrongs, drawn from the Nature of Man; (Nemo subito singitur:) For that, we must make an account; That, though the Fire of Enmity, be out, between Spain, and us, yet it vapoureth: The utter Extinuing whereof, must be the work of Time.

But lastly, his Lordship did fall, upon that Extenuation, which of all the rest, was most forcible; which was; That many of those wrongs, were not sustained, without some Aspersions, of the Merchants own Fault, in ministring the Occasion, which grew chiefly in this manner.

There is contained, an Article, in the Treaty, between Spain, and us; That, we shall not transport, any Native Commodities, of the Low-Countries, into Spain: Nay more, that we shall not transport, any Opificia; Manufactures, of the same Countries. So that, if an English Cloath, take but a Dye, in the Low Countries, it may not be transported by the English: And the Reason is, because even those Manufactures, although the Materiall come from other Places, do yield unto them, a Profit and Sustentation, in regard their People are set on work by them: They have a gain, likewise, in the Price; And they have, a Custom, in the Transporting. All which, the Pollicy of Spain, is, to debar them of;
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Being no less desirous to Suffocate the Trade of the Low-Countries, then to reduce their Obedience. This Article, the English Merchant, either doth not, or will not, understand. But being drawn, with his threefold Cord, of Love, Hate, and Gain; They do adventure, to transport, the Low-Country Commodities, of these natures; And so, draw upon themselves, these Arrests, and Troubles.

For the Trade, to the Indies; His Lordship did discover unto us, the state of it, to be thus. The Pollicy of Spain, doth keep that Treasury of theirs, under such Lock, and Key, as both Confederates, yea, and Subjects, are excluded, of Trade, into those Countries: Insomuch as the French King, who hath reason to stand, upon equal terms, with Spain, yet nevertheless, is, by expresse Capitulation, debarred. The Subjects of Portugal, whom the State of Spain, hath studied, by all means, to content, are likewise debarred: Such a vigilant Dragon is there, that keepest this Golden Fleece: Yet nevertheless, such was his Majesties Magnanimity, in the Debate, and Conclusion, of the last Treaty; As he would never confide, to any Article, importune the Exclusion, of his Subjects, from that Trade: As a Prince, that would not acknowledge, that any such Right, could grow, to the Crown of Spain, by the Donative, of the Pope; whole Authority he Disclaimeth: Or by the Title, of a dispersed, and punctual Occupation, of certain Territories in the name of the rest: But staid firm, to reserve that point, in full Question, to further Times, and occasions. So as it is left, by the Treaty, in Suspence, neither debarred, nor permitted. The Tenderness, and Point of Honour whereof, was such, as they, that went thither, must run their own Perill. Nay further, his Lordship affirmed; That if yet, at this time, his Majesty would descend, to a Course of Entreaty, for the release, of the Arrests, in those parts, And so confed an Exclusion; And quit the point of Honour; his Majesty, ought have them, forthwith released: And yet his Lordship added; That the Offences, and Scandals, of some, had made this point worse then it was; In regard, that this very last Voyage to Virginia, intended for Trade and Plantation; Where the Spaniards, hath no People, nor Possession, is already become inflamed for Pyracy. Witnesses Eingsley, who first, infinuating his purpose, to be an Admiral, in that worthy Action, of Enlarging Trade, and Plantation, is become a Pyrate; And hath been so pursu'd, as his Ship, is taken in Ireland, though his Person, is not yet in hold.

For the Trade, to the Levant; His Lordship opened unto us, that the Complaint confisited, in effect, but of two Particulars: The one, touching the Arrest of a Ship, called the Triall, in Sicily; The other, of a Ship, called the Vineyard, in Sardinia. The First, of which Arrests, was, upon pretence, of Pyracy: The Second, upon pretence, of carrying Ordinance, and Powder, to the Turk. That Process, concerning the Triall, hath been, at the Merchants in-
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stance, drawn to a Review, in Spain; which is a Favor, of exceeding rare President; being directly, against the Liberties, & Priviledges of Sicely. That of the Vineyard, notwithstanding it be of that nature, as, (if it should be true,) tends, to the great Dishonour, of our Nation; (whereof, Hold hath been already taken, by the French Ambassador, residing at Constantineople;) Who entred into a Scandalous Expostulation, with his Majesty's Ambassador there, upon that, and the like, Transportation, of Munition, to the Turk;) yet nevertheless, there is an Answer given, by Letters, from the King, Ambassador Legier, in Spain; That there shall be, some Course taken, to give reasonable Contentment, in that Cause, as far as may be; In both which Ships, (to speak truly,) the greatest Masts, of lofs, may be included: For the rest are mean, in respect of the value, of those two Vessels. And thus much his Lordship Speech comprehended, concerning the wrongs in Fall.

Concerning the Wrongs, in Law; That is to say, the Rigour of the Spanish Laws, extended upon his Majesty's Subjects, that trafficke thither, his Lordship gave this Answer. That they were no new Statutes, or Edicts, devised for our People, or our Times; but were the ancient Lawes, of that Kingdom: Sua cuique Mors. And therefore, as Travellers, must endure the Extremities, of the Climate, and Temper of the Air, where they travell; So Merchants, must bear with the Extremities, of the Lawes, and Temper of the Estate, where they trade. Whereunto his Lordship added; that our own Lawes, here in England, were not exempted, from the like Complaints, in Foreign Parts; Especially, in point, of Marine Causes, & Depredations; And that same swift Alteration, of Property, which is claimed by the Admiralty, in case of Goods, taken, in Pirates hands. But that, we were to understand, thus much, of the King of Spain's Care, and Regard, of our Nation; That he had written, his Letters, to all Corregidors, Officers of Ports, and other his Ministers; Declaring his will, and pleasure, to have his Majesty's Subjects, used, with all Freedom, and Favour; And with this Addition, that they should have more Favour, when it might be shewed, then any other. Which words, howsoever the Effects prove, are not sudainly to be requited, with peremptory Resolutions, till Time declare, the direct Issue.

For the third Part, of the Matter, of the Petition; which was, the Remedy, sought by Letters of State; His Lordship seemed desirous, to make us capable, of the Inconvenience, of that, which was desired, by setting, before us, two notable Exceptions thereunto: The one, that the Remedy, was utterly incompetent, and vain; There other, that it was dangerous, and pernicious, to our Merchants; And, in Consequence, to the whole State.

For the weaknesse, of the Remedy; His Lordship, wished us, to enter into Consideration, what the Remedy was, which the Statute of Henry the Fifth, (which was now sought, to be put in Execution,)
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cution,) gave, in this Case; which was thus: That the Party grie-
ved, should first complain, to the Keeper, of the private Seal; And
from him, should take Letters unto the Party, that had com-
mitted the Spoyl, for Restitution. And in default of Restitution,
to be made upon such Letters, served; Then, to obtain of the
Chancellor, Letters of Art, or Reprisall: which Circuit of Remedy,
promised nothing, but endless, and fruitless, Delay; In regard
that the first Degree prescribed, was never likely to be effected:
It being fo wide a Chace, as to serve Procedure, upon the wrong-
Doer, in Forrain Parts. Wherefore his Lordship said, that it 
must be, the Remedy of Statute, that must do good, in this case:
which ufeth to proceed, by Certificats, Atteftations, and other
means of Information; Not depending upon a privy Seal, to be
served upon the Party, whom happily they must seek out, in the
West-Indies.

For the Danger, of the Remedy; His Lordship directed our Con-
siderations, to take notice, of the proportions, of the Merchants
Goods, in either Kingdoms: As that the Stock, of Goods, of the
Spaniard, which is within his Majesties Power, and Diftrefle, is a
Trifle: Whereas the Stock of English Goods, in Spain, is a Maffe,
of mighty value. So as, if this Course, of Letters of Art, should 
take, to satisfie, a few hot Pursuitours, here; All the Goods,
of the English Subjects, in Spain, shall be exposed, to Seife, and
Arrest; And we have little, or nothing, in our Hands, on this
side, to mend our selves upon. And thus much, (Mr. speaker,)
is that, which I have collected, out of that excellent Speech, con-
cerning the First main part which was; The Consideration, of the
Petition as it proceeded, from the Merchant.

There followeth now, the Second Part; Considering the
Petition, as it was offered in this House. Wherein his Lordship;
after an affectionate Commemoration, of the Gravity, Capacity,
and Duty, which he generally found, in the proceedings of this
House; defired us, not, everthelife, to consider with him, how it was
possible, that the Entertaining of Petitions, concerning private
Injuries, and of this Nature, could avoid, these three Inconvenien-
cies. The First, of Injustice; The Second, of Derogation, from
his Majesties supreme, and absolute Power, of concluding, Warre,
or Peace; And the Third, of some prejudice, in reason of Es-
state.

For Injustice, it is plain, and cannot be denied, that we hear
but the one Part: Whereas that Rule, Audi alteram Partem, is not,
of the Formality, but of the Essence, of Justice: Which is, there-
fore figured, with both Eyes shut, and both Eares open. Because,
the should hear both sides, and respect Neither: So that, if we
should hap, to give, a right Judgement, it mouht be judicious,
but not justic, without hearing both Parties.

For the Point of Derogation; his Lordship said; He knew well,
we were no leefe ready, to acknowledge, then Himself; That
F 2 the
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the Crown of England was ever invected (amongst other prerogatives, not disputable) of an absolute Determination, & Power, of concluding, and making, War and Peace. Which, that it was no new Dotation, but of an ancient Foundation, in the Crown, he would recite unto us, an number of Presidents, in the Raignes of several Kings; And chiefly, of those Kings, which come nearest his Majesties own worthinesse: Wherein He said, that he would not put his Credit, upon Ciphar, and Dates; Because it was easy to mistake, the year of a Raigne, or number of a Rowle, but he would avouch them, in substance, to be perfect and true, as they are taken, out of the Records. By which Presidents, it will appear; That Petitions made in Parliament to Kings, of this Realme, his Majesties Progenitors; Intermedling, with matter, of Warr, or Peace; Or inducement thereunto; Received small Allowance, or Success; But were alwaies put off, with Dilatory Answers: Sometimes, referring the matter, to their Council; Sometimes, to their Letters: Sometimes to their further Pleasure, and Advice; And such other manner; Expressing plainly, that the Kings meant to reserve, Matter of that Nature, entirely to their own Power, and pleasure.

In the 18th. yeare of King Edward the First; Complaint was made, by the Commons, against the Subjects, of the Earle of Flanders, with Petition of Redresse: The Kings Answer was; Rex nihil adiit potest, quam eodem modo petere: That is, The King could do no more, but make Request, to the Earle of Flanders, as Request had been made to him: And yet no Body will imagine, but King Edward the First was potent enough, to have had his Reason, of a Count of Flanders, by a Warr: And yet, his Answer was; Nihil adiit potest; As giving them to understand; That the Entering into a Warr, was a Matter Transcendent, that must not depend, upon such Controversies.

In the 4th. year of King Edward the Third; The Commons Petitioned; That the King would enter, into certain Covenants, and Capitulations, with the Duke of Brabant: In which Petition, there was also inferted, somewhat touching a Money Matter. The Kings Answer was; That for that, that concerned the Money, they ought handle it, and examine it; But touching the Peace, he would do, as to himself seemed good.

In the 18th. year, of King Edward the Third; The Commons petitioned, that they might have, the Triall, and proceeding, with certain Merchants Strangers, as Enemies to the State. The Kings Answer was; It should remain, as it did, till the King had taken further order.

In the 45th. year of King Edward the Third; The Commons complained; That their Trade with the Eaterlings, was not upon equall Terms; (which is one, of the poiunts,2 insuffizt upon in the present Petition;) And prayed an Alteration, and Reducement. The Kings Answer was; It shall be so, as occasion shall require.
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In the 50th. year, of the same King: The Commons petitioned to the King, for Remedy, against the Subjects of Spain, as they now do. The King's Answer was; that he would write his Letter, for Remedy. Here is Letters of Request, no Letters of Art: Nihil potest nisi eodem modo petere.

In the same year, the Merchants of Torke, petitioned in Parliament, against the Hollenders; And desired their Shipps might be stayed, both in England, and at Calais. The King's Answer was: Let it be declared, to the King's Council; And they shall have such remedy, as is according to Reason.

In the 2d. year of King Richard the second, the Merchants of the Seacoast, did complains, of adverse spoiles upon their Shipps, and Goods, by the Spaniard. The King's Answer was, that with the Advise of his Council, he would procure remedy.

His Lordship cited two other Presidents; The one, in the second yeare, of King Henry the Fourth; of a Petition, Against the Merchants of Genoa: The other, in the 11th. yeare, of King Henry the 6th; Of a Petition, against the Merchants, of the Stiliard; which I omit, because they contain, no variety of Answer.

His Lordship further cited, two Presidents, concerning other points of Prerogative; Which are, likewise, Flowers of the Crown; The one; Touching the King's supremacy Ecclesiastical: The other; Touching the Order, of Weightes, and Measurers. The former of them, was, in the time, of King Richard the 2d. At what time, the Commons complained, against certaine Encroachments, and Usurpations, of the Pope: And the King's Answer was; The King hath given Order, to his Council, to treat with the Bishops, thereof. The other was, in the 18th. year of King Edward the First; At which time, Complaint was made, against uneven Weightes; And the King's Answer was, Vocentur partes, ad placita Regis, &c. fit Justitia: Whereby it appeared, that the Kings of this Realme, still used, to refer Causes, petitioned in Parliament, to the proper places, of Cognizance, and Decision. But for the Matter, of Warre, and Peace; As appears in all the former Presidents; The King, ever kept it, in secretio pectoris; In the Shrines, of their own Breast; Aflifted, and advised, by their Council of Estate.

His Lordship did conclude, his Enumeration of Presidents, with a notable President, in the 17. year, of King Richard the Second. A Prince, of no such glory, nor strength: And yet, when he made offer, to the Commons in Parliament; That they should take into their Considerations, Matter of Warre, and Peace, then in hand; The Commons, in Modesty, excused themselves, and answered; The Commons will not presume to treat of so high a charge. Out of all which Presidents, his Lordship made this Inference, that as, 

Vice Datm docet; So by these Examples, Wife Men, will be admonished, to forbear those Petitions to Princes, which are not likely, to have, either a Welcome Hearing, or an effectuall Answer.
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And for prejudice, that might come, of handling, and debating, Matter of War, and Peace, in Parliament; He doubted not, but that the Wisedom, of this House, did conceive, upon what secret Consideration, and Motives, that point did depend. For that, there is no King, which will providently, and Maturely, enter into a War; But will first ballance, his own Forces; Seek to anticipate, Confederacies, and Alliances; Revoke his Merchants; Find an opportunity, of the first Breach; And many other points: which if they once, do but take wind, will prove vain, and frustrate. And therefore, that this Matter, which is Arcanum Imperij, one of the highest Mysteries of Estate, must be suffered, to be kept, within the Vaile. His Lordship adding, that he knew not well, whether in that, which he had already laid, out of an extreme Defire, to give us satisfaction; He had not communicated, more particularly, then perhaps was requisite. Nevertheless, he confessed, that sometimes, Parliaments have been made acquainted, with Matter of War, and Peace, in a generality; But it was, upon one of these Two Motives: When the King, and Counsell, conceived; That either it was Material, to have some Declaration, of the zeal, and Affection, of the People; Or else, when the King needed, to demand Moneys, and Aiders, for the Charge, of the Wars; Wherein, if Things did fort to Warre, we were sure enough, to hear of it. His Lordship hoping, that his Majesty, would find, in us, no less readiness, to support it, then to perswade it.

Now, (Mr. Speaker,) for the last part; Wherein, his Lordship, considered the Petition, As it was, recommended from us, to the upper House; His Lordship delivered, thus much, from their Lordsips; That they would make, a good Contraetion, of our Desires; As thefe, which they conceived, did rather spring, out of a Feeling, of the Kings Strength; And out of a Feeling of the Subjects Wrong; Nay more, out of a Wisdome, and Depth, to declare our forwardness, if need were, to affist his Majesties future Resolutions; (which Declaration, might be of good use,) (for his Majesties Service, when it should be blown abroad;) Rather, I say, that then we did, in any fort, determine, by this their Overture, to do that wrong to his Highness Supreme Power; Which happily, might be inferred, by thefe, that were rather apt to make evil, then good Illations, of our proceeding. And yet, that their Lordsips, for the reasons, before made, most plainly tell us; That they neither could, nor would, concur with us, nor approve the course. And therefore concluded; That it would not be amifs, for us, for our better Contentment, to behold the Conditions, of the last Peace with Spain, which were, of a strange nature, to him that duly observes them; No Forces recalled, out of the Low-Countries; No new Forces, (as to Volunteers) restrained to go thither: So as the King, may be in peace, and never a Subject in England, but may be in War: And then, to think thus with our selves; That that King, which would give no ground, in making
Making his Peace, will not loose any Ground, upon just provocation, to enter into an Honourable War. And that, in the mean time, we should know thus much; that there could not be more forcible Negotiation, on the Kings part, but Blowes, to procure Remedy of those Wrongs; nor more fair promises, on the King of Spaines part, to give contentment, concerning the same: And therefore, that the Event, must be expected.

And thus (Mr. Speaker,) have I passed over, the Speech, of this worthy Lord; whose Speeches (as I have often said,) in regard of his place, and Judgement, are extraordinary Lights, to this House; and have both the properties of Light; That is Conducting, and Comforting. And although (Mr. Speaker,) a Man would have thought, nothing had been left, to be said; Yet I shall now, give you account, of another Speech, full of excellent Matter, and Ornaments; And without Iteration. Which, nevertheless, I shall report, more compendiously; Because, I will not offer the Speech, that wrong, as to report it at large, when your minds per-"cance, and Attentions, are already wearied.

The other Earl, who, usually, doth bear a principal part, upon all important Occasions; used a Speech, first of Preface, then of Argument. In his Preface, he did deliver, that he was persuaded, that both House did differ, rather in Credibility, and Belief, then in Intention, and Desire. For it must be, their Lordships did not believe the Information so far, but yet desired, the Reformation as much.

His Lordship said further, that the Merchant was a State, and Degree of persons; Not only to be respected, but to be prayed for; And graced them, with the best Additions; That they were, the Convoyes, of our Supplies; The Vents of our Abundance; Neptunes Almsmen; and Fortunes Adventurers. His Lordship, proceeded, and said; This Question, was new to us, but antient to them: Assuring us, that the King, did not bear, in vaine, the Devise of the Thistle, with the word; Nemo me lacesset impune; And that, as the Multiplying of his Kingdomes, maketh him feel his own Power; So the Multiplying of our Loves, and Affections, made him to feel our Griefs.

For the Arguments, or Reasons, they were Five in number, which his Lordship used, for satisfying us, why their Lordships, might not concur with us, in this Petition. The first was, the Composition of our House; which he took, in the first foundation thereof, to be merely Democraticall; Consisting, of Knights of Shires, and Burgesses of Townes; And intended to be of those, that have their Residence, Vocation, and Employment, in the places, for which they serve: And therefore, to have a private, and locall wisedom, according to that Complafe; And so, not fit, to examine, or determine, secrets of Estate, which depend, upon such Variety, of Circumstances; And therefore, added, to the President formerly vouched, of the 17. of King Richard the 2d; When the Commons disclaimed
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disclaimed, to intermeddle in matter of War and Peace; That their
Answer was, that they would not presume, to treat of so high, and
variable a Matter. And although, his Lordship acknowledged;
That there be divers Gentlemen, in the Mixture, of our House;
That are of good Capacity, and Inlight in Matters of Estate; yet
that was the Accident of the Person, and not the Intentionent
of the place. And Things were to be taken, in the Institution; not in
the Practice.

His Lordship's second Reason, was; That both, by Philosophy, and
 Civill Law, Ordinatio Belli, & pacis, et absoluta Imperij; A principall
Flower of the Crown. Which Flowers, ought to be so dear unto us, as
we ought, if need were, to water them with our Blood. For if
those Flowers, should, by neglect, or upon facility, and good affec-
tion, wither, and fall, the Garland would not be worth the
wearing.

His Lordship's third Reason was; That Kings did so love, to imitate
Primum Mobile, as that, they do not like, to move in borrowed
Motions; So that, in those things, that they do, most willingly, in-
tend; yet they indure not, to be prevented, by Request. Whereof
he did allledge, a notable Example, in King Edward the 3d, who
would not hearken, to the Petition of his Commons, that befought
him, to make the Black Prince, Prince of Wales. But yet, after that
Repulse, of their Petition, out of his own meer Motion, he created
him.

His Lordship's fourth Reason, was; That it mought be some scan-
dall, to step, between the King, and his own Virtue: And that it
was the Duty of Subjects; Rather, to take honours, from King's
Servants, and give them to King; then to take honours from
Kings, and give them to their Servants: Which, he did, very ele-
gantly, set forth, in the Example of Joab; who lying at the Siege of
Rabbah; And finding, it could not hold out; write to David, to come,
and take the Honour, of taking the Town.

His Lordship's last Reason was, that it cast some appersion upon
his Majesty; Implying, as if the King, leapt out the Sobs of his Sub-
jects, until he was awaked, with the Thunderbolt of a Parlia-
ment.

But his Lordship's Conclusion, was very Noble; Which was, with
a Protestation; That what Civill Threats, Contestation, Art, and
Argument, can do, hath been used, already, to procure Remedy,
in this Cause: And a Promise; That if Reason, of State, did per-
mit, as their Lordships were ready, to spend their Breath, in the
pleading, of that we desire: so they would be ready, to spend
their Bloods, in the Execution thereof.

This was the Resolution, of that which passed.
A Speech, used to the King, by his Majesties Solicitor, being chosen, by the Commons, as their Mouth, and Messenger, for the presenting to his Majesty, of the Instrument, or Writing, of their Grievances; In the Parliament 7th. Jacobi.

Most gracious Sovereign; The Knights, Citizens, and Enraged, assembled in Parliament, in the House, of your Commons, in all humbleness do Exhibit, and present, unto your Sacred Majesty, in their own Words, though by my hand, their Petitions, and Grievances. They are here conceived, and let down in writing; According to ancient Custom, of Parliament. They are also prefaced, according to the Manner, and Taft, of these later Times. Therefore, for me, to make any Additionall Preface, were neither warranted, nor convenient: Especially speaking before a King; The Exactness of whose Judgement, ought to scatter, and chase away, all unnecessary Speech as the Sun doth a Vapour. This only I must say: Since this Session of Parliament, we have seen your Glory, in the Solemnity, of the Creation, of this most Noble Prince: We have heard your Wildome, in Fundry excellent Speeches, which you have delivered amongst us. Now we hope, to find, and feel, the Effects of your Goodness, in your Gracious Answer, to these our Petitions. For this we are persuaded, that the Attribute, which was given, by one of the wisest Writers, to Two, of the best Epigramms: Divus Nerua, & Divus Traianus; (So faith Tacitus,) Res olim insociabiles miserae, Imperium, & Libertatem; May be truly applied, to your Majesty. For never was there, such a Conserver of Regality, in a Crown; Nor never, such a Protector, of lawfull Freedom, in a Subject.

Only this, (Excellent Sovereign,) Let not the Sound of Grievances, (though it be sad,) seem harsh, to your Princely Ears: It is but Comitus Columbae; The Mourning of a Dove; With that Patience, and Humility of Heart, which appertaineth, to loving and Loyall Subjects. And far be it from us; But that, in the midst, of the Sense, of our Grievances, we should remember, and acknowledge the infinite Benefits, which by your Majesty, next under God, we do enjoy; Which bind us, to whil unto your life, Fulness of Dayes; And unto your Life Royal, a Succession, and Continuance, even unto the worlds end.

It resteth, that unto these Petitions, here included, I do adde one more, that goeth to them all: Which is That if, in the words, and frame, of them, there be any Thing offensive; Or that we have expressed our Selves, otherwise then we should, or would; That your Majesty would cover it, and cast the Vaile,
A Speech, to the King, concerning the Grievances of the House.

of your Grace upon it; And accept of our good Intentions; And help them, by your benign Interpretation.

Lastly, I am, most humbly, to crave, a particular pardon, for my self, that have used these few words; And scarcely, should have been able, to have used any at all, in respect of the Reverence, which I bear, to your Person, and Judgement, had I not been somewhat relieved, and comforted, by the Experience, which in my Service, and Access, I have had, of your continuall Grace, and Favour.

A Speech, of the Kings Sollicitour, used unto the Lords, at a Conference, by Commission, from the Commons; Moving, and persuading the Lords to join with the Commons, in Petition to the King; To obtain Liberty, to treat, of a Composition, with his Majesty, for Wards, and Tenures: In the Parliament, 7o. Jacobi.

The Knights, Citizens, and Burgess, of the House of Commons, have commanded me, to deliver to your Lordships, the Causes of the Conference, by them prayed, and by your Lordships attended, for the second Business, of this Day. They have had Report, made unto them, faithfully, of his Majesties Answer, declared by My L. Treasurer, touching their humble Desire, to obtain Liberty, from his Majesty, to treat, of compounding for Tenures. And first, they think themselves, much bound unto his Majesty; That, in Renewed, in which case Princes use to be apprehensive, he hath made a gracious Constitution, of their Proposition. And so much they know of that, that belongs to the Greatness of his Majesty, and the Greatness of the Cause; As themselves acknowledge, they ought not, to have expected a present Resolution; Though the Wife-Man faith; Hope deferred is the Burning of the Soul. But they know, their Duty to be, to attend his Majesties Times, at his good pleasure. And they do it, with the more comfort, because in that his Majesties Answer, (Matching the Times, and weighing the Passages thereof,) they conceive, in their Opinion, rather Hope, then Discouragement.

But the principal Causes, of the Conference, now prayed; (Besides these significations of Duty, not to be omitted;) Are two Propositions. The one, Matter of Excuse, of themselves: The other Matter of Petition. The former of which grows thus. Your Lordship, (my L. Treasurer) in your last declaration, of his Majesties Answer, (which according to the Attribute, then given unto it, had Imaginum Caesaris, fair, and lively, graven,) made this true, and effectual Distribution: That there depended upon Tenures, Considerations of Honour; of Conscience; And of Utility: Of these three, Utility, as his Majesty let it by, for the present, out of the Greatness of
of his Mind; So we set it by, out of the Jutneffe, of our Desires: For we never ment, but a goodly, and worthy Augmentation, of the Profit, now received, and not a Diminution. But, (to speak truly, ) that Confederation falleth naturally to be examined, when Liberty of Treaty is granted: But the former Two, indeed, may exclude Treaty; And cut it off, before it be admitted.

Nevertheless, in this that we shall say, concerning those Two, We desire to be conceived rightly: We mean not, to dispute with his Majesty, what belongeth to Sovereign Honour, or his Princely Confidence; Because we know, we are not capable, to discern them; Otherwise, then as Men use, sometimes, to see the Image, of the Sun, in a Pail of Water. But this we say for our selves; God forbid, that we, knowingly, shou'd have propounded any thing, that mought, in our Sense, and persuasion, touch, either of both: And therefore herein we desire to be heard, not to conform, or perfiwade his Majesty, but to free, and excuse, our selves.

And first, in generall, we acknowledge, that this Tree of Tenures, was Planted, into the Prerogative, by the ancient common Law of this Land: That it hath been Fenced in, and Preferred, by many Statutes; And that it yeldeth, at this day, to the King, the Fruit, of a great Revenue. But yet notwithstanding, if upon the Stems, of this Tree, may be raised a Pillar, of support to the Crown, Permanent, and durable as the Marble, by investing the Crown, with a more ample, more certain, and more loving, Dowry, then this of Tenures, we hope we propound no Matter of Disservice.

But to speak, distinctly, of both, and first of Honour. Wherein, I pray your Lordships, give we leave, in a Subject, that may seem, supra Nos, to handle it, rather as we are capable, then as the Matter, perhaps, may require. Your Lordships well know, the various Mixture, and Composition, of our Honie. We have, in our Hone, learned Civilians, that professe a Law, that we reverence, and sometimes consult with: They can tell us, that all the Laws de Feodis, are but Additionals, to the Ancient Civil Law; And that the Roman Emperours, in the full Height of their Monarchy, never knew them; So that they are not Imperial. We have grave Professours, of the Common Law, who will define unto us, that those are Parts of Soveraignty, and of the Royall Prerogative, which cannot be communicated with Subjects: But for Tenures, in substance, there is none of your Lordships, but have them; And few of us, but have them. The King, indeed, hath a priority, or first Service, of his Tenures; which liewes, that they are not Regall, nor any point of Soveraignty. We have Gentlemen, of honourable Service, in the Wars, both by Sea and Land; Who can enforce us, that when it is in question, who shall set his foot, foremost, towards the Enemy, it is never asked, whether he hold in Knights Service, or in Seance. So have we many Deputy Lieutenants,
A Speech, about Wards, and Liveryes.

to your Lordships; And many Commissioners, that have been for Misters, and Levies; That can tell us, that the Service, and Defence, of the Realm, hath, in these days, little dependance upon Tenures. So then we perceive, that it is no Bond, or Ligament, of Government; No Spur of Honour; No Bridle of Obedience: Time was, when it had other ues, and the Name of Knights Service imports it: But, Vocabula manent, Res fugiunt. But all this, which we have spoken, we confess to be, but in a vulgar Capacity; which, nevertheless, may serve, for our Excuse; Though we submit, the Thing it self, wholly to his Majesties Judgement.

For Matter of Conscience, Far be it from us, to call in any Thing, willingly, that, may trouble, that clear Fountain, of his Majesties conscience. We do confess, it is a noble Protection, that these young Birds, of the Nobility, and good Families, should be gathered, and clocked, under the wings of the Crown. But yet, Nature vis maxima: And, fium cuique discretus sanguis. Your Lordships will favour me, to observe my former Methods. The common Law it self, which is the best Bounds of our wisdom, doth even, in hoc Individuo, prefer the prerogative of the Father, before the prerogative of the King: For if Lands descend, held in chief, from an Ancestor, on the part of a Mother, to a Mans eldest Son, the Father being alive; The Father, shall have the Custody of the Body, and not the King. It is true, that this is only for the Father; And not, any other Parent, or Ancestor: But then, if you look, to the high Law of Tutelage, and Protection; And of Obedience, and Duty, which is the Relative thereunto; It is not said, Honour thy Father alone; But, Honour thy Father, and thy Mother, &c. Again, the Civilians can tell us, that there was a speciall Use, of the Pretorian Power, for Pupils, and yet no Tenures. The Citizens of London, can tell us; There be Courts of Orphants, and yet no Tenures. But all this while, we pray your Lordships, to conceive; That we think our selves, not competent, to discern of the Honour, of his Majesties Crown, or the Shrine of his Conscience; But leave it, wholly, unto him, and alllege these things, but in our own Excuse.

For Matter of Petition, we do continue our most humble suit, by your Lordships loving Conjunction, that his Majestie will be pleased, to open unto us, this entrance of his Bounty, and Grace; As to give us liberty, to treat. And lastly, we know his Majesties Times, are not subordinate at all, but to the Globe above: About this time, the Sun hath got even with the Night, and will rise apace; And we know, Solomon's Temple, (whereof your Lordship, my Lord Treasurer, spake) was not built in a day: And if We shall be so happy, as to take the Axe to hew, and the Hammer to frame, in this Case; We know, it cannot be, without Time; And therefore, as far, as we may, with Duty, and without Impoftunity, we most humbly defire, an Acceleration of his Majesties Answer, according to his good time, and Royall Pleasure.
A Speech, of the Kings Sollicitor, persuading the House of Commons, to desist from further Question, of receiving the Kings Messages, by their Speaker; And from the Body of the Councell; As well as from the Kings Person; In the Parliament 7° Jac.

It is my Desire, that if any the Kings Business, either of Honour or Profit, shall pass the House; It may be, not only, with externall prevailing; But with satisfaction, of the Inward Man. For in Content, where Tongue strings, not Hart-strings, make the Myick; That Harmony may end in Discord. To this I shall always bend my Endeavours.

The Kings Sovereignty, and the Liberty of Parliament, are; as the two Elements, and Principles of this Fjate; which, though the one be more Active, the other more Passive, yet they do not cross, or destroy, the one the other; But they strengthen, and maintain, the one the other. Take away Liberty of Parliament, the Grievs, of the Subject, will bleed inwards. Sharp, and Eager, Humours, will not evaporate; And then they must exulcerate, and so may endanger, the Sovereignty, it self. On the other side, if the Kings Sovereignty, receive Diminution, or any Degree of Contempt, with us, that are born under an Hereditary Monarchy; (So as the Motions of our Estates, cannot work, in any other Frame, or Engine;) It must follow, that we shall be a Meteore, or Corpus imperfectum; which kind of Bodies, come speedily to Confusion, and Dissolution. And herein, it is our Happinesse, that we may make, the same Judgement of the King, which Tacitus made of Nero;ie; Divus Nero, res olim Dissociabiles miscenit, Imperium, & Libertatem. Nerva did temper things, that before were thought incompatible, Sovereignty, and Liberty. And it is not amible, in a great Councell, and a great Cause, to put the other part of the Difference; which was significantly expressed, by the Judgement, which Apollonius made of Nero; which was thus. When Vespasian came out of Judea, towards Italy, to receive the Empire: As he pas'd by Alexandria, he spake with Apollonius, A Man much admired; And asked him a Question, of State. What was Nero's Fall, or overthrow? Apollonius said, Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government, he always, either wound up the Pins too high; and strained the strings too far; or let them down too low; and slackened the strings too much. Here we see the Difference, between Regular, and Able, Princes; And Irregular, and Incapable; Neros, and Nero. Thence tempers, and mingles, the Sovereignty, with the Liberty, of the Subject, wisely; And the other, doth interchange it, and vary it unequally, and absurdly. Since therefore, we have a Prince of so excellent Wisdom, and Moderation; Of whole
A Speech about receiving the Kings Messages.

whose Authority, we ought to be tender, as he is, likewise, of our Liberty; let us enter, into a true, and indifferent, consideration, how far forth the Case in Question, may touch his Authority, and how far forth our Liberty. And to speak clearly; in my Opinion, it concerns his Authority, much; and our Liberty nothing at all.

The Questions are Two. The one, whether our Speaker, be exempted, from Delivery, of a Message from the King; without our Licence. The other, whether it is not all one, whether he received it from the Body of the Council, as if he received it immediately from the King. And I will speak of the last First, because it is the Circumstance, of the present Case.

First, let us see, how it concerns the King, and then how it concerns Us? For the King, certainly, if it be observed, it cannot be denied, but if you may not receive his pleasure, by his Representative Body, which is his Council of his Estate; you both streighten his Majesty, in point of Conveniency; and weaken the Reputation, of his Council. All Kings, though they be Gods on Earth, yet (as he said) they are Gods of Earth: They may be of Extreme Age, they may be indisposed in Health; they may be absent. In these Cases, if their Councils may not supply their Persons, to what infinite Accidents, do you expose them? Nay, sometimes in Policy, Kings will not be seen, but cover themselves, with their Council; and if this be taken from them, a great part of their Safety, is taken away. For the other point, of weakening the Council, you know they are nothing, without the King. They are no Body Politique: They have no Commission under Seal. So as, if you begin, to distinguish, and disjoin them, from the King, they are Corpus Opaum: For they have Lumen de Lumine; and so, by distinguishing, you extinguish the principle Engine, of the Estate. For it is truly affirmed; That Constitution non habet potestaet delegatam, sed in herentem: And it is, but Rex in Cathedral: The King in his Chair, or Consistory, where, his Will and Decrees, which are, in privacy, more changeable, are setled and fixed.

Now for that which concerns our selves. First for Dignity, no man must think this a Disparagement for us. For the greatest Kings in Europe, by their Embassadors, receive Answers and Directions, from the Council; in the Kings absence; and if that Negotiation be fit, for the Fraternity, and Party, of Kings; It may much lesse, be excepted to, by Subjects.

For Life or Benefit, no Man can be so raw, and Unacquainted in the Affairs of the World, as to conceive, there should be any Disadvantage in it; as if such Answers, were lesse Firm and Certain. For it cannot be supposed, that Men of so great Caution, as Counsellors of Estate, commonly are; (whether you take Caution, for Wisdom, or Providence; or for Pledges, of Estate, or Fortune;) will ever erre, or adventure so far, as to exceed their
For As I fhould fpeak, I know In How the Message, But And your reverberate cafe ligations, In Live, (I take, What Form, as our that, bend Terrain, Citty, put the out on not the men, ments. our and put Part, the Kings Message, that, comeing out of his mouth, it prefheth us more, then out of a priy Councellours. Nay, it seems to be, a great Truth, of the Kings, towards the House; When the King, doubteth not, to put his Message, into their Mouth: As if, he fhould fpeak to the City, by the Recorder: Therefore, me thinks, we fhould not en terrain, this unnecessary Doubt. It is one ufe of wit, to make clear Things Doubtfull; But it is a much better, ufe of wit, to make Doubtfull Things clear; And to that, I would, Men would bend themselves.

A brief Speech, in the End, of the Session, of Parliament, 7o. Jac. Perswading some Supply, to be given, to his Ma- jefly; which feemed then, to stand, upon doubtfull terms; And paffed upon this Speech.

The proportion, of the Kings Supply, is not now in question: For when that fhall be, it may be, I fhall be of Opinion, that we f should give fo now, as we may the better give again. But as Things stand for the prefent. I think, the point of Honour, and Reputation, is that, which his Majesty ftandeth moft upon, That our Gift, may, at least be like thofe showers, that may ferve, to lay the Winds: Though they do not, sufficiently, Water the Earth.

To labour, to perfwade you, I will not; For I know not, into what Form, to cast my Speech. If I fhould enter, into a Lauda- tive, (though never fo due, and juft;) of the Kings great Merits, it may be taken for Flattery: If I fhould fpeak, of the ftrait Obligations, which intercede, between the King, and the Subject, in case of the Kings want, it were a kind of concluding the House: If I fhould fpeak, of the dangerous Confequence, which Want may reverberate upon Subjects, it might have a fhew, of a secret Me- nace.

These Arguments, are, (I hope,) needless: And do better, in your
A Speech, in the House, moving for supply to the King.

your Minds, then in my Mouth. But this, give me leave to say; That, whereas the Example, of Cyrus, was used; Who fought his Supply, from those, upon whom he had bestowed his Benefit; We must always remember; That there are, as well Benefits of the Scepter, as Benefits of the Hand; As well of Government, as of Liberty. Thefe, I am sure, we will acknowledge, to have come, plentifully, amongst us all; And all thofe, whom we repreffent: And therefore, it is every Mans Head, in this Case, that must be his Counfellor; And every Mans Heart, his Orator: And thofe inward Powers, are more forcible, then any Mans Speech; I leave it, and wish, it may go to the Question.

A Speech, delivered by the Kings Attourney, Sir Francis Bacon, in the Lower Houle; When the Houle was in great heat, and much troubled, about the undertakers; which were thought to be, fome able, and forward Gentle- men; Who, to ingratitude themselves, with the King, were faid, to have undertaken, that the Kings Business, fhould pafs in that Houfe, as his Majesty could wish. In the Parliament, 12°. Jac.

(Mr. Speaker,)
I have been hitherto, filent, in this Matter of undertaking, where- in, as I perceive, the Houfe, is much enwrapp'd.

First, because, (to be plain with you,) I did not well under- stand, what it meant, or what it was; And, I do not love, to offer at that, that I do not thoroughly conceive. That Private Men, fhould undertake, for the Commons of England: Why? A Man thought as well undertake, for the four Elements: It is a thing, fo giddy, and fo vafT, as cannot enter, into the Brain, of a sober Man. And specially, in a new Parliament; When, it was impossible to know, who should be of the Parliament; And when all Men, that know never fo little, the Conftitution of this Houfe, do know it to be fo open to Reason; As Men, do not know, when they enter into these Dores, what mind themselves will be of, until they hear Things argued, and debated. Much leff, can any Man make, a pollicy, of Affurance; what Ship, fhall come safe home, into the Harbour, in these Seas. I had heard, of un- dertakings, in feveral kinds: There were undertakers, for the Plantations, of Derry, and Colerane, in Ireland, the better to command, and bridle, thofe Parts: There were, not long ago, some undertakers, for the North-West Passage. And now, there are fome undertakers, for the Project, of Died, and DrefTed, Clothes. And, in short, every Novelty ufeth to be strengthened, and made good,
A Speech, when the House, was troubled about undertakers.

good, by a kind of undertaking. But, for the Ancient Parliament of England, which moves, in a certain Manner, and Spheric; To be undertaken, it passes my reach, to conceive, what it should be. Must we be all Died, and Dressed? And no pure bites amongst us? Or must there be, a new passage found, for the Kings Business, by a point of the Company, that was never sailed by, before? Or must there be, some Forts built, in this House, that may command, and contain the rest? (Mr. Speaker) I know, but two Forts, in this House, which the King ever hath; The Fort of Affection, and the Fort of Reason; The one, Commands the Hearts; and the other, Commands the Heads; And others, I know none. I think Achilles was a Wife Man; that described, the nature, of the Fly, that sat upon the Spoke, of the Chariot Wheel, and said to her self; What a Dust do I raise? So, for my part, I think, that all this Dust is raised, by light Rumours, and Buzzes, and not upon any solid Ground.

The second Reason, that made me silent, was, because this Suggestion, and Rumor, of undertaking, settles upon no Person certain. It is like, the Birds of Paradise, that they have in the Indes, that have no Feet, and therefore, they never light upon any place, but the wind, carries them away: And such a Thing, do I take, this Rumour to be.

And lastly, when that the King had, in his two several speeches, freed us, from the main of our Fears, In affirming, directly, that there was no undertaking to him; And that, he would have taken it to be no less derogation, to his own Majesty, than to our Merits.

To have the Acts, of his people, transferred, to particular persons; That did quiet me, thus far; That these Vapours, were not gone up to the Heads, howsoever, they might glow, and exude, in the Body.

Nevertheless, since I perceive, that this Cloud, still hangs over the House: And that it may do hurt, as well in Fame abroad, as in the Kings Ear, I resolved with my self, to do the part, of an honest voice, in this House, to counsel you, what I think, to be for the best.

Wherein first, I will speak plainly, of the pernicious Effects of the Accident, of this Brute, and Opinion, of undertaking; Towards Particulars; Towards the House; Towards the King; And wards the People.

Secondly, I will tell you, in Mine Opinion, what undertaking, is tolerable; And how far, it may be justified, with a good mind; And, on the other side, this same Ripping up, of the Question, of Undertakers; How far it may proceed, from a good Mind; And in what kind, it may be thought Malicious, and Dangerous.

Thirdly, I will shew you, my poor advice, what Means there are, to put an end, to this Question of Undertaking; Not falling, for the present, upon a precise Opinion; But breaking it, how many ways there be, by which you may get out of it; And lea-
A Speech, when the House, was troubled about undertakers.

And Lastly, I will advise you, how things, are to be handled, at the Committee, to avoid dissipation, and idole of Time.

For the First of these, I can say to you, but as the Scripture saith, Si invocem moraretis ab invocem confunximini. If ye fret, and gull, one another's Reputation; The end will be, that every Man shall go hence, like Coyn cried down; Of lestie price, than he came hither. If home, shall be thought, to fawn upon the Kings Business openly; And others, to croffe it secretly; Some shall be thought Practiceors, that would pluck the Cardes; And others, shall be thought Papists, that would shuffle the Cardes; what a Misery is this, that we should come together, to foul one another, instead of procuring the publick good?

And this ends not in particulars, but will make, the whole House, Contemptible: For now, I hear Men say; That this Question, of undertakings, is the predominant Matter of this House. So that we are now, according to the Parable of 9othan, in the Cafe, of the Trees of the Forrest; That when Question was, whether the Vine should reign over them? That mought not be: And whether the Olive should reign over them? That mought not be; But we have accepted the Bramble, to reign over us. For it seemes, that the good Vine, of the Kings Graces, that is not so much in esteem: And the good Oyle, whereby we should salve, and relieve, the wants, of the Estate, and Crown, that is laid aside too: And this Bramble, of Contention, and Emulation; This Abimelech, which (as was truly said, by an understanding Gentleman,) is a Bashard: (For every Fanne, that wants a Head, is Filius populi;) This mult Reign, and Rule amongst us.

Then for the King nothing can be more opposite, Ex diametro, to his Ends and Hopes, then this. For you have heard him profes like a King; and like a gracious King, that he doth not, so much, respect, his present supply; As this demonstration, that the People Hearts are more knit to him, then before. Now then, if the Blue shall be this, that whatsoever shall be done for Him, shall be thought to be done, but by a number of Persons, that shall be laboured, and packt; This will rather be a sign of Difidence, and Alienation, then of a naturall Benevolence, and Affection, in his People, at home; And rather Matter, of Disreputation, then of Honour, abroad. So that to speak plainly to you; The King were better call, for a new Pair of Cards, then play upon thee, if they be packt.

And then for the People; It is my manner, ever, to look, as well beyond a Parliament, as upon a Parliament; And if they abroad, shall think themselves, betrayed by those, that are their Deputies, and Attorneys here; it is true, we may bind them, and conclude them, but it will be, with such Murmur, and Insatisfaction, as I would be loath to see.

These Things mought be dissembled; And so things left, to
A Speech, when the House, was troubled about traitors.

bleed inwards; but that is not the way, to cure them. And therefore I have searched the Soure, in hope, that you will endeavour the Medicine.

But this to do more thoroughly, I must proceed, to my Second Part; To tell you celerely, and distinctly, what is to be set on the Right hand, and what on the left, in this business.

First, if any Man, hath done good Offices, to advise the King to call a Parliament; and to increase, the good Affection, and Confidence of his Majefty, towards his People; I say, that such a Person, doth rather Merit well, then commit any Errors; Nay further, if any Man, hath out of his own good mind, given an opinion, touching the Minds of the Parliament, in general; How it is probable, they are like to be found; And that they will have, a due feeling of the King's wants; And, will not deal drily, or illiberally, with him; This Man, that doth but think, of other Mens minds, as he finds his own, is not to be blamed. Nay further, if any Man, hath coupled this, with good wishes, and Propositions; That the King do comfort, the Hearts of his People, and testifie his own love to them, by filing off, the harshness of his Prerogatives; Retaining the substance, and strength; And to that purpose, like the good Hunsbider in the Scripture, That brought forth old foire and new, hath revolved the Petitions, and Propositions, of the last Parliament, and added new; I say, this Man hath found good Seed; And he that shall draw him into Envy for it, sower Tares. Thus much of the Right hand. But on the other side, if any shall mediately, or immediately, infuinf into his Majefty, or to others; That the Parliament, is as Cato said of the Romans, like sheep; That a Man, were better drive a Flock of them, then one of them; And however, they may be wise Men severally, yet, in this Assembly, they are guided by some few; which if they be made, and assured, the rest will easily follow: This is a plain Robbery, of the King of Honour, and his Subjects of Thanks; And it is to make the Parliament vile, and servile, in the eyes of their Sovereign; And I count it no better, than a supplanting, of the King and Kingdom. Again, if a Man shall make this Impression; that it shall be enough for the King to send us some things of them, that may serve, for colours; And let some Eloquent Tales, be told of them; And that will serve, Ad faciendum populum; any such Person, will find, that this House can well skill, of false Lights; And that it is, no wooing Tokens, but the true Love, already planted, in the Breast of the Subjects, that will make them do for the King. And this is my Opinion, touching those that may have persuaded a Parliament. Take it on the other side, (for I mean in all things to deal plainly) If any Man hath been different touching the Call of a Parliament, Thinking, that the best Means, were first for the King, to make his utmost tryall, to sublign of himself, and his own Means; I say, an Honesty, and Faithfull Heart, mought consent to that Opinion; And the event, it seems doth, not greatly discredite it hitherto. Again, if any Man,
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shall have been of Opinion, that it is not a particular Party, that can bind the House; No; that it is not: Shews or Colours, can please the House; I say, that Man, though his Speech tend to discouragement, yet it is coupled with Providence. But by your leave; if any Man since the Parliament was called, or when it was in speech, shall have laid Plots, to croffe the good will of the Parliament, to the King; By palhessing them, that a few shall have the thanks; And that they are (as it were) bought and sold, and betrayed. And that, that which the King offers them, are but Baites, prepared by particular Persons; Or have raised Rumours, that it is a pack of Parliament; To the end, nothing may be done, but that the Parliament may be dissolved (as Gamesters use to call for new Cards, when they mistrust a Pack:) I say, These are Engins, and Devises, Naught, Maligne, and Seditious.

Now for the Remedy; I shall rather break the Matter, (as I said in the Beginning,) then advise positively. I know but three ways. Some Message of Declaration to the King. Some Entry, or protestation, amongst our selves: Or some, siriell and punstill Examination. As for the last of these, I assure you, I am not against it, if I could tell where to begin, or where to end. For certainly, I have often seen it, that Things, when they are in another trouble more, then when they break out. Smoak blinds the Eyes, but when it blazeth forth into Flame, it gives light to the Eyes. But then, if you fall to an Examination, some Person must be charged; some Matter must be charged: And the manner, of that Matter, must be likewise charged: For it may be in a Good Fashion, and it may be in a Bad; In as much difference as between Black, and White: And then, how far Men will ingenuously confess: How far they will politickly deny: And what we can make, and gather, upon their Confession: And how we shall prove, against their Deniall, It is an endless piece of Work: And I doubt, that we shall grow, weary of it.

For a Message to the King; It is the Course, I like best; so it be carefully, and considerately, handled: For if, we shall represent to the King, the Nature of this Body, as it is; Without the vayles, or shadows, that have been cast upon it; I think, we shall do him Honour, and our selves Right.

For any Thing, that is to be done, amongst our selves, I do not see much gained by it; Because it goes no further then our selves: Yet if any thing, can be wisely conceived, to that end, I shall not be against it; But, I think, the purpose of it, is fittest to be; Rather, that the House conceives, that all this, is but a Mis-understanding: Then to take knowledge, that there is, indeed, a Just Ground; And then, to seek, by a Protestation, to give it a Remedy. For Protestations, and Proffessions, and Apologies, I never found them very Fortunate; But they rather encourage Suspicion, then clear it.

Why then the Last Part is, that these things, be handled at the
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the Committee, seriously, and temperately: Wherein I wish, that these four Degrees, of questions, were handled, in order.

First, whether we shall do any thing, at all, in it; Or passe by it, and let it sleep?

Secondly, whether we shall enter, into a particular Examination, of it?

Thirdly, whether we shall content our selves, with some Entry, or Protestation, amongst our selves?

And Fourthly, whether we shall proceed, to a Message, to the King; And what?

Thus I have told you mine Opinion. I know, it had been more safe, and politic, to have been silent; But it is, perhaps, more honest, and loving, to speak. The old Verse is: Nam nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse locutionem. But, by your leave, David saith; Silus a bonus, & Color nec reposuit est. When a Man speaketh, He may be wounded by Others; but if He holds his peace; from Good Things, he wounds Himself. So I have done my part, and leave it to you, to do that, which you shall judge, to be the best.

The Charge, of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesties Attorney Generall, aginst William Talbot, a Counsellor at Law, of Ireland, upon an Information, in the Star-Chamber, Ore tenus; For a writing, under his Hand, whereby, the said William Talbot being demanded, whether the Doctrine of Suarez, touching Deposings, and Killing of Kings Excommunicated, were true, or no? He answered, that he referred himself, unto that, which the Catholick Roman Church, should determine thereof. Ultimo die Termini Hilarii, undecimo Jacobi Regis.

My Lords,

I brought before you, the first sitting, of this Term, the Cause of Duels: But now, this last sitting, I shall bring before you, a Cause, concerning the greatest Duell, which is in the Christian World; The Duels, and Conflicts, between the lawfull Authority, of Soveraign Kings, which is God's Ordinance, for the comfort of Humane Society; And the swelling pride, and usurpation, of the See of Rome, in Temporalibus; Tending, altogether, to Anarchy, and Confusion. Wherein, if this pretence, by the Pope of Rome, by Cartels, to make Soveraign Princes, as the Banditti: And to proscribe their Lives; and to expose their Kingdomes to prey; If these pretences, (I say,) and all Persons, that submit themselves,
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...to that part of the Pope's Power, be not, by all possible Severity, reprefled, and punifh'd; The State of Christian Kings, will be no other, then the ancient Torment, described by the Poets, in the Hell of the Heathen: A man fitting, richly robed, fomewhile attended, delicous fare &c. With a Sword hanging over his Head, hanging by a fmall thread, ready every moment to be cut down, by an accufing, and accufed, hand. Surely, I had thought, they had been the Prerogatives, of God alone, and of his Secret Judgements; Solomon Cingula Regum: I will loofen the Girdle of Kings, Or again; He powreth contempt upon Princes: Or, I will give a King in my wrath, and take him away again, in my displeafeure. And the like: But if these be the Claims, of a Mortall Man, certainly, they are but the Miferies, of that Perfon, which exalts himself, above all that is called God: Supra omne quod dictur Deus; (Note it well:) Not above God, (though that, in a fente, be true, in refpeft of the Authority, they claim over the Scriptures;) But, Above all that is called God; That is, Lawfull Kings, and Magiftrates.

But, my Lords, in this duel, I find this Talbot that is now before you, but a Coward: For he hath given ground; He hath gone backward, and forward; But in fuch a fallion, and with fuch Interchange, of Repenting, and Repainting, as I cannot tell, whether it doth extenuate, or aggravate, his Offence. If he fhall, more publikely, in the face of the Court, fall, and fettle, upon a right mind, I fhall be glad of it; And he that would be against the Kings Mercy, I would he might need the Kings Mercy; But, nevertheless, the Court will proceed, by Rules of Juftice.

The Offence, wherewith I charge this Talbot, Prisoner at the Ear, is this, in brief, and in Effect: That he hath maintained, and main- tained, under his hand, a power in the Pope for the Depofing, and An- thering, of Kings. In what fort he doth this, when I come, to the proper, and particular, charge, I will deliver it, in his own words, without Prefuming, or Straining.

But before I come to the particular charge, of this Man; I cannot proceed so coldly, but I muft exprefs, unto your Lordships, the extreme, and imminent Danger, wherein our Dear, and Dread, Sovereign, is; And, in him, we all; Nay, and wherein, all Princes of both Religions, (For it is a common Caufe,) do stand at this day; By the spreading, and Enforcing, of this furious, and pernicious, Opinion, of the Popes Temporal Power: which though, the moftef Sort, would blanch, with the Diftinction of; In ordine ad spirituam, yet that is but an Elusion; For he that maketh the Diftinction, will alfo make the Cafe. This peril, though it be, in itself, notorious, yet because there is a kind of Dullnes, and, almost, a Lethargy, in this Age; Give me leave to fet before you, two Gallifies; Such as, certainly, the like, never met, in one Age; The Glaffier of France, and the Glaffe of England. In that of France, the Tragedies acted, and executed, in two Immediate Kings; In the Glaffe of England, the fame, or more horrible, at
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tempted, likewise, in a Queen, and King, immediate; But ending, in a happy Deliverance. In France, H. 3. in the face of his Army, before the walls of Paris, stabbed, by a wretched Jacobine Fryer: H. 4. (a Prince; that the French do surname the Great) One, that had been a Saviour, and Redeemer, of his Country from infinite Calamities; And a Reformer of that Monarchy, to the ancient State, and Splendour; And a Prince, almost, Heroically, (except it be, in the Point, of Revolt, from Religion) At a time, when he was, as it were to mount on Horie-back, for the Commanding, of the greatest, Forces: that, of long time, had been levied in France; This King, likewise, filletted, by a Realist, which had been enchanted and conjured, for the purpose.

In England, Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory; A Queen comparable, and to be rankt, with the greatest Kings; Oftentimes attempted, by like votaries; Somnerwife, Party, Savage, and others; But still protected, by the Watch-man, that Shambeth not. Again, our excellent Sovereign, King James; The Sweetness, and Clemency, of whole nature; were enough, to quench, and mortar, all Malignity; And a King shielded, and supported, by Purity; Yet this King, in the Chair of Majesty, (his Vine and Olive Branches about him;) Attended, by his Nobles, and Third Estate, in Parliament; Ready, in the Twinkling of an Eye; (As if it had been, a particular Doomsday;) To have been brought to Ashes, dispersed to the four Winds. I noted, the last day my Lord Chief Justice, when he spake, of this Powder Treason, he laboured for words; Though they came from him, with great Efficacy, yet he truly confessed, and so must all Men; That, that Treason, is above the Charge, and Report, of any Words whatsoever.

Now, my Lords, I cannot let paff, but in these Glasses, which I spake of, besides the Fals themselves, and Danger, to shew you two Things. The one, the Ways of God Almighty, which turneth the Sword of Rome, upon the Kings; that are the Vassals of Rome; And over them, gives it power; But protecteth those Kings, which have not accepted, the Yoak of his Tyranny, from the Effects of his Mallice. The other, that, (as I said at first,) this is a common Cause, of Princes; It involveth Kings, of both Religions; And therefore, his Majesty, did most worthily, and prudently, ring out the Alarum Bell, to awaken all other Princes, to think of it, seriously, and in Time. But this is a miserable cafe, the while; That these Roman Souldiers, do, either thrust the Spear, into the Side of Gods Annointed; Or, at leaft, they crown them with Thorns; That is, piercing, and prickin, Care, and Fears, that they can never be quiet, or secure, of their Lives, or States. And as this Peril, is common to Princes, of both Religions: So Princes of both Religions have been, likewise, equally sensible, of every Injury, that touch't their Temporal.

Thus war reports in his Story; That when the Realm of France was
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was interdicted by the violent proceedings of Pope Julius the 2d, the King, Lewis the 12th, otherwise noted for a Moderate Prince, caused Coys of Gold to be stamped with his own Image, and this Supercription: Verdam nonen Babylonis & terra. And I humus faith, Himself hath seen, divers pieces thereof. So as this Catholic King was so much incensed at that time, in respect of the Pope's Supplication; As he did fore-run Luther, in applying Babylon to Rome. Charles the 5th, Emperor, who was accounted one of the Pope best Sons, yet proceeded, in matter temporall, towards Pope Clement, with strange Rigour; Never regarding the Pontificalty, but kept him Prisoner 18 Moonths, in a Pestilent Prison; And was hardly dissuaded by his Councell, from having sent him, Captive into Spain; And made sport with the Threats of Froberg, the German; who wore a silk Rope, under his Calloek, which he would shew in all Companies; Telling them, that he carried it, to strangle the Pope with his own hands. As for Philip the Fair, It is the ordinary Example, how he brought Pope Boniface the 6th, to an ignominiou End; Dying Mad and Entaged; And how he filled his Recept to the Popes Bull, whereby he challenged his Temporall; Sicat Patrias Vestra; Not your Beatitude, but your Subtitude; A Stile, worthy to be continued, in like Cales. For certainly, that claim is meerly Folly, and Fury. As for Native Examples here, it is too long a Field to enter into them. Never Kings of any Nation, kept the Partition wall, between Temporall, and Spiritual, better in times of greatest Superstition: I report me, to King Edward 1, that set up so many Crosses; And yet crowed that part of the Popes Jurisdiction, no Man more strongly. But these things, have palled better Pens and Speeches: Heere I end them.

But now to come to the particular Charge, of this Man: I must enform your Lordships the Occasion, and Nature, of this Offence. There hath been published, lately, to the World, a Work of Soveres, a Portugeef; A Professor in the University of Coimbra; A Confident, and daring Writer; such an one, as Tully describes in derision: Nihil tam verum, quam ne dubitate, aliquà de re, videreur: One that sees nothing, but this, least he should seem to doubt of any thing. A Fellow, that thinks, with his Magistrality, and Goose-quill, to give Lawes, and Mannages, to Crownes and Scepters. In this Man writing this odbrine of Depofit, and Anwering, Kings, seems to come to a higher Elevation, than heretofore; And it is more arted, and positted, then in others. For in the passages, which your Lordships shall hear read anon, I find three Assertions, which run, not in the vulgar Track, but are such, as wherewith Mens Eares (as I supposé) are not much acquainted. Whereof the first is, That the Pope hath a superiority over Kings, as Subjects to depose them; Not only, for Spiritual Crimes, as Hereflie, and Schism; But for Faults, of a Temporal Nature; Forasmuch, as a Tyrannical Government, tendeth ever, to the Destruccion of Souls. So by this Position, Kings of either Religi-
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...are alike comprehended, and none excepted. The Second, that after a Sentence given by the Pope, this Writer, hath defined, of a Series, or Succession, or Substitution, of Hangmen, or Burro's, to be sure, except an Executioner should fail. His Ass urison is; That when a King, is sentenced, by the Pope, to Depreciation, or Death; The Executioner, who is first in place, is He, to whom the Pope shall commit the Authority; Which may, be a Foreign Tyrant; it may be, a Particular Subject. It may be, in general, to the first undertaker. But if there be no Direction, or Assi g nation, in the Sentence, special, nor general, then, de Jure, it appertains to the next Successor: (A naturally, and pious, Opinion; For, commonly, they are Sons, or Brothers, or near of Kin, all is one;) So as the Successor be Apparent, and also that be a Catholique. But, if he be Doubtful, or that be no Catholique, then it devolves, to the Commonalty, of the Kingdom; So as, he will be sure, to have it done, by one Minister, or other. In the Third, he distinguishes, of two kinds, of Tyrants; A Tyrant in Title, and A Tyrant in Regiment; The Tyrant in Regiment, cannot be Fus foi ed, or killed, without a Sentence, precedent, by the Pope: But a Tyrant in Title, may be killed, by any private Man, whatsoever. By which Doctrine, he hath put the Judgement, of Kings Titles; (which, I will undertake, are never so clean, but that some vain Quarrel, or Exception, may be made unto them;) upon the Fancy, of every Private Man; And also, couples, the Judgement, and Execution, together; That he may judge him, by a Blow, without any other Sentence.

Your Lordships see, what Monstrous Opinions, these are; And how, both the Beasts, the Beasts with seven Heads, and the Beast with Many Heads, Pope, and people, are, at once, let in, and let upon the sacred Persons of Kings.

Now, to go on, with the Narrative. There was an Extraordinary Sentence, of certain Sentences, and Portions, of this Book; (Being, of this nature, that I have set forth;) By a great Prelate, and Counsellor, upon a just Occasion; And, there being some Howness, and Hesitation, in these Matters, (wherein, it is a thing impious, to doubt,) discovered, and perceived, in Talbot; He was asked, his Opinion, concerning these Assertions, in the Presence of his Majesty: And afterward, they were delivered to him; That, upon advice, and sedato animo, he thought declare himself; Whereupon, under his hand, he subscribes thus.
May it please your Honourable good Lordships: Concerning this Doctrine of Suarez, I do perceive, by what I have read, in his Book, that the same, doth concern, Matter of Faith; The Controversie growing, upon Exposition of Scriptures, and Councils; Wherein, (being ignorant, and not studied,) I cannot take upon me, to judge: But I do submit mine Opinion therein, to the Judgement, of the Catholick Roman Church, as in all other Points, concerning Faith, I do. And for Matter, concerning my Loyalty, I do acknowledge, my Soveraign Liege Lord King James, to be lawfull, and undoubted, King, of all the Kingdomes, of England, Scotland, and Ireland; And I will bear, true faith, and Allegiance, to his Highnesse, during my life.

Now, (my Lords,) upon these words, I charge William Talbot, to have committed a great Offence; And such an one, as if he had entred, into a voluntary, and malicious, Publication, of the like writing; It would have been, too great an Offence, for the Capacity of this Court. But because, it grew from a Question, asked by a Council of Estate; And so, rather seemeth, in a favourable Construction, to proceed, from a kind of Submission to answer, then from any malicious, or insolent Will, it was fit, according to the Clemency, of these Times, to proceed in this manner, before your Lordships. And yet, let the Hearers, take these things right; For certainly, if a Man be required, by the Lords of the Council, to deliver his Opinion, whether King James, be King, or no? And He deliver his Opinion, that He is not; This is, High Treason. But, I do not say, that these words, amount to that; And therefore, let me open them, truly, to your Lordships; And, therein, open also, (it may be,) the Eyes, of the Offender Himself, how far they reach.

My Lords, a Mans Allegiance, must be Independant, not provisionall, and conditionall. Elizabeth Barton, that was called, the Holy Maid of Kent, affirmed; That if K. H. B. Did not take, Katherine of Spain, again, to his Wife, within a twelve moneth, he should be no King; And this was judged Treason. For though this Act, be Contingent, and Future; yet Treason, of compassing, and imagining, the Kings Destruction, is present.

And in like manner, if a Man shou'd, voluntarily publish, or maintain; That whatsoever a Bull, or Deprivation, shall come forth against the King, that from thenceforth, he is no longer...
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King: This is of like Nature: But with this, I do not charge you neither: But this, is the true Latitude of your Words: That if the Doctrine, touching the Killing of Kings, be Matter of Faith, that you submit your self, to the Judgement, of the Catholick Roman Church: So as now, (to do you right,) your Allegiance, doth not depend simply, upon a Sentence, of the Popes Deprivation, against the King; But upon another point also; If these Doctrines be already, or shall be declared, to be Matter of Faith. But my Lords, there is little won in this: There may be some Difference, to the guiltinesse, of the Party; But there is little, to the Danger of the King. For the same Pope of Rome, may with the same breath, declare both. So as still, upon the matter, the King is made, but Tenant at will, of his Life, and Kingdomes; And the Allegiance of his Subjects, is pinn'd upon the Popes Act. And Certainly, it is Time, to stop the Current of this Opinion, of Acknowledgement of the Popes power, in Temporalibus: Or else, it will supplant, the Seat of Kings. And let it not be mistaken, that Mr. Talbot's Offence, should be no more, then the Refusing the Oath of Allegiance. For it is one thing, to be silent, and another thing to affirm. As for the Point of Matter of Faith, or not of Faith? To tell your Lordships plain, it would afterall a Man, to see the Gulf of this implied Belief. Is nothing excepted from it? If a Man should ask Mr. Talbot, whether he do condemn Murther, or Adultery, or Rape, or the Doctrine of Mahomet, or of Arius, instead of Zerarius; Must the Answerer be, with this exception, that if the Question concern a matter of Faith, (as no question, it doth, for the Moral Law is matter of Faith) That therein, he will submit himself, to what the Church shall determine? And no doubt, the Murder of Princes, is more then Simple Murther. But to conclude, (Talbot,) I will do you this Right; and I will not be reserved in this, but to declare that, that is true; That you came afterwards to a better mind; Wherein, if you had been constant, the King, out of his great goodness, was resolved, not to have proceeded with you, in Course of Justice: But then again, you Started aside, like a Broken Bow. So that, by your Variety, and Vacillation, you lost, the acceptable time, of the first Grace; which was, Not to have convicted you. Nay, I will go farther with you. Your last Submission, I conceive to be Satisfactory and Compleat; But then it was too late; The Kings Honour was upon it; It was published, and the Day appointed, for Hearing: Yet, what preparation, that may be, to the Second Grace of Pardon, that I know not: But I know, my Lords, out of their accustomed favour, will admit you, not only to your Defence, concerning that, that hath been Charged; But to extenuate, your Fault, by any Submission, that now, God shall put, into your mind, to make.
The Charge given, by Sr. Francis Bacon, his Majesties Attorney Generall, against Mr. I. S. for Scandalizing, and Traducning, in the publick Sessions, Letters sent, from the Lords of the Councell, touching the Benevolence.

My Lord: I shall inform you, ore tenue, against this Gentleman, Mr. I. S. A Gentleman, (as it seems) of an ancient House, and Name; But for the present, I can think of him, by no other Name, then the Name of a great offender. The Nature, and Quality, of his offence, in sum, is this. This Gentleman, hath, upon advice, not suddenly, by his pen; Nor by the Slip of his tongue; Not privately, or in a Corner, but publickly; As it were, to the face of the Kings Ministers, and Justices; Slandered and Traduced; The King, our Sovereign; The Law of the Land; The Parliament; And infinite Particulars, of his Majesties worthy, and loving Subjects. Nay, the Slander is, of that Nature, that it may seem, to interest, the People, in Grief, and Discontent, against the State; whence might have enuied, Matter of Murmur, and Sedition. So that it is not a Simple Slander, but a Seditions slander; like to that, the Poet speaketh of; — Calamospis, armarc Veneno. A Venemous Dart, that hath both iron, and poison.

To open, to your Lordships, the true State, of this Offence, I will set before you; First, the Occasion, whereupon Mr. I. S. wrought: Then the Offence, it self, in his own words: And lastly, the Points, of his Charge.

My Lords, you may remember, that there was the last Parliament, an Expectation, to have had the King, supplied, with Treasure, although the Event failed. Herein, it is not fit for me to give opinion, of an House of Parliament: But I will give testimony of Truth, in all places. I served, in the Lower House, and I observed somewhat. This I do affirm; That I never could perceive, but that there was, in that House, a generall Disposition, to give; And to give, largely. The Clocks in the House, perchance, might differ; Some went too fast, some went too slow: But the Disposition to give, was generall; So that I think, I may truly say; solo tempore lapsus Amor.

This Accident, happening thus, besides expectation: It stirred up, and awakened, in divers of his Majesties worthy Servants, and Subjects; of the Clergy, the Nobility, the Court, and others here near at hand, an Affection loving, and cheerfull; To present the King, some with Plate, some with Money, as a Freewill offering; (A Thing, that God Almighty loves; A Cheerfull Giver; what an Envy Evedoeth, I know not,) And (my Lords) let me speak it, plainly, unto
A Charge, against I. S. for scandalizing the Benevolence.

unto you; God forbid, any Body should be so wretched, as to think, that the Obligation of Love, and Duty, from the Subject, to the King, should be joynt, and not severall: No, my Lords it is both. The Subject petitioneth, to the King, in Parliament. He Petitioneth likewise, out of Parliament. The King, on the other side, gives Graces, to the Subjects, in Parliament: He gives them likewise, and poureth them, upon his People, out of Parliament: And so, no doubt, the Subject, may give, to the King, in Parliament, and out of Parliament. It is true, the Parliament, is Intercur-

ius Magens; The great Intercourse, and main Current, of Graces, and Donatives, from the King, to the People; from the People, to the King: But Parliaments are held, but at certain times: Whereas the Passages, are always open, for Particulars: Even as you see, great Rivers, have their Tides; But particular Springs, and Fountains, run continually.

To proceed therefore; As the Occasion, (which was the failing of Supply, by Parliament, did awake the Love, and Benevolence, of those, that were at hand, to give: so it was apprehended, and thought fit, by my Lords of the Council, to make a proof, whether the occasion, and Example both, would not awake, those in the Country, of the better sort, to follow. Whereupon, their Lordships devised, and directed Letters, unto the Sheriffs, and Justices, which declared what was done here above, and wished, that the Country might be moved, especially Men of value.

Now, My Lords, I beseech you, give me favour, and attention, to set forth, and observe, unto you, five Points: (I will number them, because other Men may note them; And I will but touch them, because they shall not be drowned, or lost in discourse;) which I hold worthy, the observation, for the Honour of the State, and Confession of Slanders: Whereby, it will appear, most evidently; What care was taken, that that, which was then done, might not have the effect, no nor the shew, no nor so much as the shadow, of a Tax: And that it was, so far, from breeding, or bringing in, any ill president, or Example, As, contrary wise, it is a Correction, that doth correct, and alloy, the Harshness, and Danger, of former Examples.

The first is; That what was done, was done, immediately after such a Parliament, as made general Profession to give, and was interrupted by Accident; So as, you may truly, and justly esteem it; Tamqua Postbusa Proles Parliamenti; As an After Child of the Parliament; And in pursuance, (in some small measure,) of the firm Intent, of a Parliament past. You may take it also, if you will, as an Advance, or Provisionall Help, until a Future Parliament: Or, as a Gratification simply, without any Relation, to a Parliament; you can, no ways, take it amisse.

The Second is, That it wrought, upon Example; As a Thing, not devised; Or projected; Or required; No, nor so much as recommended, until many, that were never moved; nor dealt
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with, Ex mero motu, had freely and frankly, sent in their presents. So that, the Letters, were rather like Letters of Newes, what was done at London, then otherwise: And we know, Exempla ducent, non trahunt; Examples, they do but Lead, they do not Draw, nor Drive.

The Third is, That it was not done, by Commission, under the Great Seal; A Thing warranted, by a Multitude of Presidents, both ancient, and of late time, as you shall hear anon; And no doubt, warranted by Law; So that, the Commissions, be of that Stile, and Tenour, as that they be to move, and not to levy: But this was done, by Letters of the Council, and no higher Hand, or Form.

The Fourth is, That these Letters, had no manner of Shew, of any Binding Act of State. For they contain, not any special Frame of Direction, how the Business should be Managed; But were written, as upon trust; Leaving the matter, wholly, to the Industry, and Confidence, of those in the Country; So that it was, an abjuge Composito; Such a form of Letter, as no Man could, fitly, be called to accompt upon.

The Fifth, and laft Point is; That the whole Carriage of the Business, had no Circumstance compulsory. There was no Proportion, Or Rate, set down, not so much as by way of a Wife: There was no Menace of any that should deny: No Reproof of any that did deny, No certifying, of the Names of any, that had denied. Indeed, if Men could not content themselves to deny, but that they must cenfure, and inveigh; Nor to excufe themselves, but they must accuse the State, that is another Cate. But, I say, for Denying, no Man was apprehended, no nor noted. So that, I verily think, that there is none so subtil a Disputer, in the Contreversie of Libcrum Arbitrium, that can, with all his Distinctions, falten, or carp, upon the Act, but that there was Free Will, in it.

I conclude therefore, (My Lords,) that this was a True, and pure, Benevolence; Not an Impofition, called a Benevolence, which the Statute speaks of; As you shall hear, by one of my Fellows. There is a great Difference, I tell you, (though Pilate would not see it,) between Rex judiciorum, and fo dicens Regem judicium; And there is a great difference, between a Benevolence, and an Exaction, called a Benevolence, which the Duke of Buckingham, speaks of, in his Oration to the City: And defineth it, to be, not what the Subject, of his good will, would give, but what the King, of his good will, would take. But this, I say, was a Benevolence, wherein every man, had a Prince Prerogative; A Negative Vote: And this word, (Excessum,) was a Flea peremptory. And therefore, I do wonder, how Mr. I. S. could soul, or trouble, so clear a Fountain; Certainly, it was but his own Bitternes, and unfound Humours.

Now to the particular Charge. Amongst other Countries, these Letters, of the Lords, came to the Judges of D—shire. Who signified, the Contents thereof; And gave Directions, and Ap-
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pointments, for meetings, concerning the Business, to several Towns, & Places within that County: And amongst the rest, notice was given, unto the Town, of A: The Mayor of A, conceiving, that this Mr. I. S. (being a Principal Person, and a Dweller, in that Town,) was a Man, likely to give, both money, and good Example: Dealt with him, to know his mind. He, intending, (as it seems,) to play prizes, would give no Answer, to the Mayor, in private, but would take Time. The next day then, being an Appointment of the Justices to meet, he takes occasion, or pretends occasion, to be absent, because he would bring his Papers, upon the Stage: And thereupon, takes Pen in hand, and, in hendi, of excusing himself, sets down, and contriveth, a seditionous, and libellous, Accusatition, against the King, and State; which your Lordships shall now hear; And sends it to the Mayor: And withall, because the Feather of his Quill, might fly abroad, he gives authority, to the Mayor, to impart it to the Justices, if he so thought good. And now, my Lords, because I will not mistake, or mis-repeat, you shall hear the Seditions Libell, in the proper terms, and words thereof.

Here the Papers were read.

My Lords, I know, this Paper, offends your Ears, much, and the Ears of any good Subject: And sorry I am, that the Times, should produce Offences, of this nature: But since they do, I would be more sorry, they should be passed, without severe punishment: Non tradite faciun, (as the Verco layes, altered a little,) Aut si tradatis, Faci quisque tradite popum. If any man, have a mind, to discourse, of the Fact; let him likewise, discourse, of the punishment, of the Fact.

In this Writing, (my Lords,) there appears, a Monster, with four Heads; Of the progeny, of him, that is the Father of Lies, and takes, his Name, from Slander.

The first is, a wicked, and seditionous, Slander; Or, (if I shall use the Scripture phrase,) a Blaspheming, of the King himself; Setting him forth, for a Prince, perjured, in the great, and solemn, Oath, of his Coronation; which is, as it were, the Knot of the Diadem: A Prince, that should be a Violator, and Infringer, of the Liberties, Laws, and Customs, of the Kingdom; A mark, for an H. the 4th, A Match, for a K. the 24.

The Second is, a Slander, and Falsification, and wresting, of the Law, of the Land, grosse, and palpable: It is truly said, by a Civilian, Tortura legum pessima: The Torture of Laws, is worse, then the Torture of Men.

The Third is, a Slander, and false charge, of the Parliament: That they had denied, to give to the King: A Point, of notorious untruth.

And the last is, a Slander, and Taunting, of an infinite Number,
of the Kings loving Subjects, that have given, towards this Bene-
volence, and free Contribution: Charging them, as Accessory, and
Coadjutors, to the Kings Perjury. Nay, you leave us not there;
but you take, upon you, a Pontifical Habit; And couple, your
Slander, with a Curse: But thanks be to God, we have learned suf-
fi ciently, out of the Scripture; That, as the Bird flies away, So the
curses, and Curses shall not come.

For the first of these, which concerns the King, I have taken to
my self, the opening, and Aggravation, thereof: The other three,
I have distributed, to my Fellows.

My Lords, I cannot, but enter, into this part, with some Wonder
and Astonishment; How it should come, into the Heart, of a Sub-
ject, of England to vapour forth, such a wicked, and venomous Sla-
der against the King; whose Goodness, & Grace, is comparable (if
not incomparable, unto any the Kings, his Progenitors. This there-
fore, gives me a Jult, & necessary occasion, to do two things. The
one to make, some Representation, of his Majesty; Such as truly
he is found to be, in his Government, which Mr. I. S. chargeth,
with Violation of Laws, and Liberty. The other, to search,
and open the Depth of Mr. I. S. his Offence. Both which, I will do
briefly; Because, the one, I cannot express, sufficiently; And
the other, I will not press, too far.

My Lords, I mean to make, no Pamegrick, or Laudative: The
King's delights not in it, neither am I fit for it: But if it were, but
a Councillor, or Noble-man, whose Name had suffered, and were to
receive, some kind of Reparation, in this High Court, I would do
him that Duty, as not to pass his Merits, and just Attributes, (es-
specially, such as are limited with the present Case) in silence:
For, it is lit, to burn Incefe, where evil Odours, have been cast,
and raised. Is it so, that King James shall be said to be a Violater,
of the Liberties, Laws, and Customs of his Kingdom? Or is he
not, rather, a noble, and Constant, Protector, and Conservator, of
them all? I conceive, this confieltly, in maintaining Religion, and
the true Church; In maintaining the Laws of the Kingdom which
is the Subject's Birth-right; In temperate use, of the Prerogative;
In due, and free, Administration of Justice; And Conservation of the
Peace, of the Land.

For Religion, we must ever acknowledge, in first place, that we
have a King, that is, the Principal Conserver, of true Religion
throughout the Christian World. He hath maintained it, not only,
with scepter and sword; But likewise by his Pen, wherein also he
is Potent.

He hath Awaked, and Reauthorized, the whole Truth, of the
Reformed Religion, throughout Europe; which through the Inso-
licity, and diverse Artifices, and Incantments, of the adverse
part, was grown, a little Dull, and Dejected. He hath summoned,
the Fraternity of Kings, to infranchise Themselves, from the
Usurpation, of the see of Rome. He hath made himself a Mark, of
Contradiction for it.
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Neither can I omit, when I speak of Religion, to remember, that excellent Act of his Majesty; which though it were done, in a Foreign Country, yet the Church of God is one; And the Contagion of these things, will soon pass Seas, and Lands: I mean, in his constant, and holy, proceeding against the Heretics Present, whom, (being ready, to enter into the Chair, and there to have authorized, one of the most pestilent, and Heathenish Heresies, that ever was begun;) His Majesty, by his constant opposition, dismounted, and pulled down. And I am persuaded, there fits, in this Court, one, whom God doth the rather blest, for being his Majesty's Instrument, in that Service.

I cannot remember Religion, and the Church, but I must think, of the seed-plots of the same, which are the Universities. His Majesty, as for Learning amongst Kings, he is incomparable, in his Person; So likewise, hath he been in his Government, a benign, or benevolent planet, towards Learning. By whose influence, those Nurseries, and Gardens of Learning, (the Universities) were never, more in Flower, nor Fruit.

For the Maintaining, of the Laws, which is the Hedge, and Fence, about the Liberty of the Subject, I may truly affirm, it was never in better repair. He doth concur, with the Votes, of the Nobles; Noviunus Leges Anglice mutaret. He is an Enemy of Innovation. Neither doth the Universality, of his own Knowledge, carry him, to neglect, or pass over, the very Formes of the Laws, of the Land. Neither was there ever King, (I am persuaded) that did consult, so oft, with his Judges; As my Lords, that sit here, know well. The Judges, are a kind of Council, of the Kings, by Oath, and ancient Institution: But he useth them, so indeed. He confers regularly, with them, upon their Returns, from their Visitations, and Circuits. He gives them Liberty, both to enform him, and to debate matters with him; And in the Fall, and Conclusion, commonly, relyeth, on their Opinions.

As for the use, of the Prerogative, it runs within the ancient Channels, and Banks: Some Things, that were conceived, to be in some Proclamations, Commissions, and Patents, as Overflows, have been, by his Wisedom, and Care, reduced; whereby, no doubt, the Main Channel, of his Prerogative, is so much the stronger. For evermore, Overflows, do hurt the Channel.

As for Administration of Justice, between Party and Party, I pray observe these points. There is no Newes, of Great Seal, or Signet, that flies abroad, for Countenance, or Delay of Causes: Protections rarely granted, and only upon great Ground, or by Consent: My Lords, here of the Counsell, and the King himself, meddle not, (as hath been used in former times) with Matters, of Mewn. and Trum; except they have apparent mixture, with Matters of Estate, but leave them to the Kings Courts of Law, or Equity. And for Mercy, and Grace, (without which, there is no standing, before
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Before Justice: we see, the King now hath reigned 12 years, in his White Robes, without, almost any Aspersions, of the Crimson Die, of Blood. There's my Lord Hobart, that served Attorney seven years. I served with him. We were so happy, as there passed not, through our hands, any one Arraignment for Treason; And but one, for any Capital Offence; which was that, of the Lord Sanglier; The Noblest piece of Justice, (one of them) that ever came to the King's Times.

As for Penall Laws, which lie, as Snares, upon the Subjects: And which were, as a Nemesis, to King Henry 7, it yields a Revenue, that will scarce pay, for the Parchment, of the King's Records, at Westminster.

And lastly for Peace: we see, manifestly, his Majesty, bears some Resemblance of that great Name; A Prince of Peace: He hath preferred his Subjects, during his Reign, in Peace, both within, and without. For the Peace, with States abroad, We have it, ufque ad Satiatiwm: And for Peace, in the Lawyers phrase, which count Trespasses, and Forces, and Riots, to be Contra pacem; Let me give your Lordships, this Token, or Taft; That this Court, where they should appear, had never leisure to do. And certainly, there is no better Sign, of Omnibus bene, then when this Court, is in a Still.

But, (my Lord,) this is a Sea of Matter; And therefore, I must give it over, and conclude; That there was never King, reigned, in this Nation, that did better keep Covenant, in preferring the Liberties, and procuring the Good, of his People. So that, I must needs say, for the Subjects of England; O Fortunatos nimium, jusse bona nortini: As, no doubt, they do, both know, and acknowledge it: Whatever a few turbulent Discoursetrs, may, through the Lenity of the time, take Boldness to speak.

And as for this particular, touching the Benevolence, wherein, Mr. I. S. doth assign, this breach of Covenant; I leave it, to others, to tell you; what the King may do: Or what other Kings, have done: But I have told you, what our King, and my Lords, have done; Which, I say, and say again, is so far, from introducing, a new President; As it doth, rather, correct, and mollifie, and qualify, former presidents.

Now, (Mr. I. S.) let me tell you, your fault in few words; For that, I am persuaded you see it already; Though I woos no Mans Repentance; But I shall, as much as in me is, cherish it, where I find it. Your Offence hath three parts knit together,

Your Slander;
Your Menace; and
Your Comparison.

For your Slander, it is no leasle, then that the King is perjured, in his Coronation Oath. No greater Offence then Perjury; No grea-
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After Oath, then that of a Coronation. I leave it; it is too great to aggravate.

Your Menace, that if there were a Fulling-broke, or I cannot tell what, there were Matter for him, is a very seditious Passage. You know well, that howsoever Henry the fourth Act, by a secret Providence of God, prevailed, yet it was but an Oyer-suitation: And, if it were possible, for such a one, to be, this day; (wherewith, it seems, your Dreams are troubled;) I do not doubt, this End would be upon the Block; And that he would, sooner, have the Ravens, sit on his Head, at London Bridge, then the Crown at Westminster. And it is not your interlacing, of your (God forbid,) that will serve these seditious Speeches; Neither could it be a Fore-warning, because the Matter was past, and not revocable; But, a very Stirring up, and Incensing, of the People. I will shew you to you, (for Example,) if these things, were like some former times, of King H. 8; Or some other times, which God forbid, Mr. I. S., it would cost you your life. I am sure, you would not think this, to be a gentle warning, but rather, that I incensed the Court against you.

And for your Comparison, with R. the 2. I see you follow the Example of them, that brought him upon the Stage, and into Print, in Queen Elizabeth’s time; A most prudent, and admirable, Queen; But let me entreat you, that when you will speak, of Queen Elizabeth, or King James, you would compare them to K. H. the 7th, or K. Ed. 1. Or some other Parables, to which they are like. And this would suit, both you, and all, to take heed of; How you speak seditious Matter, in Parables, or by Tropes, or Examples. There is a thing, in an Indictment, called an Innendo; You must beware, how you becken, or make Signs upon the King, in a Dangerous sense: But I will contain my self, and Prer this no further: I may hold you, for Turbulent, or Presumptuous, but I hope you are not Dilloyall: You are gracioufly, and mercyfuilly, dealt with. And therefore having now o’reen to my Lords, and, (as I think,) to your own Heart, and Conscience, the principall part of your Offence, which concerns the King; I leave the rest, which concerns the Law, Parliament, and the Subjects, that have given, to Mr. Serjeants, and Mr. Solicitor.

The Charge of Owen, indicted of High Treason, in the Kings Bench, by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesties Attorney General.

The Treason, wherewith, this Man standeth Charged, is, for the Kind, and Nature, of it, Ancient; As Ancient, as there is, any Law of England: But, in the particular, Late, and Upliftar: K 2 And
And again, in the Manner, and Boldness, of the present Case, New, and almost unheard of, till this Man. Of what mind he is now, I know not, but I take him as he was, and as he standeth charged. For High Treason, is not written in Ice; That when the Body relented, the Imprisonment should go away.

In this Cause, the Evidence it self, will spend little Time; Time therefore, will be best spent in opening, fully, the Nature of this Treason, with the Circumstances thereof; Because the Example, is more than the Man. I think good, therefore, by way of Inducement, and Declaration, in this Cause, to open unto the Court, Jury, and Hearers, five Things.

The first is, the Clemency, of the King; Because, it is Newes, and a kind of Rarity, to have a proceeding, in this place, upon Treason: And perhaps, it may be marvilled by some, why after, so long an Intermission, it should light upon this Fellow: Being a person, but contemptible; A kind of Venevous fly; And a Hang by of the Seminaries.

The Second is, the Nature of this Treason, as concerning the Fact; which, of all kinds, of compassing the King's Death, I hold to be the most perillous; And as much differing from other Conspiracies, as the lifting up of a thousand Hands, against the King (like the Giant Briareus,) differs, from lifting up one, or a few Hands.

The Third Point, that I will speak unto, is, the Doctrine, or Opinion; Which is the Ground of this Treason; Wherein, I will not argue, or speak, like a Divine, or Scholar; But, as a Man, bred, in a Civill Life: And to speak plainly, I hold the Opinion to be such, that deserveth, rather, Detestation, than Contemplation.

The Fourth Point, is the Degree, of this Man's Offence; which is more presumptuous, then I have known, any other, to have fallen into, in this kind: And hath, a greater Overflow, of Malice, and Treason.

And Fifthly, I will remove somewhat, that may seem to qualify, and extenuate, this Man's Offence; in that, he hath not affirmed, simply; That it is lawfull to kill the King, but conditionally; that if the King be Excommunicate, it is lawfull to kill him; which maketh little Difference, either in Law, or Perill.

For the King's Clemency, I have said it, of late, upon a good Occasion; And I still speak it, with comfort: I have now, served his Majesty, Solicitor, and Attorney, eight years, and better; yet, this is the first time, that ever I gave in Evidence, against a Traitor, at this Barre, or any other. There hath not wanted Matter, in that Party, of the Subjects, whence this kind of Offence floweth, to irritate the King: He hath been irritated, by the Powder-Treason, which might have turned Judgement, into Fury: He hath been irritated, by wicked, and monstrous, Libels; Irritated, by a general Insolence, and presumption, in the Papists, throughout the Land: And yet, I see, his Majesty keepeth Cæsar's Rule: Nol

malo,
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male, quam se esse semet facit, & memet. To leave them, to be like themselves; And he remaineth, like Himself; And striveth, to overcome Evil, with Goodness. A strange thing, Bloudy Opinions, Bloudy Doctrines, Bloudy Examples, and yet the Government, still, unainted with Bloud. As for this Owen, that is brought in question, though his Person be, in his Condition, contemptible; yet we see, by miserable Examples; That these Wretches, which are but the Scum of the Earth, have been able, to stir Earth-quake, by Murthering of Princes: And, if it were, in case of Contagion; (As this is a Contagion, of the Heart, and Soul;) A Raskall, may bring in a Plague, into the City, as well as a great Man: So it is not the Person, but the Matter, that is to be considered.

For the Treason it self, which is the second Point, my Desire is, to open it, in its Depth thereof, if it were possible, But it is bottomless: And so the Civil Law faith: Conspirations, omnium proditionum, odiosissime, & perniciosissime. Against Hoftile Invasions, and the Adherence of Subjects, to Enemies, Kings can arm: Rebellions, must go over, the Bodies, of many good Subjects, before they can hurt the King; but Conspiracies, against the Persons of Kings are like Thunder-bolts, that strike upon the suddain, hardly to be avoysed: Major metus a singular, (faith he,) quam ab universis. There is no Preparation against them. And that Preparation, which may be, of Guard, or Custody, is a perpetuall Mifery. And therefore, they that have written, of the Priviledges of Ambassadors, and of the Amplitude of Safe-Conduits, have defined; That if an Ambassador, or a Man, that commeth in, upon the highest safe-Conduits, do practice, Matter of Seditious, in a State, yet, by the Law of Nations, he ought to be remanded: But, if he conspire, against the Life of a Prince, by violence, or Poyson, he is to be justiced: Sola odium est omni Privilegio Majus. Nay, even amongst Enemies, and in the most deadly Wars, yet, nevertheless, Conspiracy, and Affiliates of Princes, hath been accounted villainous, and execrable.

The Manners of Conspiring, and compassing the Kings Death, are many: But it is most apparent, that amongst all the rest, this for- mounteth. First, because it is grounded, upon pretenced Religion; which is a Trumpet, that enflameth the Heart, and Powers of a Man, with Daring, and Resolution, more than any Thing else. Secondly, it is the Hardest to be avoided; For when a particular Conspiracy, is plotted, or Attempted, against a King, by some one, or some few Conspirators, it meets with a Number of Impediments. Commonly, he that hath the Head to devise it, hath not the Heart to undertake it: And the Person, that is used, sometime faileth in Courage, sometime faileth in Opportunity, sometines is touched with remorse. But to publish, and maintain, that it may be lawfull, for any Man living, to attempt the Life of a King; this Doctrine, is a Venomous Sop; Or, as a Legion of Malign Spirits,
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rits; Or an univerfall Temptation; Doth enter, at once, into the Hearts of all, that are any way prepared, or of any Predisposition, to be Temptors: So that whatsoever faileth in any one, is supplied in Many: If one Man faint, another will dare: If one man hath not the Opportunity, another hath: If one Man Relent, another will be Desperate. And Thirdly, particular Conspiracies, have their Periods of Time, within which, if they be not taken, they vanish. But this is endless, and importeth, Perpetuity, of springing Conspiracies. And so much, concerning the Nature, of the Fault.

For the Third Point, which is the Doctrine; That upon an Excommunication of the Pope, with sentence of Deposing; A King by any Son of Adam, may be slaughtered; And that, it is Justice, and no Murder; And that their Subjects, are absolved, of their Allegiance; And the Kings themselves, exposed to spoil and Fry. I said before, that I would not argue, the subtility of the Question: It is rather, to be spoken too, by way of Accusation of the Opinion, as Impious; then by way of Dispute of it, as Doubtful. Nay, I say, it deserveth, rather, some Holy war, or League, amongst all Christian Princes, of either Religions; for the Extirpating and Razing of the Opinion, and the Authors thereof, from the Face of the Earth; Then the Stile of Pen, or Speech. Therefore in this kind I will speak to it, a few words and not otherwise. Nay, I protest, if I were a Papist, I should say as much. Nay, I should speak it, perhaps with more indignation, and Feeling. For this Horrible Opinion, is our Advantage; And it is their Reproach; And will be their Ruine.

This Monster of Opinion, is to be accused, of Three most evident, and most miserable Slanders.

First, of the Slander, it bringeth, to the Christian Faith; Being a plain plantation, of Irreligion and Atheism.

Secondly, the Subversion, which it introduceth, into all Pollicy, and Government.

Thirdly, the great Calamity, it bringeth, upon Papists, themselves; Of which, the more Moderate sort, as Men milled, are to be pitted.

For the First, if a Man doth visit, the soul, and polluted Opinions, Cufromes, or Pratifies, of Heathenism, Mahometism, and Herefes, he shall find they do not attain to this Height. Take the Examples of damnable Memory, amongst the Heathen. The Proscriptions, in Rome, of Sylla; And afterwards of the Trinumvirs, what were they? They were, but of a finite Number of Persons, and those not many, that were exposed, unto any Mans Sword. But what is that, to the proscribing of a King, and all that shall take his Part? And what was the Reward of a Soldier, that amongst them, killed one of the proscribed? A small piece of Money: But what is now the reward of one, that shall kill a King? The Kingdom, of Heaven. The Cufrome, among the Heathen, that
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was most scandalized was, that sometimes the Priests facrificed Moos; But yet, you shall not read, of any Priesthood, that facrificed Kings.

The Mahometans, make it, a part of their Religion, to propagate their Self, by the Sword: But yet still, by Honourable Wars, never by Villanies, and secret Murthers, Nay, I find, that the Saracen Prince, of whom, the Name, of the Assaeins, is derived; which had divers Votaries at Commandement; which he sent, and implored, to the Killing, of divers Princes, in the East; (By one of whom, Amurath the First was slain; And Edward the First of England, was wounded;) was put down, and rooted out, by common Confent, of the Mahometan Princes.

The Anabaptists (it is true) come nearest. For they profess, the pulling down of Magistrates; And they can chant, the Psalm; To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron. This is, the Glory of the Saints, much like, the Temporal Authority, that the Pope Challengerth over Princes. But this is the difference; That that is a Furious, and Fanatical, Fury; And this is a sad, and solemn Mischief. He imagineth Mischief as a Law; A Law-like Mischief.

As for the Defence, which they do make, it doth aggravate the sin; And turneth it from a Cruell t'owards Man, to a Blasphemy towards God. For to say, that all this, is, in ordure ad spirituale; And to a good End; And for the salvation of Souls; It is, directly, to make God, Author of Evil; And to draw him, into the likeness, of the Prince, of Darkness; And to say with those, that Saint Paul speaketh of; Let us do Evil, that good may come thereof. Of whom, the Apostles faith definitively; That their damnation is just.

For the Destroying of Government, univerially, it is most evident; That it is not the Case, of Protestant Princes, onely. But of Catholick Princes likewise: As the King hath excellently let forth. Nay, it is not the Case of Princes onely, but of all Subjects, and private Persons. For touching Princes, let History be perused, what hath been the Causes, of Excommunication; And namely, this Tumour of it; (the Deposing of Kings;) It hath not been for Herself, and Schisme, alone, but for Collusion, and Intrigues, of Bishops, and Benefices, Intruding upon Ecclesiastical Possessions, violating of any Ecclesiastical Person, or Liberty. Nay, generally, they maintain it, that it may be for any fin: So that, the Difference, wherein their Doctors vary; That some hold, That the Pope, hath his Temporal power, immediately; And others, but in ordine ad spirituale, is but a Delegation, and an Abuse. For all cometh to one. What is there, that may not be made, spirituale, by Consequence? Specially, when he, that giveth the Sentence, may make the Cafe? And accordingly, hath the miserable Experience followed. For this Murdering of Kings, hath been put in practice, as well against Papist Kings, as Protestant. Save that, it hath pleased God, so to guide it by his admirable providence; As the Attempts, upon Papist Prince,
A Charge, in the Kings Bench, against Owen.

Prince, have been executed, And the Attempts, upon Protestant Princes, have failed: Except that of the Prince Aurange. And not that neither, untill such time, as he had joyned, too fast, with the Duke of Anjou, and the Papists.

The rest is wanting.

The Charge, of Sir Francis Bacon, the Kings Attourney Generall, against M. L. S. W. and H. I. for Scandal, and Traducing, of the Kings Justice, in the proceedings against Weston: In the Star-Chamber, 10. Novemb. 1615.

The Offence, wherewith I shall charge, the three offenders, at the Bar, is a Misdeameonour, of a High Nature; Tending, to the Defacing, and Scandal, of Justice, in a great Cause Capitall. The particular Charge is this.

The King, amongst many his Princely vertues, is known, to excell, in that proper vertue, of the Imperiall Throne, which is Justice. It is a Royall Vertue, which doth employ, the other three Cardinal Vertues, in her Service. Wisdom, to discover, and discerne, Nocent, or Innocent: Fortitude, to prosecute, and execute: Temperance, to carry Justice, as it be not passionate, in the pursuit, nor confused, in involving persons: upon light Suspicion: Nor precipitate in time. For this his Majesties Vertue of Justice, God hath of late raised an occasion, and erected, as it were, a Stage, or Theater, much to his Honour, for him to shew it, and act it, in the pursuit of the untimely Death of Sir Thomas Overbury, and therein cleansing the Land from Bloud. For, (my Lords) if Bloud spilt, Pure, doth cry to Heaven, in Gods Eares, much more Bloud defiled with Posson.

This Great Work, of his Majesties Justice, the more excellent it is, your Lordships will soon conclude, the greater is the Offence of any, that have fought to Affront it, or Traduce it. And therefore, before I descend, unto the Charge, of these Offenders, I will let, before your Lordships, the weight of that, which they have fought to impeach: Speaking somewhat of the general Crime of Impofonment: And then, of the particular Circumstances, of this Fault, upon Overbury: And thirdly, and chiefly, of the Kings great, and worthy, Care, and Carriage, in this Business.

This Offence of Impofonment, is most truly figured, in that De-vice, or Description, which was made, of the Nature, of one, of the Roman Tyrants; That he was Lutum Sanguine maceratum; Mire, mingled, or cymented, with Bloud : For, as it is, one of the highest Offences, in Guiltiness; So it is, the Bafeft, of all others, in the Mind of the Offenders. Treasons, Magnum aliquid speclant: They aim at great things; But this, is vile, and base. I tell your Lordships, what
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what I have noted; That in all Gods Book, (both of the Old, and New Testament,) I find Examples, of all other Offences, and Offenders, in the world, but not any one, of an Impoisionment, or an Impoisoner. I find mention, of Fear, of casual Impoisonment, when the Wild Lime, was shred, into the Pot, they came complaining, in a fearfull manner; 8tailer: More in old. And, I find mention, of Poysons, of Beasts, and Serpents; The Poyson of Agre is under their Lips. But I find no Example, in the Book of God, of Impoisonment. I have, sometime, thought, of the Words, in the Psalm; Let their Table be made a Snare: Which certainly, is most True of Impoisonment: For the Table, the Daily Bread, for which we pray, is turned to a deadly Snare: But I think rather, that that was meant, of the Treachery of Friends, that were participant, of the same Table.

But let us go on. It is an Offence,(my Lords,) that hath the two Spurs, of Offending; Spes Perfidendi, and Spes Celandi. It is easily committed, and easily concealed.

It is an Offence, that is, Tanquam Sagitta nodle volat; It is the Arrow that flies by Night. It discerns not, whom it hits: For, many times, the Poyson is laid for one, and the other takes it: As in Sanders Cafe, where the Poysoned Apple was laid for the Mother, and was taken up by the Child, and killed the Child. And so, in that notorious Cafe, whereupon the Statute, of 22o H. 8, Cap. 90, was made; where the Intent, being to poyson, but one, or two; Poyson was put, into a little Veuffell, of Barm, that stood, in the Kitchin,of the Bishop of Rochester House; Of which Barm, Pottage, or Gruell, was made, wherewith 17, of the Bishops Family were Poysoned: Nay, Divers of the Poor, that came to the Bishops Gate, and had the broken Pottage, in Alms, were likewise Poysoned; And therefore, if any Man, will comfort himself, or think with himself, Here is great Talk of Impoisonment, I hope I am safe, For I have no Enemies; Nor, I have nothing, that any Body, should long for; why? that is all one, For he may fit, at Table, by one, for whom Poyson is prepared, and have a Drench, of his Cup, or of his Pottage. And so, as the Poet faith; Concidit infelix alieno vulnere; He may die another Mans Death. And therefore, it was soot, gravely, and judiciously, and properly, provided by that Statute; That Impoisonment should be High Treason; Because, whatsoever Offence, tendeth, to the utter Subversion, and Difsolution, of Human Society, is, in the nature, of High Treason.

Lastly, it is an Offence, that I may truly say of it; Non est nostri Generis, nec Sanguintis. It is, (Thanks be to God,) rare, in the Isle of Britanny: It is neither of our Country, nor of our Church; you may find it, in Rome, or Italy. There is a Region, or perhaps a Religion, for it. And if it should come amongst us, certainly, it were better living in a Wilderness, than in a Court.

For the particular Fact, upon Overbury. First for the Person of Sir Thomas Overbury: I knew the Gentleman. It is true, his Mind was
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was great, but it moved not, in any good Order; yet, certainly, it did, commonly, fly at good Things. And the greatest Fault, that I ever heard by him, was, that he made, his Friend, his Idol. But I leave him, as Sir Thomas Overbury.

But then, take him, as he was the Kings Prisoner, in the Tower; And then see, how the Case stands. In that place, the State is, as it were, Reponsident; to make good, the Body, of a Prisoner: And, if any thing, happen to him there, it may, (though not in this Case, yet in some others,) make an Asperion, and a Reflexion, upon the State it self. For the Person is utterly out of his own Defence; His own Care, and Providence, can serve him nothing. He is in Custody, and Preservation, of Law. And, we have a Maxime, in our Law, (as my Lords, the Judges, know,) that when a State is, in preservation of Law, nothing can destroy it, or hurt it. And God forbid, but the like should be, for the Person of thefe, that are in Custody, of Law; And therefore, this was a Circumstance, of great Aggravation.

Lafily, to have a Man, chaced to Death, in fuch manner, (as it appears now by Matter of Record;) For other Privacy, of the Cause, I know not;) By Poison after Poison; first Poisoned, then Arsenick, then Mercury Sublime, then Sublime again; It is a Thing, would altonish, Mans Nature, to hear it. The Poets faign, that the Furies had whips, and that they were corded, with Poisonous Snakes; And a Man would think, that this were the very Case; To have a Man, tied to a Post, and to scourge him to Death, with Snakes: For so, may truly be termed, Diverfity of Poisons.

Now, I will come unto that, which is the Principall; That is, his Majesties Princeely, yea, and as I may truly term it, Sacred proceeding, in this Cause. Wherein, I will first Speak, of the Temper of his Justice, and then of the Strength thereof.

First, it pleased my Lord Chief Justice, to let me know, (That, which I heard, with great Comfort;) Which was, the Charge, that his Majesty gave to Himself first; And afterwards, to the Commissioners, in this Case; worthy, certainly, to be written in Letters of Gold; wherein, his Majesty did fore-rank, and make it his prime Direction, that it should be carried, without touch, to any, that was innocent. Nay more, not only without Impeachment, but without Asperion: which was a most Noble, and Princeely Caution, from his Majesty: For Mens Reputations, are tender Things; And ought to be, like Christ's Coat, without Seam. And it was, the more to be respected, in this Case; because it met, with two great Persons; A Noble Man; that his Majesty, had favoured, and advanced; And his Lady, being of a Great, and Honourable House: Though, I think it be true, that the Writers say, that there is no Pomegranate, so fair, or so found, but may have a perished Kernel. Nay, I see plainly, that in those excellent Papers, of his Majesties, own Hand writing; Being, as so many
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ny Beams of Justice, issuing from that Vertue, which doth shine in him; I say, I see it was to evenly carried, without prejudice; (whether it were a true Accusation, of the one part, or a Practise, of a false Accusation on the other;) As shewed plainly, that his Majesties Judgement, was tanquam Tabula Rasa, as a clean pair of Tables; And his Ear, tanquam fana aperta; As a Gate, not side open, but wide open, to Truth, as it should be, by little and little, discovered. Nay I see plainly, that at the first, (till further Light did break forth,) his Majesty, was little moved, with the First Tale; which he vouchsafe not so much, as the Name of a Tale; But calleth it a Rumour, which is an Headless Tale.

As for the Strength, or Resolution, of his Majesties Justice, I must tell your Lordships plainly. I do not marvel, to see Kings, thunder out Justice, in Cases of Treason, when they are touched Themselves; And that, they are Vindicis Doloris Propriis; But that a King, should, pro Ame Jusflitiae, onely; Contrary to the Tide of his own Affection, for the preservation of his People, take such Care, of a Caufe of justice; That is rare, and worthy, to be celebrated, far, and near. For, I think, I may truly affirm, that there was never, in this Kingdom, nor in any other Kingdom, the Blood of a private Gentleman, vindicated, Cum tanto Motu Regni; or to say better, Cum tanto Plaujo Regni. If it had concerned, the King, or Prince, there could not have been, Greater, nor Better, Commissioners, to examine it. The Truth hath been, almost, turned, into a Jusstitium, or Vacancy: The People themselves, being more willing, to be Lookers on, in this Business, then to follow their own. There hath been, no Care of Discovery omitted, no Moment of Time lost. And therefore, I will conclude this Part, with the Saying of Solomon; Gloria Dei celicar rem, & gloria Regis Scutari rem. And his Majesties Honour, is much the greater, for that, he hath shewed, to the World, in this Business, as it hath Relation to my Lord of Somerlyet; (whose Cause, in no sort I do pre-judge, being ignorant of the Secrets, of the Cause, but taking him, as the Law takes him, hitherto, for a Suspect;) I say, the King hath, to his great Honour, shewed; That were any Man, in such a Case of Blood, as the Signet upon his Right Hand, (as the Scripture sayes,) yet would He put him off.

Now will I come, to the particular Charge, of these Gentlemen, whose Qualities, and Persons, I respect, and love: For they are all my particular Friends: But now, I can only do, this Duty, of a Friend, to them, to make them know, their Fault to the full.

And therefore first, I will, by way of Narrative, declare to your Lordships, the Fact, with the occasion of it; Then you shall have their Confessions read, upon which you are to proceed; Together, with some Collateral Testimonies, by way of Aggravation: And lastly, I will note, and observe to your Lordships, the Material points,
points, which I do insist upon, for their charge; And so leave them to their answer. And this I will do, very briefly, for the case is not perplexed.

That wretched Man Westton, who was the Actor, or Mechanical Party, in this imposition, at the first day, being indicted, by a very substantial Jury, of Selected Citizens, to the number of 19, who found Bills verified, yet nevertheless, at the first, stood mute. But, after some days Intermiision, it pleased God, to cast out the Lumb Devill; And that he did put himself, upon his Tryall; And was, by a Jury also, of great Value, upon his Confession, and other Testimonies, found guilty. So as 31. sufficient jurors, have passed upon him; whereupon Judgment, and Execution, was awarded against him. After this, being in preparation for another World, he sent for Sir Thomas Overbury's Father, and falling down upon his knees, with great Remorse, and Compunction, asked him forgivenesse. Afterwards, again, of his own Motion, desired, to have his like prayer of forgivenesse, recommended to his Mother, who was absent. And at both times, out of the abundance of his Heart, Confessed that he was to die justly, and that he was worthy of Death. And after again, at his Execution (which is a kind, of feeling time, of Confessions) even at the point of Death; (Although there were Tempters about him, as you shall hear by and by) yet he did again, confirm publickly, that his Examinations were true; And that, he had been, justly, and honourably, dealt with. Here is the Narrative, which endureth the Charge. The Charge it self is this.

M. L. Whose offence stands alone single, (the offence of the other two, being in concert;) And yet, all three, meeting, in their End, and Center, which was to interrupt, or deface, this Excellent piece of justice, M. L. (I say) mean while, between Westton standing mute, and his Tryall; Takes upon him, to make a most False, Odious, and Libellous, Relation; Containing, as many Untruths, as Lines; And sets it down, in writing, with his own Hand; And delivers it, to Mr. Henry Gibb, of the Red-chamber, to be put into the Kings Hand. In which writing, he doth falsifie, and pervert, all that was done, the first day, at the Arraignment of Westton; Turning the Pike, and Point, of his Imputations, principally, upon my Lord Chief Justice of England. Whose Name, (thus occurring,) I cannot pass by; And yet, I can, not skill to flatter. But this I will say of him, and I would say as much to Ages, if I should write a Story: That never Man Person, and his place, were better met, in a Business, then my Lord Cooke, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the Cause of Overbury.

Now, My Lords, in this offence, of M. L; For the particulars, of these dangerous Articles, I will observe them unto you, when the Writings, and Examinations, are read. For, I do not love, to set the Glove, before the Text. But, in general, I note to your Lordships; First the Person of M. L. I know, he is a Scottish Gentle-
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No man, and thereby more ignorant, of our Laws, and Forms. But, I cannot tell, whether this doth extenuate his Fault, in respect of Ignorance; or aggravate it much, in respect of Pretention; That he would meddle in that, that he understood not: But I doubt, it came not out, of his Quiver; Some other Mans Cunning wrought upon this Mans Boldness. Secondly, I may note unto you, the Greatness of the Cause: Wherein, he being a private mean Gentleman, did presume to deal. M. L. could not but know, to what great, and grave Commissioners, the King had committed this Cause: And that, his Majesty, in his Wisedom, would expect, return of all things, from them, to whole trust he had committed this Business. For it is the part of Commissioners, as well to report the Business, as to manage the Business; And then his Majesty, ought have been sure, to have had, all things, well weighed, and truly informed: And therefore, it would have been far from M. L. to have presumed, to have put forth his Hand, to so high, and tender a Business; which was not to be touched, but by Employed Hands. Thirdly, I note to your Lores, that this Infusion, or a Slander, into a Kings Ear, is, of all Forms of Libels, and Slanders, the worst. It is true, that Kings may keep secret their Informations, and then no Man ought to enquire after them, while they are shrined in their Breast. But where a King is pleased, that a Man shall answer, for his false Information: There, I say, the false Information, to a Kings excesses in Offence, the false Information, of any other kind; Being a kind (since we are in matter of Poison, ) of Imposture, or a Kings Ear. And thus much, for the Offence, of M. L.

For the Offence, of S. W. and H. I. which I said was in comfort, it was shortly this. At the Time, and Place, of the Execution of Weston; To supplicant his Christian Resolution, and to Scandalize the justice, already past, & perhaps, to cut off the thread of that, which is to come; These Gentlemen, with others, came mounted on Horseback; And in a Ruffling, and Facing manner, put themselves forward to re-examine Weston, upon Questions: And what Questions? Directly, cross to that, that had been tried, and judged: For what was the point tried? That Weston had poisioned Overbury; What was S. W. Question; Whether Weston, did poision Overbury, or no? A Contradictory directly: Weston answered only, that he did him wrong; And turning to the Sheriff, said; You promised me, I should not be troubled, at this time. Nevertheless, He pressed him to answer; saying; He desired to know it, that he might pray with him. I know not that S. W. is an Ecclesiastick, that he should cut any Man, from Communion of Prayer; And yet, for all this vexing, of the Spirit, of a poor Man, now in the Gates of Death; Weston, nevertheless stood constant, and said; I did not unworthily: My Lord Chief Justice, hath my mind, under my hand, and he is an Honourable and just Judge. This is S. W. his Offence.

For H. I. he was not so much a Questionist; but wrought upon the
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the others questions; and like a kind of Confeffor, withfed him to discharge his Confeffion, and to fatisfie the World. What world I marvailed? It was fure the World at tyburn: For the World at Guild-Hall, and the World at London was fatisfied before; 'tisle the Bell! that rang: But men have a get fashion, now a dayes, that two or three bulfe Bodies, will take upon them the Name of the World; And broach their own Conceits, as if it were, a general Opinion: Well, what more? When they could not work upon Weston, then H. I. in an Indigation, turned about his Horfe; (when the other, was turning over the Ladder;) And faid, he was forry of fuch a Conclusion: That was, to have the State, honoured, or juftified; But others took, and reported his words, in another degree: But that I leave, feeing it is not Confeffed.

H. I. his offence, had another Appendix, before this, in time; which was, that, at the day, of the Verdict given up, by the jury. He alfo, would needs give his Verdict; Saying openly that if he were of the jury, he would doubt what to do. Marry (he faith,) he cannot tell well, whether he spake this, before the jury, had given up the Verdict, or after: Wherein there is little gained. For whether, H. I. were a Pre-Jurour, or a Post-Jurour; The one was as to prejudice the jury, the other, as to taint them.

Of the offence, of these two Gentleman, in general, your Lord-hips must give me leave, to fay, that it is an Offence, greater, and more dangerous, then is conceived. I know well, that as we have no Spanifh Inqui{fitions, nor Justice in a Corner; So we have, no Gagging, of Mens Mouths, at their Death; But that they may speak freely, at the laft Hour; But then, it must come, from the free Motion, of the Party, not by Temptation of Questions. The Questions, that are to be asked, ought to tend, to further Revealing, of their own, or others Guiltiness: But to use, a Question, in the Nature, of a false Interrogatory, to fatisfie that, which is Res judicata, is intolerable. For that were, to erect a Court, or Commiffion, of Review, at Tyburn, againft the Kings Bench, at Westminster. And besides, it is a Thing, vain, and idle: For if they answer, according to the Judgment past, it adds no Credit; Nor if it be contrary, it derogates nothing. But yet, it subjefteth, the Majefty of Justice, to popular, and vulgar Talk, and opinion.

My Lords, these are great, and dangerous, Offences; For if we do not maintain Justice, Justice will not maintain us.

But now, your Lordships shall hear, the Examinations themselves; upon which, I fhall have occasion, to note, some particular Things, &c.
The Effect of that, which was spoken, by the Lord Keeper, of the Great Seal of England, at the taking, of his place, in Chancery; In performance of the Charge, his Majesty had given him, when he received the Seal, 1677.

Before I enter, into the Business, of the Court, I shall take advantage, of so many Honourable witnesses, to publish, and make known, summarily, what charge the King, most excellent Majesty, gave me, when I received the Seal; And what Orders, and Resolutions, my Self have taken, in Conformity, to that charge; That the King may have, the Honour of Direction; And I the part of Obedience: Whereby, Your Lordships, and the Rest, of the Presence, shall see, the whole Time, of my sitting in the Chancery, (which may be, longer, or shorter, as please God, and the King;) contracted into one Hour. And this I do, for three Caufes.

First, to give Account, to the King, of his Commandement.

Secondly, that I may be a Guard, and Custody, to my Self, and mine own Doings; That I do not swerve, or recede, from any Thing, that I have professed, in so Noble Company.

And thirdly, that all men, that have to do, with the Chancery, or the Seal, may know, what they shall expect; And both set their Hearts, and my Ears, at rest; Not moving me, to any Thing, against these Rules: Knowing, that my Answer, is now turned, from a Non Sumus, into a Non possumus. It is no more, I will not; But, I cannot; After this Declaration.

And this, I do also, under three Caution.

The first is, that there be some Things, of a more Secret, and Counsell like, Nature, which are rather, to be hidden, than published. But these Things, which I shall speak of, to day, are of a more publick Nature.

The second is, that I will not trouble this Presence, with every Particular, which would be too long: But felect, those Things, which are of greatest efficacy, and conduco most, ad summam Resum: Leaving many other Particulars, to be set down, in a Publick Table; According, to the good Example, of my last Predecessour, in his Beginning.

And lastly, that these Imperatives, which I have made, but to my Self, and my Times, be without prejudice, to the Authority of the Court, or Wiser Men, that may succeed me: And chiefly, that they are wholly submitted, unto the great Wisdom, of my Sovereign; (The absolutest Prince, in Judicature, that hath been, in the Christian World:) For if any of these Things, which I intend, to be Subordinate, to his Directions, shall be thought by his Majesty, to be Inordinate, I shall be, most ready, to reform them. These things, are but, tanquam Album Pretorii; For so did the Roman
His Lordship Speech, at the taking his place, in Chancery.

Roman Prætors; (which have the greatest Affinity, with the Jurisdiction, of the Chancellor here;) who used to let down, at their Entrance, how they would use their Jurisdiction. And thus I shall do, (my Lords,) in verbi Masculis; No flourishing or Painted, Words, but such, as are fit, to go before Deeds.

The Kings Charge, which is my Lanthorn, rested upon four Heads.

The first was, that I should contain, the Jurisdiction of the Court, within his true, and due, Limits, without Swelling, or Excess.

The second, that I should think, the putting, of the Great Seal to Letters Patent, was not a Matter of Course after precedent Warrants; But that I should take it to be, the Maturity, and futility, of the Kings Intentions: And therefore, that it was one, of the greatest Parts, of my Trust, if I saw, any Scruple, or Cause of Stay, that I should acquaint him; Concluding with a, sed dubii, bits, ne feceris.

The third was, that I should retrench, all unnecessary delays; That the Subject mought find, that he did enjoy, that fame Remedy, against the Painting of the Seal, and against the Consummation of the Means, and Estate; which was speedy Justice. Bis dat, qui cito dat.

The fourth was, that Justice might passe, with as easie charge, as mought be; And that those fame Brambles, that grow about Justice, of needlesse Charge, and Expence; And all manner, of Exactions, mought be rooted out, so far as mought be.

These Commandements, (my Lords,) are Righteous; And, (as I may term them,) Sacred; And therefore, to use a Sacred Form: I pray God, bleffe the King, for his great care, over the Justice of the Land; And give me, his poor Servant, Grace, and Power, to observe his Precepts.

Now for a beginning towards it, I have set down, and applied, particular Orders, to every one of these four Generall Heads.

For the Excess, or Tumour, of this Court of Chancery, I shall divide it, into five Natures.

The first is, when the Court, doth embrace, or retain, Causes, both in Matter, and Circumstance, meerly Determinable, and Fit, for the Common Law. For, (my Lords,) the Chancery, is ordained, to supply the Law, and not to subvert the Law. Now to describe unto you, or delineate, what those Causes are, (and upon what differences,) that are fit for the Court, were too long a Lecture. But I will tell you, what Remedy, I have prepared. I will keep the Keys of the Court, my self, and I will never refer, any Demurrer, or Plea, (tending to discharge, or diminish the Court,
His Lordships Speech, at the taking his place in Chancery.

court, of the Case, to any Mr. of the Chancery; but judge of it; my self, or, at least, the Mr. of the Rowles. Nay further, I will appoint regularly, that on the Tuesday, in every week; (which is the Day of Orders,) first to hear all Motions, of that Nature, before any other; That the Subject, may have his Case, at first, without further attending; And that the Court, do not keep, and accumulate, a Miscellany, and Confusion, of Causes, of all Nature.

The second Point, concerneth the time of the Complaint; And the late Commissary into the Chancery: which it is, till a judgment be palled against them, at the Common Law, and then complain; Wherein your Lordships, may have heard, a great Battle, and a Noise, of a Premature, and I cannot tell what. But that Question the King hath settled; according to the ancient presidents, in all times continued. And this I will say, that the Opinion, not to relieve any Case, after judgment would be a guilty Opinion: Guilty, of the King, and Mark, and Noise, and perilling, of infinite Subjects: And as the King found it well out; why should a Man fly, into the Chancery, before he be Hurt? The whole need not the Physician, but the Sick. But (My Lords,) the Power would be preferred, but then, the Practice would be moderate. My Rule, shall be, therefore, that in Case of Complaints, after judgment; (except the judgments be upon Nihil dictum, which are but Discess of judgment; Obtained, in Contemplation of a preceding Order, of this Court;) yea, and after Verdicts also, I will have the Party Complainant, enter into good Bond, to prove his Suggestion: So that if he will be relieved, against a judgment, at Common Law, upon Matter of Equity; He shall do it, Tanguam in Vinculis; at his Perill.

The third Point of Excess, may be, the over Frequent, and Facile Granting of Injunctions, for the staying of the Common Laws; or the Altering of Actions; wherein these shall be my Rules.

I will grant no Injunction, merely, upon Priority of Suit: That is to say, because this Court, was first possest. A Thing, that was well reformed in the late Lord Chancellors time, but used in Chanceller Broomhyles time; Insomuch, as I remember, that Mr. Elton, the Chancellor, at Law, put a Safeguard upon the Court, in Nature of a Bill; For seeing it was no more, but, My Lord, the Bill came in on Monday, and the Arrest at Common Law, was on Tuesday; I pray the Injunction, upon Priority of Suit; He caused his Client, that had a Loose Letter, to put a Bill into the Chancery, before the Bond, due to him, was forfeited; to desire an Order, that he might have his Money, at the Day; Because he would be sure, to be before the other. I do not mean to make it, a Matter of an Horse-Race, or Poasting, who shall be first, in Chancery, or in Courts of Law.

Neither will I grant an Injunction, upon Matter, contained, in the Bill only, be it never so smooth, and Specious: But upon Matter confessed, in the Defendants Answer, or Matter pregnant
His Lordship's Speech, at the taking his place in Chancery.

in Writing, or of Record; Or upon Contempt, of the Defendant, in not Appearing, or not Answering, or Trimming, with the Court by insufficient Answering. For then, it may be thought, the Defendant stands out, upon purpose, to get the start, at the Common Law; And so, take Advantage of his own Contempt, which may not be suffered.

As for Injunctions for possession, I shall maintain possession, as they were, at the time, of the Bill, exhibited; And for the space, of a year before: Except the possession, were gotten by Force, or by any trick.

Neither will I alter Possession, upon Interlocutory Orders, until a Decree: Except, upon Matter, plainly contested, in the Defendants Answer, joined, with a plain Lability, and Injunctive of the Defendants to answer the Proofs.

As for taking the Possession away, in respect of Contempts, I will have all the proceedings of the Court, spent first, and a sequestration of the Profits, before I come to an Injunction.

The Fourth Part of Excess, is concerning the Communicating of the Authority, of the Chancellor too far; And making, upon the matter, too many Chancellors, by relying too much, upon Reports of the Masters of the Chancery, as concludent. I know, my Lords, the Masters of the Chancery, are Reverend Men; And the great Mass, of Business, of the Court, cannot be sped, without them; And it is a Thing, the Chancellor may soon fall into, for his own Ease, to rely too much upon them. But the Course, that I will take, generally, shall be this: That I will make no Binding Order, upon any report of the Masters, without giving a seven nights day, at the least, to shew cause, against the Report; (which nevertheless, I will have done modestly, & with due reverence, towards them.) And again, I must utterly discontinue, the Making, of an Hypothetical, or Conditional Order; That if a Master of the Chancery, do certify thus, that then it is Ordered, without further Motion: For that is a Surprize, and gives no time, for Contradiction.

The last Point of Excess, is: If a Chancellor, shall be so much of himself, as he should neglect, Assistance of Reverend Judges, in Cases of Difficulty, (especially if they touch upon Law;) or Calling them, shall do it, but Pro forma tamen, and give no due respect, to their Opinions: Wherein, (my Lords) preferring the Dignity, and Majesty, of the Court: which I count, rather increas'd, than diminished, by grave, and due Assistance, I shall never be found so Soveraign, or abundant, in mine own Sense, but I shall both desire, and make true use, of Assistants. Nay I suppose, your Lordships, if I should find, any main Divinity of Opinion, of my Assistants, from mine own; Though I know well the Judicator, wholly resides in my self; yet, I think, I should have Recourse, to the Oracle of the King's own Judgement, before I should pronounce. And so much, for the temperate use, of the Authority, of this Court: wherein, the Health of the Court, doth much consist, as that of the Body, consists in Temperance.
His Lordships Speech, at the taking, his place in Chancery.

For the Second Commandement of his Majesty, touching stating of Grants, at the Great Seale: There may be just Cause of Stay: Either, in the Matter of the Grant: Or, in the Manner of passing the same: Out of both which, I extract, these 6. principal Cases, which I will now make known. All which, nevertheless, I understand, to be wholly submitted, to his Majesty's Will, and Pleasure, after by me, he shall have been informed? For if Iterum Mandatum do come, Obedience is better than Sacrifice.

The First Case is, where any Matter of Revenue, or Treasure, or Profit, passeth from his Majesty's: My First Duty shall be, to examine, whether the Grant, hath pass'd, in the due, and natural Course, by the Great Officers of the Revenue, (The Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer,) And with their privy: which if I find it not to be, I must presume it, to have pass'd, in the dark, and by a kind of surreption; And will make stay of it, till his Majesty's pleasure, be further known.

Secondly, if it be a Grant, that is not meerly vulgar, And hath not of Course, pass'd at the Signet, by a Fac Simile; But needeth Science, my Duty shall be, to examine, whether it hath pass'd, by the Learned Counsell; and had their Doctets: which is that, which his Majesty reads, and that leads him. And if I find it otherwise, (although the Matter, were not, in itself inconvenient,) yet I hold it, Just Cause of Stay, (for President's sake,) to keep Men, in the right way.

Thirdly, if it be a Grant, which I conceive, (out of my little knowledge,) to be against the Law; Of which nature, Theodosius was wont to say, when he was press'd; I said it, but I granted it not; if it be unlawful: I will call the learned Counsell to it; (As well him, that drew the Book, as the Rest,) or some of them; And if we find cause, I will enjoin his Majesty, of our Opinion, either by my self, or some of them. For as for the Judges, they are Judges of Grants pass'd; but not of Grants to come, except the King call them.

Fourthly, if the Grants be against the King's Booke, of Bounty; I am expressly Commanded, to stay them; until the King, either Revise his Booke in Generall, or give Direction in the particular.

Fiftly, if as a Counsellor of Estate, I do foresee inconvenience, to ensue by the Grant, in reason of Estate, in respect of the King's Honour, Or Discontent, or Murmur of the People: I will not trust mine own Judgement; but I will either acquaint his Majesty with it, or the Counsell Table, or some such of my Lords as I shall think fit.

Lastly, for Matter of Pardons; If it be of Treason, Misprision of Treason, Murder, either exprest, or involute, by a non Obstante; Or of a Pyracy, or Preston, or of fines, or Exemplary punishment, in Star Chamber; Or of some other natures; I shall, by the grace of God stay them, until his Majesty, (who is the Fountain of Grace) may...
may resolve, between God, and him, (understanding the Caepe,) how far Grace shall abound, or superabound.

And if it be of Persons, attained, and Convicted, of Robbery, Burglary, &c. Then will I examin, whether the Firdens, pulled the Hand, of any Justice of Affils; Or other Commissioners, before whom the Trial was made; And if not, I think it my duily, also to stay them.

Thus your Lordships see, in this Matter of the Seal, agreeable to the Commandement, I have received, I mean to walk in the Light; So that Men, may know, where to find me; And this publishing, thereof, plainly, I hope, will give the King, from a great deal of Abuse; And Me from a great deal of Envy; When Men shall see that no particular Turn, or end, leads me, but a General Rule.

For the Third General Head, of his Majesties Precepts, concerning Speedy Justice, I am resolved, that my Decree, shall come speedily; (if not instantly) after the Hearing; And my signed Decree pronounced. For it hath been a Manner, much used of late in my last Lords Time, and of which, I learn much to imitate; and with due reverence, to his memory, let me speak it, much to avoid; That upon the Solemn, & Full Hearing, of a Cause, nothing is pronounced in Court; But Presumtions, are required to be made. Which I do not dislike, in it self, in Causers perplexed. For I confess, I have some what of the Conclusion, And I am of Opinion, that whatsoever is not wiser, upon Advice, then upon the sudden; The same Man, is no wiser at 50. years old, then he was at 30. And it was my Father's ordinary Word; Town must give me time. But yet I find, that when such Presumptions were taken, the Cause was, sometimes, forgotten, a Term, or two; And then set down, for a New hearing, or a Rehearing, three or four Terms after. Of which kind, of Intermission, I see no Use; And therefore I will promise, regularly, to pronounce my Decree, within few days, after my Hearing; And to sign my Decree, at least, in the Vacation, after the pronouncing. For frein Justice, is the sweetest. And besides Justice ought not to be delayed; And it will also avoid, all Means-making, or Labouring; For there ought to be, no Labouring in Causers, but the Labouring of the Council, at the Barr.

Again, because Justice is a Sacred Thing; And the end, for which I am called, to this place, And therefore is my way to Heaven; (And if it be shorter, it is never a whit the worse,) I shall by the grace of God, (as far as God will give me strength) add the Afternoon, to the Forenoon; And some Fourth night, of the Vacation, to the Term; For the expediting, and clearing, of the Causers, of the Court: Only, the depth of the Three long Vacations, I would reserve, in some measure, free, for Fines of Estate; And for Studies of Arts and Sciences, to which, in my Nature, I am most inclined.

There is another Point, of true Expedition, which resteth much in
His Lordships Speech, at the taking, his place in Chancery.

in Myself; And that is, in the Manner of giving Orders. For I have seen, an Affectation of Dispatch, turn utterly to Delay, and Length: For the manner of it, is, to take the Tale, out of the Counselor, at Bar, his Mouth, and to give a Courty Order; nothing tending, or conducing, to the end, of the Luinesse. It makes me remember, what I heard one say, of a Judge, that late in the Chancery; That he would make 60, 80, Orders, in a Morning, out of the way; And it was out of the way, indeed; For it was nothing, to the End of the Luinesse: And this is that, which makes 60, 80, 100 Orders, in a Cause, too and fro, begetting one another: and like, Penvelopes Web, doing and undoing. But, I mean not, to purchase, the Praise, of Expeditive, in that kind: But as one, that have a Feeling of my Duty, and of the Cause of others, my Endeavour shall be, to hear patiently; And to call my Order, into such a mould, as may soonest bring the Subject to the End of his Journey.

As for such Delays, as may concern Others; the great Abuse is, that if the Plaintiff have got an Injunction, to stay Suits at Common Law, then he will spin on his Cause, at length. But, by the grace of God, I will make Injunctions, an hard Pillow, to sleep on: For if I find, that he prosecutes not with effect, he may hap, when he is awake, find, not only his Injunction dissolved, but his Cause dismissed.

There be other particular Orders, I mean to take, for Non Prosecution, or Jain Prosecution, wherewith I will not trouble you now. Because, Summa Sectar Fastigia Renum. And so much for Matter of Expedition.

Now for the fourth, and last Point, of the Kings Commandement; For the cutting off, of unnecessary charge, of the Subject; A great part of it, is fulfilled, in the precedent Article, touching Expedition: For it is, the Length of Suit; that doth multiply Charge, chiefly: But yet, there are some other Remedies, that conduces thereunto.

Firstly therefore, I shall maintain strictly, and with Severity, the Former Orders, which I find, made, by my Lord Chancellor, for the immoderate, and needles faculty, and length of Bills, and Answers, and so forth; As well in punishing the party, as fining the Counsel, whose hand I shall find, at such Bills, Answers, &c.

Secondly, for all the Examinations, taken in the Court, I do give charge, unto the Examiners, (upon peril of their places;) that they do not, use idle Repetitions, or needless Circumstances, in setting down, the Depositions, taken by them; And I would, I could help it, like wise, in Commissions, in the Country; But that is almost impossible.

Thirdly, I shall take a diligent Survey, of the Copies in Chancery; That they have their just number of Lines, and without open, or wastfull writing.

Forthly, I shall be careful, that there be no Exaction, of any new
His Lordships Speech, at the taking, his place in Chancery.

new Fees, but according, as they have been, heretofore, &c. and Tabled.

As for Lawyers Fees, I must leave, to the Conscience, and Merit, of the Lawyer; And the Elimination, and Gratitude, of the Client; But yet this I can do. I know, there have used to attend this Bar, a Number of Lawyers, that have not been heard, sometimes, scarce once, or twice, in a Term; And that, makes the Client, seek to Great Counsell, and Favourites, (as they call them: A Term, fitter for Kings, then Judges;) And that, for every Order, that a mean Lawyer ought dispatch, and as well. Therefore, to help the Generality of Lawyers; And therein, to ease the Client: I will, constantly, observe, that every Tuesday, and other Days of Orders, after nine a Clock struck, I will hear the Bar, until 11, or half an Hour, after 10, at the least. And since, we are upon the point, whom I will hear, your Lordships will give me leave, to tell you a Fancy. It falls out, that there be three of us, the Kings servants, in great place, that are Lawyers, by Descent: Mr. Attorney, Son of a Judge; Mr. Solicitor, likewise, Son of a Judge: And myself, a Chancellors Son.

Now because, the Law, roots so well, in my time, I will water it at the Root; thus far. As besides the great Ones, I will hear any Judges Sons, before a Sergeant, and any Sergeants Sons, before a Reader.

Lastly, for the better Ease, of the Subjects; And the Brisking of contentious Suits, I shall give better, (that is greater,) Costs, where the Suggestions are not proved, then hath been hitherto used.

There be divers other Orders, for the better Reglement, of this Court; And for Granting of Writs; And for Granting of Benefices; And other Things, which I shall set down in a Table. But I will deal with no others, to day, but such, as have a proper Relation, to his Majesties Commandement: It being my Comfort, that I serve such a Master, that I shall need to be but a Conduit, for the conveying only, of his Goodness, to his People. And it is true, that I do affect, and aspire, to make good that Saying; That Optimum Magistratus praestat optime Legi; which is true in his Majesty. But for myself, I doubt, I shall not attain it. But yet, I have, a Domesticall Example, to follow. My Lords, I have no more to say, but now, I will go on, to the Business, of the Court.

The
The Speech, which was used, by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Circuits, the King being then in Scotland, 1617.

The King, by his perfect Declaration, published in this place, concerning Judges, and Justices; Hath made the Speech of his Chancellor, accustomed before the Circuits, rather of Ceremony, than of use. For, as in his book to his Son, he hath set forth a true Character, and Platform, of a King; So, in this his speech, he hath done, the like, of a Judge, and Justice: Which sheweth, that as his Majesty, is excellently able, to Govern, in chief; So, he is likewise well seen, and skillfull, in the inferior Offices, and Stages, of Justice, and Government: which is a Thing, very rare in Kings.

Yet, nevertheless, somewhat must be said, to fulfill an old Observance; But yet, upon the Kings Ground, and very briefly: For as Solomon faith, in another Case, In these things, who is he, that can come, after the King.

First, you that are the Judges of Circuits, are, as it were, the Planets of the Kingdom; (I do you no Dishonor, in giving you that name;) And, no doubt, you have a great stroak, in the Frame, of this Government; As the other have, in the great Frame, of the World. Do therefore, as they do; Move always and be carried, with the Motion of your first Mover, which is your Sovereign. A popular Judge is a Deformed Thing: And Plutarch's, are fitter for Players, than for Magistrates. Do good to the people; Love them, and give them Justice. But let it be, as the Psalm faith, Nihil inde Exspectantes; Looking for nothing, neither Praise, nor Profit.

Yet my Meaning is not, when I wish you, to take heed of Popularity, that you should be imperious, and Strange, to the Gentlemen, of the Country: You are, above them, in Power, but your Rank is not much unequall: And learn this; That Power, is ever of greatest strength, when it is civilly carried.

Secondly, you must remember, that besides your ordinary Administration, of Justice, you do carry the two Glasses, or Mirrors, of the State: For it is your Duty, in these your Visitations; To represent, to the people, the Graces, and Care, of the King. And again, upon your Return; To present, to the King, the Disasters, and Griefs, of the People.

Mark, what the King says, in his Book: Procure reverence to the King and the Law: Instruct my people truly of me; (which we know is, hard to do, according to the Excellency of his Merit, but yet Endeavour it;) How zealous I am for Religion; How I desire, Law may be
A Speech, in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Courts

he maintain, and flourish; That every Court, should have his jurisdiction; That every Subject, should submit himself, to the Law. And of this, you have had, of late, no small Occasion of Notice, and Remembrance, by the great, and strait Charge, that the King hath given me, as Keeper of his Seal, for the Governing of the Chancery, without Tumour, or Facte.

Again, to relate, you, at this present, ought to make the People know, and consider, the Kings Blessed Care, and Providence, in governing this Realm, in his Absence. So that, sitting at the Helm, of another Kingdom; N. t without great Affairs, and Business; yet, he governs all things, here, by his Letters, and Directions, as punctually, and perctely, as if he were present.

I assure you, my Lords of the Council and I, do much admire, the Extent, and Latitude of his Care, in all Things.

In the High Commission, he did conceive, a Scheme of Government, was a little Drunk; He recommended the care of it.

He hath called, for the Accounts, of the last Circuit, from the Judges, to be transmitted unto him, into Scotland.

Touching the Infestation of Tyrants, he hath been carefull, and is, and hath put things, in way.

All things that concern the Reformation, or the Plantation, of Ireland; He hath given, in them, punctual, and resolute, Directions. All this in Absence.

I give but a few Instances, of a publick Nature; The Secrets of Council, I may not enter into; Though, his Dispatches into France, Spain, and the Low-Countries, now in his absence, are also Notorious, as to the outward sending. So that, I must conclude, that his Majesty, wants but more Kingdoms; For I see, he could suffice, to all.

As for the other Claspe, I told you of; Of representing to the King, the Grievances, of his People; without doubt, it is properly your Part: For the King, ought to be informed, of anything, amisse in the State, of his Countries, from the Observations, and Relations, of the Judges; (That, indeed, he knows the Pulse of the Country;) Rather then from Discourse. But for this Claspe, (thanks be to God,) I do hear, from you all; That there was never greater Peace, Obedience, and Contentment, in the Country: Though the best Governments, be, always, like the fairest Crystals; wherein, every little Stone, or Grain, is seen; which in a Foulter Stone, is never perceived.

Now to some Particulars, and not Many. Of all other things, I must begin, as the King begins; That is, with the Cause of Religion; And especially, the Hollow Church Papift. Saint Aug. hath a good Comparision, of such Men, affirming; That they are like the Roots of Nettles, which themselves sting not, but yet they bear all the Stinging Leaves. Let me know of such Roots, and I will root them, out of the Country.

Next, for the Matter of Religion: In the principall place, I rec-
A Speech, in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Circuits.  

commend, both to you, and the Judges, the Countenance, of 
Godly, and Zealous, Preachers. I mean, not Separatists, or Novels; but those, which are found, and conform; but yet pious, and Reverend. For there will be a perpetuall Defection, except you keep Men in, by Preaching, as well as Law doth, by punishing: And commonly, Spiritual Diseases, are not Cured, but by Spiritual Remedies.

Next, let me commend unto you, the Repressing, (as much as may be,) of Faction in the Countries; of which ensue, infinite Inconveniences, and perturbations, of all good Order; and Crossing, of all good Service, in Court, or Country, or wheresoever. Cicero, when he was Consul, had devised, a fine Remedy; (A Milder one, but an effectual, and an apt one;) For he saith, Est qui motur perturbant, reddam otiosos. These, that trouble, others Quiet, I will give them Quiet; They shall have nothing to do; Nor no Authority, shall be put into their Hands. If I may know, from you, of any who are in the Country, that are Heads, or Hands, of Faction; or Men, of turbulent Spirits; I shall give them Cicero’s Reward, as much as in me is.

To conclude; study the King’s Book; And study your selves, how you profit by it; and all shall be well. And you, the Judges of Peace, in particular. Let me say this to you; Never King, of this Realm, did you so much Honour, as the King hath done you, in his Speech; By being, your immediate Directors; and by forcing you, and your service, with the Service of Ambassadors, and of his nearest Attendants. Nay more, it seems his Majesty is willing to do, the State of Justice of Peace, Honour, actively also; By bringing in, with time, the like Form of Commission, into the Government of Scotland, As that Glorious King, Edward the third, did plant this Commission, here in this Kingdom. And therefore, you are not fit to be Copies, except you be Fair Written, without Blots, or Blurs, or anything unworthy your Authority. And so, I will trouble you no longer, for this time.

The Speech, used by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper, of the Great Seal of England, to Sir William Jones, upon his calling, to be Lord Chief Justice, of Ireland.

1617.

Sir WILLIAM JONES,
The King’s most Excellent Majesty, being duly informed, of your sufficiency, every way; Hath called you, by his Writ, now returned, to the State, and Degree, of a Serjeant, at Law;
A Speech, to Sir W. Jones, called to be a chief Justice of Ireland.

But not to stay there, but being so qualified, to serve him, as his Chief Justice, of his King's Bench, in his Realm of Ireland. And therefore, that which I shall say to you, must be applied, not to your Sargent's place, (which you take but in placing,) but to that great place, where you are to settle; and because I will not spend Time, to the Delay, of the Bayncle, or Cause, of the Court, I will lead you the short Journey by Examples, and not the Long by Precepts.

The Place, that you shall now serve in, hath been fortunate, to be well served in, four successions before you. Do but take unto you, the Constancy, and integrity, of Sir Robert Gardiner: The Gravity, Temper, and Direction, of Sir James Lea; The Quickneffe, Industry, and Dispatch, of Sir Humphry Winch: The Care, and Affection, to the Common-wealth, and the Prudent, and Politick Administration, of Sir John Denham; And you shall need no other Lessons. They were all Lincolns Inn Men, as you are; You have known them, as well in their Beginnings, as in their Advancement.

But because you are to be there, not only Chief Justice, but a Counsellor of Estate, I will put you in mind, of the great Work, now in hand; that you may raise your thoughts, according unto it. Ireland is the last, Ex Filita Europæ, which hath been reclaimed, from Desolation, and a Desert, (in many parts,) to Population, and Plantation; And from Savage, and Barbarous, Cullomies, to Humanity, and Civility. This is the King's Work in Chief. It is his Garland, of Heroical Virtue, and Felicity; Denied to his Progenitors, and Referved to his Times. The Work, is not yet conducted, to perfection, but is in fair Advance. And this I will say confidently, that if God bleesse this Kingdom with Peace, and Justice; No Usurper, is so sure, in seven years Space, to double his Principal with Interest; And Interest upon Interest; As that Kingdom, within the same time, to double the stock, both of Wealth, and People. So as that Kingdom, which once within these Twenty years, Wise men were wont to doubt, whether they should wish it, to be in a Poole; Is like now to become, almost a Garden; And younger Sitter, to Great Britain. And therefore, you must set down with yourself, to be, not only a just Governor, and a good Chief Justice; (as if it were in England,) but under the King, and the Deputy, you are to be a Master Builder, and a Master Planter, and Reducer, of Ireland. To which end, I will trouble you, at this time, but with Three Directions.

The First is, that you have speciall care, of the Three Plantations. That of the North, which is in part acted: That of Bessford, which is now in Distribution: That of Longford, and Leinirn, which is now in Survey. And take this from me; That the Base, of a Plantation, is, when the Undertakers, or Planters, make such haft, to a little Mechanicall present profit, as disturbeth the whole Frame, and noblenesse of the work, for Times to come. Therefore, hold them to their Covenants, and the strict Ordinances of Plantation.
A Speech, to Sr. W. Jones, called to be L. chief Justice of Irela.

The Second is, that you be carefull, of the Kings Revenue; And by little and little, constitute him, a good Demeanor, if it may be; Which hitherto is little, or none. For the Kings Cafe is hard, when every Mans Land, shall be improved, in value, with increase manifold; And the King shall be tied, to his Dry Rent.

My last Direction, (though first in weight,) is, that you do all good Endeavours, to proceed resolutely, and constantly (and yet with due Temperance, and Equality) in Matters of Religion; lest Ireland Civil, become more dangerous to us, than Ireland Savage. So God give you Comfort of your Place.

After Sir William Jones Speech.

I had forgotten one Thing, which was this. You may take, exceeding great Comfort, that you shall serve, with such a Deputy: One, that (I think) is a Man, ordain'd of God, to do great Good, to that Kingdome. And this, I think good, to say to you; That the true Temper, of a Chief Justice, towards a Deputy, is; Neither servilly to second him, nor factiously to oppose him.

The Lord Keepers Speech, in the Exchequer; to Sir John Denham; when he was called to be one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Sir John Denham; the King, of his grace, and favour, hath made choice of you, to be one of the Barons, of the Exchequer; To succeed, to one of the graveft, and most Reverend Judges, of this Kingdome; For so I hold Baron Altham was. The King takes you not upon Credit, but Proof, and great Proof of your former Service; And that, in both those kinds, wherein you are now to serve: For as you have shewed your self a good Judge between party and party; So you have shewed your self a good Administrator, of the Revenue; Both when you were Chief Baron; And since as Counsellor of Estate, there in Ireland; where the Counsell (as you know) doth in great part, mannage, and mefluage, the Revenew.

And to both these Parts, I will apply some Admonitions; But not vulgar, or discursive; But apt for the Times, and in few words: For they are best remembred.

First therefore, above all, you ought to maintain, the Kings Prerogative, And to set down with your self that the Kings Prerogative, and the Law, are not two Things; But the Kings Prerogative is Law; And the Principall Part of the Law: The First Born, or First Fringe, of the Law: And therefore, in conferving, or maintaining that, you conserve and maintain, the Law. There is not, in the body of Man, one Law of the Head, and another of the Body, but all is one Entire Law.

The next Point, that I would now advise you, is, that you acquaint your self, diligently, with the Revenue; And also with
A Speech, to Sir John Denham, called to be a Baron of the Exch.,

the Ancient Records, and Presidents, of this Court: When the famous Cafe, of the Copper Mines, was argued in this Court; And judged for the King; It was not, upon the fine Reasons, of Writt; As that, the Kings Prerogative, drew to it, the chief, in quaque specie: The Lion is the chief of Beasts; The Eagle the chief of Birds; The Whale, the chief of Fishes; And so Copper, the chief of Minerals; For these are but Dalliances of Law, & Ornaments; But it was the grave Records, and Presidents, that grounded, the Judgement, of that Case: And therefore, I would have you, both guide, and arm, your self with them, against these Vapours, and Fumes, of Law; which are extracted, out of Mens Inventions, and Conceits.

The third Advice, I will give you, hath a large Extent: It is, that you do your Endeavour, in your place, so to manage the Kings Justice, and Revenue, as the King may have most Profit, and the Subject, least vexation: For when there is much vexation to the Subject, and little Benefit to the King then the Exchequer is Sick: And when there is, much Benefit to the King, with lesser Trouble, and vexation, to the Subject, then the Exchequer is found: As for Example: If there shall be much Racking, for the Kings old Debts; And the more Fresh, and Late Debts shall be, either more negligently called upon, or over easily discharged, or over indulgently stailed: Or if the Number of Informations be many, and the Kings Fines, or Fines for Compositions, a Trifle: Or if there be, much ado, to get the King new Land, upon Concealments, and that which he hath already, be not well known, and surveyed; Nor the woods preferred; (I could put you many other Cases,) this falls within that, which I term, the sick Estate of the Exchequer. And this is that, which makes every Man ready, with their Undertakings, and their Projects, to disturb, the ancient Frame of the Exchequer; (Then the which, I am persuadod, there is not a better;) This being the Burthen of the Song; That much goeth out of the Subjects Purse; And little commeth, to the Kings Purse. Therefore, give them not, that Advantage, so to say. Sure I am, that besides your own Associates, the Barons; you serve, with two superiour, Great Officers, that have Honourable, and true, Ends; And desire, to serve the King, and right the Subject.

There resteth, that I deliver you, your Patent.
His Lordships Speech, in the Common Pleas, to Justice Hutton, when he was called, to be one of the Judges, of the Common Pleas.

Mr. Serjeant Hutton;

The Kings most Excellent Majesty, being duly informed, of your Learning, Integrity, Discretion, Experience, Meanes, and Reputation in your Country; Hath thought fit not to leave you these Talents, to be employed upon your self only; But to call you, to serve Himself, and his People, in the place, of one of his Judges, of the Court, of Common Pleas.

This Court, where you are to serve, is the Local Center, and Heart, of the Laws, of this Realm: Here the Subject hath his assurance, By Fines, and Recoveries: Here he hath his Fixed, and Invariable, Remedies by Precipis, and Writs of Right: Here Justice opens not, by a By-gate of Privilege, but by the great Gate of the Kings original Writs, out of the Chancery. Here issues Proceffe of.Utlawry; If men will not answer Law, in this Center of Law, they shall be cast out. And therefore, it is proper for you, by all means, with your Willdome, and Fortitude, to maintain, the Laws of the Realm: Wherein, nevertheless, I would not have you Head-strong, but Heart-strong; And to weigh, and remember, with your self, that the 12. Judges, of the Realm, are, as the 12. Lions, under Salomons Throne; They must shew their Stoutness, in Elevating, and Bearing up the Throne. To represent unto you, the Lines, and Portraiture, of a Good Judge.

The 1. is, That you should draw your Learning, out of your Books, not out of your Brain.

2. That you, should mix well, the Freedom, of your own Opinion, with the Reverence, of the Opinion, of your Fellows.

3. That you should continue, the Studying of your Books, and not to spend on, upon the old Stock.

4. That you should fear no Mas Face; And yet, not turn Stoutness, into Bravery.

5. That you should be truly Impartial, and not so, as Men may see Affection, through fine Carriage.

6. That you be a Light, to Jurors, to open their Eyes; But not a Guid, to Lead them, by the Noses.

7. That you affect not, the Opinion, of Pregnancy, and Expedition, by an impatient, and Catching, Hearing, of the Counfellors at the Barre.

8. That your Speech, be with Gravity, as one of the Sages of the Law; And not Talkative, nor with impertinent Flying out, to search Learning.

9. That your Hands, and the Hands of your Hands; (I mean, those about you,) Be Clean, and Uncorrupt, from Gifts; From Medling
A Speech, in the Parliament, to the Speakers Excuse.

Mr. Serjeant Richardson;

The King hath heard, and observed, your grave, and decent, speech, tending, to the excuse, and disablement, of your self, for the place of Speaker. In answer whereof, his Majesty hath commanded me, to say to you; That he doth, in no wise, admit of the same.

First, because, if the Partie's own judgement, should be admitted, in case of elections, touching himself, it would follow, that the most confident, and over-weening Persons, would be received, and the most considerate Men, and those that understand themselves best, should be rejected.

Secondly, his Majesty doth so much rely upon the wisdom, and discretions, of those of the House of Commons, that have chosen you, with an unanimous consent, that his Majesty thinks not good, to swerve, from their opinion, in that, wherein themselves, are principally interested.

Thirdly, you have disabled your self, in so good, and decent, a fashion; As the manner, of your speech, hath destroyed, the matter of it.

And therefore, the King, doth allow of the election, and admits you for Speaker.

To the Speakers Oration.

Mr. Speaker;

The King hath heard, and observed, your eloquent discourse, containing, much good matter, and much good will.
A Speech, in the Parliament, to the Speakers Excuse.

will: Wherein, you must expect from me, such an Answer, one-
ly, as is pertinent to the Occasion, and compiled, by due respect
of Time.

I may divide, that which you have said, into four parts.
The first was, a Commendation, or Laudative, of Monarchy.
The second was, indeed, a large Field; Containing, a thank-
ful Acknowledgement, of his Majesties Benefits, Attributes, and Acts
of Government.
The third was, some Passages, touching the Institution, and Use
of Parliaments.
The fourth, and last was, certain Petitions, to his Majesty, on the
behalf, of the House, and your self.

For your Commendation of Monarchy, and preferring it, before
other Estates, it needs no Answer. The Schools may dispute it;
But Time hath tried it; And we find it to be the Best. Other
States, have curious Frames, soon put out of order; And they,
that are made fit to last, are not, commonly, fit to grow, or spread:
And contrarywise, those that are made fit to spread, and enlarge,
are not fit, to continue, and endure. But Monarchy, is like a
Work of Nature, well composed, both to grow, and to continue.
From this I passe.

For the second part, of your Speech, wherein you did, with no
lesse Truth, then Affection, acknowledge, the great Felicity,
which we enjoy, by his Majesties Reign, and Government; His Ma-
jesties, hath commanded me, to lay unto you: That Traitors, and
Thanksgivings, he knoweth, to be the true Oblations, of Hearts,
and loving Affections: But that, which you offer him, he will
joyne with you, in offering it up to God, who is the Author of all
Good; who knoweth also, the uprightness, of his heart; who, He
hopeth, will continue, and encrease, his Blessings, both upon
Himself, and his Posterity: And likewise, upon his Kingdoms, and
the Generations of them.

But I, for my part, must lay unto you, as the Grecian Orator said,
long since, in the like case: Solis digitis, harum rerum Laudator
Tempus, is the onely Commender, and Encomiasique, worthy of
his Majesty, and his Government.

Why Time? For that, in the Revolution, of so many years, and
Ages, as have paffed over this Kingdom; Notwithstanding, ma-
ny Noble, and excellent, Effects, were never produced, untill
his Majestys dayes; But have been reserved, as proper, and pecu-
liar, unto them.

And because, this is no part of a Panegyrick, but meere Story,
and that they be, so many Articles of Honour, fit to be recorded, I
will onely mention them; extracting part of them, out of that,
you, Mr. Speaker, have said. They be, in Number, Eight.

1. His Majesty, is the first, (as you noted it well,) that hath laid
Lapis Angularis, the Corner Stone, of these two mighty Kingdoms,
of England, and Scotland; And taken away, the Wall of Separation:
Whereby
A Speech, in the Parliament, to the Speakers Excuse.

Whereby his Majesty, is become, the Monarch of the most punitant, and Militar, Nation, of the World: And if one, of the Ancient wise Men, was not deceived, iron commands Gold.

Secondly, the plantation, and Reduction, to Civility, of Ireland, (the second Island, of the Ocean Atlantic,) did, by Gods Providence, wait, for his Majesty's Times: Being a work, resembling, indeed, the Work of the ancient Heroes: No new piece, of that kind, in Modern Times.

Thirdly, this Kingdom, now first, in his Majesties Times, hath gotten a Lot, or Portion, in the New World, by the plantation of Virginia, and the Summer Islands. And certainly, it is with the Kingdoms on Earth, as it is, in the Kingdom of Heaven. Sometimes, a Grain of Mustard seed, proves a great Tree. Who can tell?

Fourthly, his Majesty, hath made that Truth, which was before Titulary; In that he hath verified the Sile, of Defender of the Faith. Wherein, his Majesties Pen, hath been so happy, as though, the Deaf Adder, will not hear, yet he is charmed, that he doth not Hiss. I mean, in the graver sort of those, that have answered, his Majesties Writings.

Fifthly, it is most certain, that since the Conquest, yee cannot affign Twenty years, (which is the Time, that his Majesties Reign, now draws fast upon,) of Inward, and Outward Peace. Informe, as the Time of Queen Eliz., of happy memory; And always magnified, for a peaceable Reign, was, nevertheless, interrupted, the last Twenty years, with a Rebellion, in England. And both first, and last, Twenty years, with Rebellions, in Ireland. And yet, I know, that his Majesty will make good, both his Words; As well that, of Newe me laescejet impune; As that other, of Reati pacifici.

Sixthly, that true, and primitive, office, of Kings, which is, to sit in the Gate, and to judge the People, was never performed, in like perfection, by any of the Kings Progenitors: Whereby, his Majesty hath shewed himself, to be Lex loquens; And to sit upon the Throne, not as a dumb Statua, but as a Speaking Oracle.

Seventhly, for his Majesties Mercy, (as you noted it well,) shew me a time, wherein, a King, of this Realm, hath Reigned, almost 20 years, (as I said,) in his White Robes, without the Blood, of any Peer, of this Kingdom: The Axe, turned, once or twice, towards a Peer, but never Struck.

Lastly: The Flourishing, of Arts, and Sciences, recreated by his Majesties Countenance, and Bounty, was never in that Heighth, especially, that Art of Arts, Divinities: For that, we may, truly, to Gods great glory, confess: That since the Primitive times, there were never, so many Stars, (for so the Scripture calleth them,) in that Firmament.

These Things, Mr. Speaker, I have, partly, chosen, out of your Heap, and are so far, from being vulgar, as they are, in effect, singular, and proper, to his Majesty, and his Times. So that, I have made good, as I take it, my first Assertion; That the only wort-
A Speech, in the Parliament, to the Speakers Excuse.

By Commander of his Majesty's Time: Which hath to set off, his Majesties Merits, by the Shadow of Comparison, as it passes the Lucre, or Commendation, of Words.

How then shall I conclude? Shall I say, O Fortunatus nimium sum et bona novint: No, For I see, ye are happy, in rejoicing them, and happy again, in knowing them. But, I will conclude, this part, with that Saying, turned to the Right Hand; Si gratus dixieris, omnia dixeeris. Your gratitude contains, in a word, all that I can say to you, touching this Parliament.

Touching the Third Point, of your Speech, concerning Parliament, I shall need to say little: For there was never, that Honour done, to the Institution of Parliament, that his Majesty did it, in his last Speech; making it, in effect, the perfection of Monarchy: For that, although Monarchy, was the more Ancient, and be independent; yet by the Advice, and Assistance of Parliament, it is the stronger, and the surer built.

And therefore, I shall say no more, of this Point, but as you, (Mr. Speaker,) did well note: That when the King sits in Parliament, and his Prelates, Peers, and Commons, attend him, he is in the Exaltation of his Orb: So, I wish things may be so carried, that he may be then, in greatest Serenity, and Benignity, of Aspect; thinning upon his People, both in Glory, and Grace. Now you know well, that the skimming of the Sun, fair upon the ground, whereby all things exhilarate, and do fruitify; is either hindered by Clouds above, or Mist below; perhaps by Brambles, and Briars, that grow upon the Ground it self. All which, I hope, at this time, will be dispelled, and removed.

I come now, to the last part of your Speech, concerning the Petitions: But before, I deliver, his Majesties Answer, respectively, in particular: I am to speak unto you, some few words in general: Wherein, in effect, I shall but glean; His Majesty, having to excellently, and fully, expressed himself.

For that, that can be spoken, pertinently, must be, either touching the Subject, or Matter, of Parliament Matters; Or of the Manner, and Carriage of the same; Or lastly, of the Time, and the Manner, and Marshalling of Time.

For the Matters, to be handled, in Parliament, they are, either of Church, State, Lawes, or Grievances.

For the First two, concerning Church, or State, ye have heard, the King himself speak, and as the Scripture faith; Who is he that can, in such things, stand come after the King? For the other two, I shall say somewhat, but very shortly.

For Lawes, they are Things proper, for your own Element: And therefore therein, ye are rather to lead, then to be led. Only, it is not amiss, to put you in mind, of two Things: The one, that you do not multiply, or accumulate, Lawes, more then ye need. There is a Wife, and Learned, Civilian, that applies, the Curse of the Prophet, Pluet super cos Laqueos, To Multiplicity of Lawes; For they
they do but enrange, and entangle the People. I will rather, that ye should either revive good Laws, that are fallen, and discontinued; or provide, against the slack execution, of Laws, which are already in Force; or meet, with the subtle Evasions, from Laws, which Time, and Craft, hath undermined; then to make, Novus Creaturas Legum, Laws upon a new Mould.

The other point, touching Laws, is; That ye busie not your selves, too much, in private Bills; except it be in Cases, wherein the Help, and Arm, of ordinary Justice, is too short.

For Grievances, his Majesty, hath with great Grace, and Benignity, opened himself. Nevertheless, the Limitations, which may make up your Grievances, not to beat the Air only, but to fort, to a desired effect, are, principally, two. The one, to use his Majesty's term, that ye do not Hunt after Grievances, such as may seem, rather, to be stirred here, when ye are met, then to have sprung, from the desires of the Country: Ye are to represent the People; ye are not to personate them.

The other, that ye do not, heap up Grievances, as if Numbers, should make a show, where the Weight is small; or as if, all things amis, (like Plato's Common wealth,) should be remedied at once. It is certain, that the best Governments, yea and the best Men, are like the best precious Stones, wherein every Flaw, or Sickle, or Grain, are seen, and noted more, then in those, that are generally, foul, and corrupted.

Therefore, contain your selves, within that Moderation, as may appear to bend, rather to the Effectual Ease of the People, then to a Discursive Envy, or scandal upon the State.

As for the Manner, of Carriage, of Parliament Business, ye must know, that ye deal with a King, that hath been longer King, then any of you, have been Parliament Men; And a King, that is no less sensible, of Former, then of Matter; And is as far, from inducing Diminution, of Majesty, as from regarding Flattery, or Gain Glory; And a King, that understandeth, as well, the Pulse, of the Hearts, of People, as his own Orb. And therefore, both let your Grievances, have a decent, and Reverent Form, and Stile; And (to use the words of former Parliaments,) let them be, Tanquam Cedens Columba, without Pique, or Haithness; And on the other side, in that ye do for the King, Let it have a Mark, of Unity, Alacrity, and Affection; which will be of this Force; That whatsoever ye do, in substance, will be doubled in Reputation abroad, as in a Crystall Glass.

For the Time, if ever Parliament was to be measured by the Hour-glass, it is this; In regard of the infant Occasion, flying away Irrecoverably. Therefore let your Speeches, in the House, be the Speeches of Counsellors, and not of Orators. Let your Committees, tend to dispatch, not to dispute; And so marshall the Times, as the publique Businesse, especially the proper Businesse, of the Parliament be put first; And private Bills be put last, as time shall...
A Speech, in the Parliament, to the Speakers Excuse.

shall give leave, or within the spaces, of the Publick.

For the Four Petitions, his Majesty is pleased to grant them all, as liberally, as the Ancient, and true Custom, of Parliament, doth warrant; And with the cautions, that have ever gone with them; That is to say, That the privilege, be not used, for Defrauding of Creditors, and Defeating of ordinary Justice: That Liberty of Speech, turn not into License; but be joined, with that Gravity, and Discretion, as may suit of Duty, and Love, to your Sovereign, Reverence to your own Assembly, and Respect to the Matters ye handle. That your Access, beat such fit Times, as may stand best with his Majesty’s pleasure, and Occasions. That Misjudgments, and Misunderstandings, be rather avoided, and prevented, (as much as may be,) then salved, or cleared.
A Speech delivered by Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney General, at the Arraignment of the Lord Sanquere in the Kings-bench at Westminster:

The Argument.

The Lord Sanquere a Scotch Nobleman, having in private revenge suborned Robert Carlile, to Murder John Turner Master of Fence, thought by his Greatness to have born it out, but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for Villany, but according to the Law on the 29 of June 1612, the said Lord Sanquere, having been Arraigned and Condemned by the name of Robert Crieghton, Esq. was before Westminster-hall gate Executed, where he died very penitent. At whose Arraignment my Lord Bacon (then Attorney General to King James) made this Speech following.

In this Cause of Life and Death, the Juries part is in effect discharged, for after a frank and formal Confession their labour is at an end, so that what hath been laid by my self is rather convenient than necessary.

My Lord Sanquere, your fault is great, it cannot be extenuated; and it need not be aggravated, and (if needed) you have made so full an Anatomy of it out of your own feeling, as it cannot be matched by my self or any man else in my conceit.

This Christian and penitent course of yours draws me thus far, that I agree, that is even in extreme evils there are degrees, so that this instance of your offence is not of the highest strain; for if you had thought to take away a mans life for his Vineyard as Abah did, or for Envy as Lin did, surely the offence had been more odious. Your temptation was Revenge, which the more natural it is to man, the more have Laws been divine and humane sought to repress, (Mibi vindicat) but in one thing you and I shall never agree, that generous Spirits are hard to forgive, no, contrarious and magnanimous Minds are readiest to forgive, and it is a weakness and impotency of mind to be unable to forgive.

But to the purpose, Howsoever Murder may arise from several motives less or more odious, yet the Law both of God and Man involves them in one degree, and therefore you may read that in Job's case, which was a Murder upon Revenge, and matched with your case, he for a dear Brother, and you for a dear part of your own blood, yet there was a severe Charge given that it should not pass unpunished.

And certainly the Circumstance of time is heavy upon you, it is now five years since this unfortunate man Turner, by an accident or design gave the provocation, which was the seed of your Malice. All passions are allayed with time, love, hatred, grief, &c. all fire burns out with time, if now new fuel be put to it, for you to have the gaul of
bitternefs so long, and to have been in a reflefts case of his blood is a
strange example. And I must tell you plainly, that I conceive you have
rather fuch thoje affections of dwelling in malice out of Italy, and Out-
landifh Manners, where you have converfed, then out of any part of this
Island of England or Scotland.

But now further, my Lord, I would have you look a little upon this of-
fence in the glass of Gods judgement, that God may have the glory : You
have friends and entertainment in Forraign Parts, it had been an eafe thing
for you to have fet Carlile, or some other Blood-hound a work, when
your perfon had been beyond the Seas, and fo this news might have come
to you in a Pacquet, and you might have looked on how the站着 would
pafs ; but God bereft you of this providence, and bound you here under
the hand of a King, though abundant in eminency, yet no lefs zealous of
Justice.

Again, when you came in at Lambeth, you might have persifted in the
denial of the procurement of the fact, Carlile (a refolute man) might have
cl ared you, for they that are refolute in Miftice, are commonly obfinate
in concealing their procurors, and fo nothing fhould have been againft you
but prefumption. But then God took away thefuffraction of Justice, gave
you the grace (which ought indeed to move true comfort unto you more
than any evaflion or defive whereby you might have escaped) to make a
clear Confefion.

Other impediments there were not a few, which might have been an in-
terruption to this days Justice, had not God in his providence removed
them.

But now that I have given God the honour, let me give it where it is
next due, that is to the King.

This Murther was no sooner committed and brought to his Majefties
cars, but his juft indignation (wherewith at the first he was moved) caft it
him prefently into a great deal of care and providence to have Justice
done.

First came forth his Proclamation, somewhat of a rare form, and devi-
fed, and in efl effect directed to his Majefly himfelf, signifying that he did pro-
secute the offenders (as it were) with breath and blafis of his mouth.
Then did his Majefly stretch forth his long Armes (for Kings you know
have long armes) one of them to the Sea, where he took hold of Grey
(shipped for Sweden, who gave the firft light of testimony ; the other arm
to Scotland, and there took hold of Carlile ere he was warm in his house,
and brought him the length of this Kingdom, under their safe watch and
cufody, as he could have no means to ecape or mischief himfelf, nor
learn no leffon to stand mute, in which cafes perhaps this days Justice
might have received a flop ; fo that I conclude his Majefly hath fowed
himfelf Gods true Lieutenant, and that he is no Refpeétor of Perfons,
but English, Scottifh, Nobleman, Fencer, (which is but an ignoble trade)
are to him alike in refpeét of Justice.

Nay, I muft fay further, That his Majefly hath had in this matter a kind
of Prophetical Spirit, for from that time Carlile and Grey, and you (my
Lord) were fled no man knew whether, to the four winds, The King ever
spake in a confident and undertaking manner, That wherefoever the Of-
fenders were in Europe, he would produce them forth to Justice.

Last
Lastly, to return to you (my Lord) though your offence hath been great, your Confection hath been free, and your Behaviour and Speech full of discretion; and this I knoweth that although you could not resist the temptation, yet you bear a generous and a Christian mind, answerable to the Noble Family of which you are descended. This I commend unto you, and take it to be an assured testimony of God's mercy and favour, in respect whereof all worldly things are but trifle, and so it is fit for you, as your state now is, to account them.

The Reader, for his fuller information in this story of the Lord Sanguere, is desired to peruse the Case in the Ninth Book of my Lord Coke's Reports, at the end of which the whole Series of the Murders and Tryal is exactly related.

A PRAYER or PSALM made by my Lord
Bacon Chancelloar of England.

Most gracious Lord God, my merciful Father, from my youth up, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter. Thou, O Lord, foundst and hast left the deeps and secrets of all hearts; thou acknowledgest the upright of heart, thou judgest the Hypocrite. Thou pourest men's thoughts and doings as in a balance, thou measur'st their intentions as with a line, vanity and crooked ways cannot be hid from thee.

Remember, O Lord, how thy servant hath walked before thee, remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy afflictions, I have examined for the divisions of thy Church, I have delighted in the brightness of thy Sanctuary. This Vine which thy right hand hast planted in this Nation, I have ever prayed unto thee, that it might have the first and the latter Rains, and that it might stretch her branches to the Sea, and to the Floods. The state and bread of the Poor and Oppressed have been precious in mine eyes, I have hated all enmity and hardness of heart: I have (though in a distressed need) procured the good of all men. If any have been my enemies, I thought not of them, neither hath the Sun almost set upon my dissipations, but I have been as a Dove, free from superfluity of maliciousness. Thy Creatures have been my Books, but thy Scriptures much more. I have sought thee in the Courts, Fields, and Gardens, but I have found thee in thy Temple.

Thousands have been my sins and ten thousands my trespassations, but thy mercies have remained with me, and my heart (through thy grace) hath been unquench'd with upon thine Altar. O Lord, my strength, I have since my youth met with thee in all my ways, by thy fatherly compassion, by thy comfortable chastisements, and by thy most-Visible providence. As thy favours have increased upon me, so have thy corrections; so as though I had always been near me, O Lord. And ever so my worldly blessings were excited, so secret darts from thee have pierced me; and when I have offended before men, I have descended in humiliation before thee. And now while I thought myself of peace and honour, thy hand is heavy upon me, and hast humbled me, according to thy former loving kindness, keeping me still in thy Fatherly School, not as a Buffet, but as a Child. Yet are thy judgments upon me for my sins, which are more in number than the sand of the Sea, but have proportion to thy mercies; for what are the Sands of the Sea, Earth, Heavens, and all these are nothing to thy mercies.

Besides my innumerable sins, I confess before thee, that I am debauched to thee for the gracious Talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a Napkin, nor put it (as I ought) to Exchangers, where it might have made both profit, but might be in things, for which I was least fit: so I may truly say, my Soul hath been a stranger in the course of my Pilgrimage. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for my Saviour's sake, and receive me unto thy bosom, or guide me in thy ways.
The Lord Bacon his Letter to the most Illustrious, and most Excellent Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c.

It may please your Highness,

In part of my acknowledgment to your Highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last King of England, that was Ancestor to the King your Father, and your self, and was that King to whom both unions may in a sort refer, that of the Roses being in him consummated, and that of the Kingdoms by him begun: besides his times deserve it, for he was a wise man, and an Excellent King; and yet the times very rough and full of mutations and rare accidents: and it is with times, as it is with ways, some are more up hill and down hill, and some are more flat and plain, and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer: I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, fitting so far of, and having no better light; it is true your Highness hath a living pattern, incomparable of the King your Father, but is not amiss for you also to see it in one of these Ancient Pieces: God preserve your Highness.

Your Highness most humble

and devoted Servant,

Francis St. Alban.
To the Lord Bacon then falling from Favour.

DAZEL'D thus with height of place,
While our hopes our wits beguile;
No man marks the narrow space
Twist a Prison and a smile.

Then since Fortune's favours fade,
You that in her Arms do sleep,
Learn to swim and not to wade,
For, the hearts of Kings are deep.

But if greatness be so blind,
As to trust in Tomers of Air;
Let it be with goodness join'd,
That at least the fall be fair;

Then though darkned you shall say,
When friends fail and Princes frown;
Virtue is the roughest way,
But proves at night a bed of down.

To my Reverend Friend, Doctor A.

SIR,

Amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self, like examples of Calamity in others. For Examples give a quicker impression than Arguments, and besides, they certify us that which the Scripture also tenders for satisfaction: That no new thing is hapned unto us. This they do the better, by how much the examples are liker in circumstances to our own case, and more especially, if they fall upon persons that are greater and worthier than our selves: For as it favoureth of vanity to match ourselves highly in our own conceit; so on the other side, it is a good sound conclusion, That if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.

In this kind of consolation I have not been wanting to myself, though as a Christian I have tasted (through God's great goodness) of higher remedies. Having therefore through the variety of my reading, fer before me many examples, both of ancient and latter times; my thoughts I confess have chiefly laid upon three particulars, as the most eminent and the most resembling. All three persons that had held chief places of Authority in their Countries, all three ruined, not by war, or by any other directly, but by Justice and sentence, as Delinquents and Criminals: All three
famous Writers, insomuch as the remembrance of their calamity is now as to posterity, but as a little picture of Night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent Tables of their Acts and Works: And all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any mans ambition of rising again; for that they were every one of them restored with great glory, but to their further ruin and destruction, ending in a violent death. The men were Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, persons that I doubt not claim affinity with, except the fimilitude of our fortunes had contracted it. When I had cast mine eyes upon these examples, I was carried on further to observe, how they did bear their fortunes, and principally how they did employ their times, being banished and disabled for publick busineses, to the end that I might learn by them, and that they might be as well my Counsellors as my Comforters. Whereupon I hapned to note, how diversly their Fortunes wrought upon them, especially in that point at which I did most aim, which was the employing of their times and pens. In Cicero I law, that during his banishment (which was almost two years) he was so softened and defected, that he wrote nothing but a few Womanish Epistles. And yet in mine own opinion, he had least reason of the three, to be discouraged: For that although it was judged, and judged by the highest kind of judgement, in form of a Statute or Law, that he should be banished, and his whole Estate confiscated and seised, and his Houfe pul'd down; and that it should be highly penal for any man to propound his Repeal: Yet his Cafe even then had no great blot of ignominy, but it was thought but a temper of popularity which overthrew him. Demosthenes contrariwise, though his cafe was foul, being condemned for Bribery, and not simple Bribery, but Bribery in the nature of Trea- son and Disloyalty; yet nevertheless took so little knowledge of his Fort-une, as during his banishment, he did much bufie himself, and entermedle with matters of State, & took upon him to counsel the State (as if he had been still at the helm) by letters, as appears by some Epistles of his which are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many Corruptions and Crimes, and banished into a Solitary Island, kept a mean; and though his pen did not freeze, yet he abstained from intruding into matters of busineses; but spent his time in writing Books of excellent argument and use for all Ages, though he might have made better choice (sometimes) of his Dedications.

These Examples confirmed me much in a resolution (whereunto I was otherwise inclined) to spend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it is that God hath given me. But revolving with my self, my Writings, as well those which I have publish't, as those I have in hand, me thought they all went into the City and none into the Temple; where, because I found so great contollation, I desire to make some poor oblation: Therefore I have chosen an Argument mixt of Religious and Civil Considerations; and likewise mixt between Contemplative and Active. This work, because I was ever an enemy to flattering Dedications, I have dedicated to you, in respect of our ancient and private acquaintance. And because amongst the men of our times, I held you in especial Reverence:

Your loving Friend,

Fra. St. Alban.
CERTAIN TREATISES
Written, or Referring,
TO
Queen Elizabeths TIMES:
BEING,
OBSERVATIONS UPON A
LIBELL
Published in Anno, 1592.
A true Report of Doctour LOPEZ his TREASON.
An Advertisement, touching the Controversies, of the Church of ENGLAND.
A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen ELIZABETH.

By the Right Honourable
FRANCIS BACON
Baron of VERULAM, Viscount Saint Alban.

LONDON,
Printed by S. Griffin, for William Lee, and are to be sold at his Shop in Fleetstreet, at the sign of the Turks-head, near the Mitre Tavern, 1657.
CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS, UPON A LIBELL, Published this present year, 1592.

INTITULAD: A DECLARATION
OF the TRUE CAUSES,
OF the GREAT TROUBLES,
Presupposed to be intended, against the REALM, of ENGLAND.

T were Just, and Honourable, for Princes, being in Wars together, that howsoever, they prosecute their Quarrels, and Debates, by Arms, and Acts of Hostility; yea, though the Wars be such, as they pretend the utter Ruine, and Overthrow, of the Forces, and States, one of another; yet they so limit their Passions, as they prefer, two Things, Sacred, and Inviolable; That is, The Life, and good Name, each of other. For the Wars, are no Massacres, and Confusions; But they are, the Highest Trials of Right; when Princes, and States, that acknowledge no Superior upon Earth, shall put themselves, upon the Justice of God, for the Deciding of their Controversies, by such Success, as it shall please him, to give, on either side. And as, in the Proce,
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ccfie, of particular Pleas, between private Men, all things, ought to be ordered, by the Rules, of Civill Lawes: So, in the Proceedings, of the Warre, nothing ought to be done, against the Law of Nations, or the Law of Honour; Which Lawes, have ever pronounced, those two Sorts, of Men; The one, Conspiracies, against the Persons of Princes; The other, Libellers, against their good Fame, to be such Enemies, of common Society, as are not to be cherished, no not by Enemies. For, in the Examples, of Times, which were leafe corrupted, we find, that when, in the greatest Heats, and Extremities of Wars, there have been made Offers of Murderous, and Traitorous, Attempts, against the Person, of a Prince, to the Enemy, they have been, not only Rejected, but also Revealed. And, in like manner, when Dishonourable Mention, hath been made, of a Prince, before an Enemy Prince, by some, that have thought, therein, to pleafe his Humour, he hath shewed himself, contrary wife, utterly deftaffed therewith, and been ready, to content, for the Honour, of an Enemy.

According to which Noble, and Magnanimous, Kind of Proceeding, it will be found, that, in the whole Course, of her Majesty Proceeding, with the King of Spain; since the Amity interrupted; There was never any project, by her Majesty, or any of her Ministers, either moved, or aftenent unto, for the Taking away, of the Life, of the said King: Neither, hath there been, any Declaration, or Writing, of Efface; No, nor Book allowed, wherein his Honour, hath been answered, or taxed, otherwise than for his Ambition; A point, which is, necessarily, interlaced, with her Majesty, own Justification. So that no Man, needeth to doubt, but that those Wars, are grounded, upon her Majesty, part, upon just, and Honourable Causes, which have so Just, and Honourable, a prosecution; Considering, it is a much harder Matter, when a Prince is entred into Wars, to bold respect then, and not to be transported with Passion; than, to make Moderate, and Just Resolutions, in the Beginnings.

But now, if a Man look, on the other part, it will appear, that rather, as it is to be thought, by the Solicitation of Traitorous Subjects, (which is the ony Poyson, and Corruption, of all Honourable Wars, between Forrainers;) Or by the Presumption of his Agents, and Ministers, then, by the proper Inclination, of that King, there hath been, if not plotted, and practisid, yet, at the least, comforted, Conspiracies, against her Majesty's Sacred Person; which, nevertheless, Goodness, hath used, and turned, to shew by such miraculous Discoveries, into how near, and precious, Care, and Custody, it hath pleasid him, to receive her Majesty's Life, and Preservation. But, in the other Point, it is strange, what a number, of Libellous, and Defamatory, Books, and Writings, and in what Variety, with what Art, and cunning, handled, have been allowed to pass through the World, in all Languages, against her Majesty, and her Government; Sometimes, pretending, the
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Gravity, and Authority, of Church Stories, to move Belief; sometimes, formed into Remonstrances, and Advertisement of Estate, to move Regard; Sometimes, presented, as it were, in Tragedies, of the Persecutions of Catholics, to move Pity; Sometimes, contrived, into pleasant Passages and Satyres, to move Sport: So as, there is no shape, whereinto, these Fellowes, have not transformed themselves; Nor no Humor, nor affection, in the mind of Man, to which they have not applied themselves; Thereby, to inflate, their Untruths, and abuses, to the World. And, indeed, Jera: Man look into them, and he shall find them, the only Triumphant Lies, that ever were confuted, by Circumstances, of Time, and Place; Confuted by Contrariety, in themselves; Confuted, by the Witness, of infinite Persons, that live yet, and have had, particular Knowledge, of the Matters: But yet avouched, with such Affestation, as if, either they were fallen, into that strange Disease of the Mind, which a Wife Writer, describeth, in these words; Finis sint simil creduntque; Or as if, they had received it, as a principall Precept, and Ordinance, of their Seminaries, Audaciter calumniare, semper aliquid hore: Or, as if, they were of the Race, which in old time, were wont, to help themselves, with Miraculous Lies; But, when the Caufe of this, is entred into, Namely, that there paffeth over, out of this Realm, a number of Eager, and Unquiet, Schollers, whom, their own Turbulent, and Humourous, Nature, prefeth out, to seek their Adventures abroad; And that, on the other side, they are nourished, rather in Listening after News, and Intelligences, and in Whispers, then in any Commendable Learning; And after a time, when either their Necessitous Estate, or their Ambitious Appetites, impoue them, they fall on devising, how to do, some acceptable Service, to that side, which maintaineth them; So as ever, when their Credit, waxeth Cold, with Forrain Princes; Or that their Penfions, are ill pay'd; Or some Preferment, is in light, at which they levell; Strayways, out commeth a Libell, pretending thereby, to keep in life the party, which within the Realm, is contrary to the State: (Wherein, they are as wise, as he, that thinketh, to kindle a Fire, by blowing the dead Ashes:) When, I lay, a man looketh into the Caufe, and Ground, of this plentifull yield of Libells, he will ceafe, to marke, considering the Concurrency, which is, as well, in the Nature of the Seed, as in the travell of Tilling, and dressing; yea, and in the Fittnesse, of the Seafon, for the Bringing up of those infectious weeds.

But, to vereifie, the Saying, of our Seavours, Nor of Discipulus super Magnus; As they have fought to deprave, her Majesties Government, in her self; So, have they not forgotten, to do the fame, in her principall Servants, and Counsellors; Thinking belike, that as the Immediate Invitatives, against her Majesly, do but satisfie, the Malice, of the Forreiner; So the Slander, and Calumniation, of her principall Counsellours, agreed best, with the Humours, of some
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Male-contents, within the Realm: Imagining also, that it was like, they should be more scattered here, and freelier differfed: And also should be lette odious, to those Forainers, which were not meerely partiall, and passionate: who have, for the most part, in detestation, the Traiituous Libellings, of Subjects, directly against their Natural Prince.

Amongst the Rest, in this kind, there hath been published, this present year, of 1592. a Libell, that giveth place, to none of the Rest, in Realice, and untruths: Though inferior, to moft of them, in penning, and Stile; The Author, having chosen, the vaine of a Lucraturist: And yet, being a Counterfeit, even in that kind. This Libell, is intituled; A Declaration, of the true Causes, of the great Troubles, presupposed to be intended, against the Realm of England. And hath a Semblance, as if it were bent, against the Doings, of her Maijesi, Ancient, and Worthy Counsellor, the Lord Langley: Whose Carefulness, and Paines, her Majesly, hath used, in her Counsells, and Actions, of this Realm, for these 34. years space, in all dangerous Times; And amidst many, and mighty, pratlices; And with such successe, as our Enemies, are put still, to their Paper-shot, of such Libels, as these: The memory, of whom, will remain, in this Land, when all these Libels, shall be extinct, and forgotten; According to the Scripture; Memoriam justi cum landibus, at Imperium Nonum patresceat. But it is more then evident, by the parts of the same Book, that the Authors Malice, was to her Majesly, and her Government; As may especially appear, in this, That he charged not, his Lordship, with any particular Actions, of his private Life; (Such power had Truth;) whereas, the Libels, made against other Counsellors, have, principally, insinuited upon that part; But hath only, wrested, and detorted, such Actions of State, as in Times, of his Service, have been Mannaged; And depraving them, hath ascribed, and imputed to him, the Effects, that have followed; Indeed, to the Good of the Realm, and the Honour of her Majesly; Though, sometimes, to the Provoking of the Malice, but Abridging of the Power, and Means, of Desperate, and Incorrigible, Subjects.

All which Slanders, as his Lordship, might justly despise; Both, for their Manifest Untruths, and for the Rofenfiefs, and Obseurity, of the Author; So everthelesse, according to the Moderation, which his Lordship useth, in all Things; Never claiming the Priviledge, of his Authority, when it is Question, of satisfying the World: He hath been content, that they be not passed over, altogether, in Silence: Whereupon, I have, in particular Duty, to his Lordship, amongt others, that do Honour, and Love, his Lordship; And that have, diligently, observed his Actions; And in Zeal of Truth, collected, upon the Reading, of the said Libell, certain Observations; Not in Form, of a just Answer, left, I should fall into the Error, whereof Salomon, speaketh thus; An-
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to discover the Malice, & to reprove, and convict the Untruths, thereof.

The Points, that I have observed, upon the Reading, of this Libell, are these following.

1. Of the Scope, or Drift, of the Libeller.
2. Of the present Estate, of this Realm, of England; whether it may be, truly avouched, to be Prosperous, or Afflicted.
3. Of the Proceedings, against the pretended Catholiques, whether they have been Violent; or Moderate, and necessary.
4. Of the Disturbance, of the Quiet, of Christendom; And to what Causes, it may be, justly, imputed.
5. Of the Cunning, of the Libeller, in Falsification, of his Malicious Invective, against her Majesty, and the State, with pretense, of taxing only, the Actions, of the Lord Burleigh.
6. Certain true General Notes, upon the Actions, of the Lord Burleigh.
7. Of diverse particular Untruths, and Abusers, dispersed through the Libell.
8. Of the Height, of Impudence, that these Men, are grown unto, in Publishing, and Avouching, Untruths; with particular Recital, of some of them, for an Assay.

1. Of the Scope, or Drift of the Libeller.

It is good Advice, in dealing, with Cautelous, and Malicious, persons; Whose Speech, is ever at distance, with their Meanings; Non quid dixerint, sed quos spectaret, videndum: A Man, is not to regard, what they affirm, or what they hold; But, what they would convey, under their pretended Discovery, and what turn they would serve. It soundeth strangely, in the Eares, of an English Man; That the Miseries, of the present State, of England, exceed them, of former times, whatsoever. One would, strait-way, think with himself; Doth this Man beleve what he saith? Or not beleaving it, doth he think it possible, to make us beleive it? Surely, in my conceit, neither of both; But his End, no doubt, was, to round the Pope, and the King of Spain, in the Ear, by seeming, to tell a Tale, to the People of England. For such Bookes, are ever wont, to be translated, into diverse Languages: And, no doubt, the Man, was not so simple, as to think, he could perfwade, the People of England, the Contrary, of what they taft, and feele. But he thought, he might better abuse, the States, abroad, if he directed his Speech to them, who could best convict him, and disprove him, if he said untrue: So that, as Livy faith, in the like case; Aetolos, magis, coram quibus verba facerent, quam ad quos, penfe haberet. That the Aetolians, in their Tale, did more respect those, which did overheare them, then those, to whom they directed their Speech: So, in this matter, this Fellow, cared not, to be counted a Lier, by all
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England, upon Price, of Deceiving, of Spain, and Italy: For it must be understood, that it hath been, the general Practice, of this kind of Men, many years, of the one side, to abuse, the Tar- raine Estates, by making them believe, that all is out of Joynt, and Ruinous, here in England. And that, there is a great part, ready, to joyn with the Invader: And, on the other side, to make, the Foill subjects, of England, believe, of great Preparations abroad, and in great readiness, to be put in Act; And so to deceive, on both sides: And this, I take to be, his Principal Drift. So again, it is an extravagant, and incredible, Conceit, to Imagine, that all the Conclusions, and Actions, of Estate, which have passed, during her Majesties Reign, should be ascribed, to one Counsellor alone: And to such an one, as was never noted, for an Imprudent, or Over- ruling, Man: And to say, that though, He carried them, not by Violence, yet he compassed, them by Devise; There is no Man of Judgement, that looketh into the Nature of these Times, but will easily descry, that the Wits, of these Days, are too much refined, for any Man, to walk Invisible: Or to make, all the World, his Instruments; And therefore, no not in this point, assuredly, the Libeller spake, as he thought; But this he foresaw: That the Imputation, of Cunning, doth breed Suspicion; And the Imputation, of Greatness, and Swag, doth breed Envy: And therefore, finding, where he was most wrong, and by whose policy, and Experience, their plots were most crossed, the mark he shot at, was to see, whether he could have, at his Lordsships Authority, by making him suspected, to the Queen; or generally odious, to the Realm: Knowing well enough, for the one point, that there are not only Jealousies, but certain Revolutions, in Princes Minds: So that, it is a rare Vertue, in the Rarest Princes, to continue constant to the End, in their Favours, and Employments. And knowing, for the other point, that Envy, ever companieth Greatness, though never so well deserved: And that his Lordsship, hath alwaies marched, a Round, and a Real Course, in service: And as, he hath not moved Envy, by Trop, and Ostentation; so, hath he never ex- tinguished it, by any Popular, or Insubstantial, Carriage of Himself: And this, no doubt, was his Second Drift.

A Third Drift, was, to aflay, if he could supplant, and weaken, (by this violent kind of Libelling, and turning the whole Imputation, upon his Lordship,) his Resolution, and Courage; And to make him proceed more cautelously, and not so thoroughly, and strongly, against them; Knowing his Lordship, to be a Politick Man, and one, that hath, a great Stake to live.

Lastly, last while I discover Cunning, and Art, of this Fellow, I should make him wiser then he was, I think, a great part of this Book, was Passion; Difficile est tacere, cum deles. The Humours, of these Men being, of themselves, eager, and Fierce, have, by the Abort, and Blasting, of their Hopes; been blinded and enraged. And surely, this Book, is of all that Sort, that have been written
written, of the meanest work-man-ship: Being fraughted, with sundry base scoffs, and cold amplifications, and other characters, of despite; but void, of all judgement, or ornament.

2. Of the present Estate, of this Realm, of England: whether it may be, truly, avouched, to be prosperous, or afflicted.

The benefits, of Almighty God, upon this Land, since the time, that in his singular providence, he led, as it were, by the hand, and placed, in the Kingdome, his Servant, our Queen Elizabeth, are such, as not in Boasting, or in Confidence of ourselves, but in praise of his Holy Name, are worthy, to be, both considered, and confided; yea, and registred, in perpetuall Memory: Notwithstanding, I mean not, after the manner of a Panegyrical, to extoll the present Time. It shall suffice onely, that those Men, that through the Gall, and Bitternes, of their own heart, have left their task, and judgement; And would, deprive God, of his Glory, and we, of our success, in affirming our condition, to be miserable, and tull of Tokens, of the Wrath, and Indignation of God, be reproved.

If then, it be true, that, 'Nemo est Misera, aut Felix, nisi comparatus: Whether we shall (keeping our selves, within the Compass of our own Island,) look, into the Memorials, of Times past; Or, at this present time, take a view, of other States, abroad, in Europe; We shall find, that we need not give place, to the Happinesse, either of Ages, or of Neighbours. For, if a Man weigh well, all the Parts, of State, and Religion, Laws, Administration of Justice, Policy of Government, Manners, Civility, Learning and Liberal Sciences, Industry and Manuall Arts, Armes and Provisions of War, for Sea, and Land, Treasure, Traffique, Improvement of the Soyle, Population, Honour and Reputation: It will appear, that taking, one part, with Another, the State, of this Nation, was never more flourishing.

It is easy, to call to Remembrance, out of Histories, the Kings of England, which have, in more ancient times, enjoyed greatest Happinesse: Besides her Majesties Father, and Grand-father, that reigned in rare felicity, as is fresh in Memory. They have been, K. Henry the 1. K. Hen. 2. K. Hen. 3. King Edw. the 1. K. Edw. the 2. K. Henry the 5. All which, have been Princes, of Royall Vertue, Great Felicity, and Famous Memory. But it may be truly affirmed, without derogation, to any of these worthy Princes, that whatsoever we find in Libels, there is not to be found, in the
the English Chronicles, a King, that hath, in all respects, laid together, reigned with such Felicity, as her Majesty hath done. For as for the First 3, Henrys; The First, came in, too soon, after a Conquest: The Second, too soon, after an Usurpation; And the Third, too soon, after a League, or Barons War; To reign, with Security, and Contention. King H. I. also, had unnaturally Wars, with his Brother Robert, wherein much Nobility was consumed: He had therewithall, tedious Wars, in Wales; And was not, without some other Seditions, and Troubles; As namely, the great Contestation, of his Prelates. King Henry 2. his Happiness, was much deformed, by the Revolt of his Son Henry, after he had associated him, and of his other Sons. King Hen. 3, besides his continual Wars, in Wales, was after 44. years reign, unquieted, with Intricate Commotions, of his Barons; As may appear, by the Mad Parliament, held at Oxford, and the Alms thereupon ensuing. His Son, King Ed. 1, had a more flourishing Time, then any of the other; Came to his Kingdom, at ripe years, and with great Reputation, after his voyage, into the Holy Land; And was much loved, and obeyed; contrived his Wars, with great Judgement; First, having reclaimed Wales, to a setted Allegiance; And being, upon the point, of uniting Scotland. But yet, I suppose, it was more honour, for her Majesty, to have, so important a piece of Scotland, in her hand; And the fame, with such Justice, to render up; Then it was, for that worthy King, to have advanced, in such Forwardness, the Conquest, of that Nation. And for King Edward 3. his Reign was visited, with much Sickness, and Mortality, So as they reckoned, in his dayes, 3, severall Mortalities: One in the 22. year: Another in the 35. year: And the last, in the 43. year, of his Reign: And being otherwise, Victorious, and in Prosperity, was by that only Crosse, more afflicted, then he was, by the other Prosperities, comforted. Besides, he entred hardly; And again, according to the Verse; Cedebant ultima primis: His Latter Times, were not so prosperous. And for King Henry 5. as his Succession was wonderfull, so he wanted Continuance; Being extinguished, after 10. years Reign, in the Prime, of his Fortunes.

Now for her Majesty, we will, first, speak, of the Blessing of Continuance, as that, which wanted, in the Happiness, of these Kings: And is not only, a great flavour of God, unto the Prince, but also, a singular Benefit, unto the People: For that Sentence of the Scripture: Misera Natio, cuncti sunt principes eis: is interpreted, not only, to extend, to Divisions, and Distractions, in Government, but also, to Frequent Changes, in Succession: Considering, that the Change of a Prince, bringeth in, many Changes, which are Harsh, and Unpleasing, to a great part of Subjects. It appeareth then, that of the Line, of Five hundred, and four score years, and more, containing the Number of 22. Kings, God hath already prolonged, her Majesty's Reign, to exceed
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... That which all the People, which was wanting, in the Reign of another of these Kings: which else deferred, to have the second place, in Happiness, which is one, of the great Favours, of God, towards any Nation. For, as there be three, Secure of God, War, Famine, and Pestilence; so are there three Blessings, Peace, Plenty, and Health. Whereas therefore, this Realm, hath been visited, in times past, with sundry kinds of Mortalities; (as Pestilences, Sweats, and other Contagious Diseases;) it is so, that in her Majesties Times, being of the continuance, aforefaid, there was only, towards the beginning of her Reign, some Sickness, between June, and February, in the City, but not dispersed, into any other part, of the Realm, as was noted; which we call yet, the Great Plague; Because, that though it was nothing so Grievous, and so Sweeping, as it hath been, sundry times heretofore; yet it was great, in respect of the Health, which hath followed since; Which hath been such, (especially of late years,) as we began to dispute, and move Questions, of the Causer, whereunto it should be ascribed; Untill such time, as it pleased God to teach us, that we ought, to ascribe it, only to his Mercy; By touching us, a little, this present year; but with a very Gentle Hand; And such, as it hath pleased him, since, to remove. But certainly it is, for so many years together, notwithstanding, the great Revealing of people, in Howers; The great Multitude of Strangers, and the sundry Voyages by Seas; (All which, have been noted, to be Causers of Pestilence,) The Health Univerfal, of the People, was never so good.

The third Blessing is that, which all the Politick, and Fortunate Kings, before recited, have wanted; That is, Peace: For there was never Forreiner, since her Majesties Reign, by Invasion, or Incursion of Moment, that took any footing, within the Realm of England. One Rebellion, there hath been onely, but such an one, as was represed, within the space, of seven weeks; And did not wait, the Realm, so much, as by the Destitution, or Depopulation, of one poor Town. And for wars abroad, taking in...
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those of Leith, those of New-Haven, the second Expedition into Scotland, the wars of Spain, which I reckon, from the year 86, or 87; (before which time, neither had the King of Spain, withdrawn his Embassadours, here residing; neither had her Majesties received into protection, the United Provinces, of the Low Countries;) And the Aid of France; They have not occupied, in time, a third part of her Majesties Reign; Nor consumed, past two, of her Noble Houses, whereof France took one, and Flanders another: and very few, besides, of Quality, or Appearance. They have scarce, mowed down, the overcharge of the People, within the Realm. It is therefore true, that the Kings aforesaid, and others her Majesties Progenitors, have been Victorious, in their Wars; And have made, many Famous, and Memorable, Voyages, and Expeditions, into sundry parts; And that her Majestie, contrarywise, from the beginning, put on, a firm Resolution, to content her self, within those Limits of her Dominions, which she received; And to entertain Peace, with her Neighbour princes; which Resolution, the hath ever since, (notwithstanding, the hath had Rare Opportunities, Just Claims, and pretences, and great, and mighty Means,) sought to continue. But if, this be objected, to be the litle Honourable Fortune; I answer, that ever, amongst the Heathen, who held not, the Expanse of Blood, so precious, as Christians ought to do; The peaceable Government of Augustus Caesar, was ever, as highly esteemed, as the Victories, of Julius, his Uncle; and that the Name, of Peter Patrio, was ever as Honourable, as that of propagator Imperii. And this, I add further, that during this inward Peace of so many years, in the Actions of War, before mentioned, which her Majestie, either in her own Defence, or in Just, and Honourable Aides, hath undertaken; The Service hath been litch, as hath carried, no Note, of a People, whose Militia, were degenerated, through Long Peace; But hath, every way, answered, the ancient Reputation, of the English Arms.

The fourth Blessing is Plenty, and Abundance: And first, for Grain, and all Vitiwaits, there cannot be, more evident Proof, of the Plenty, then this. That, whereas England, was wont, to be fed, by other Countries, from the East, it sufficient now, to feed, other Countries. So as we do, many times, transport, and serve, sundry Forrein Countries; And yet, there was never, the like Multitude of People, to eat it, within the Realm. Another evident Proof thereof, may be, that the good yields of Corn, which have been, together with some Toleration of Vent, hath, of late time, invited, and enticed Men, to break up more Ground, and to convert it to Tillage, then all the Penal Laws, for that purpose made, and enacted, could ever, by Compulsion, effect. A third Proof may be, that the Prices of Grain, and Vitiwall, were never, of late years, more Reasonable. Now for Arguments of the great Reale, in all other Respects, let the Points following be considered.

There was never, the like Number, of fair, and Stately Hen-
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...as have been built, and set up, from the Ground, since her Majesty's Reign: Infomuch, that there have been reckoned, in one Shire, that is not great, to the Number, of 33; Which have been all, new built, within that time: And whereof the Meanest, was never built, for two Thousand pounds.

There were never, the like Pleasures, of goodly Gardens, and Orchards, Walks, Pools, and Parks, as do adorn, almost, every Mansion House.

There was never, the like Number, of Beautifull, and Costly, Tombs, and Monuments, which are erected, in sundry Churches, in Honourable Memory, of the Dead.

There was never, the like Quantity of Plate, Jewels, Sumptuous Moveables, and Stuff, as is now, within the Realm.

There was never, the like Quantity, of Waste, and unprofitable Ground, Inland, Reclaimed, and Improved.

There was never, the like Husbanding, of all Sorts of Grounds, by Fencing, Manuring, and all kinds, of good Husbandry.

The Towns, were never better built, nor peopled; Nor the principal Fairers, and Markets, never better customed, nor frequented.

The Commodities, and Ease, of Rivers, cut by hand, and brought into a new Channell; Of Peers, that have been built; Of Waters, that have been forced, and brought, against the Ground, were never so many.

There was never, so many excellent Artificers, nor so many new Handy-Crafts, used, and exercized; Nor new Commodities, made within the Realm; Sugar; Paper; Glass; Copper; divers Silks; and the like.

There was never, such Compleat, and Honourable Provision, of Horse; Arrow, Weapons, Ordnance of the Warr.

The Fifth Blessing, hath been, the great Population, and Multitude, of Families, increas'd within her Majesty's days: For which Point, I refer my Self, to the Proclamations, of Restraint, of Building, in London; The Inhibition, of Inmates, of sundry Cities; The Restraint, of Cottages, by Act of Parliament; And sundry other Tokens, of Record, of the Surcharge, of People.

Besides these parts of a Government, blessed from God, wherein, the Condition of the People, hath been more happy, in her Majesty's Times, then in the Times, of her Progenitors; There are certain Singularities, and Particulars, of her Majesty's Reign, wherein, I do not say, that we have enjoyed them, in a more ample Degree, and Proportion, then in former Ages; (As it hath fallen out, in the Points, before mentioned;) But such, as were, in Effect, unknown, and unaftted, heretofore. As first, the Purity of Religion, which is a Benefit Inestimable; And was, in the time, of all former Princes, until the days, of her Majesty's Father, of Famous Memory, unheard of. Out of which Purity of Religion, have since enlived, beside the principal Effect, of the true Knowledge...
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The earliest Benefices establisht among the purity of Religion.

1. One, the stay of a mighty Treasure, within the Realm, which, in foretimes, was drawn forth, to Rome. Another, the Philipizing, and Distribution of those Revenues (Amounting, to a Third part, of the Land, of the Realm;) And that, of the goodwill, and the richest fort, which heretofore, was unprofitably spent, in Monasteries; Into such Hands, as by whom, the Realm, receiveth, at this day, Service, and Strength. And many Great Houses, have been set up, and augmented. The Third, the Manning, and Enfranchising, of the Regall Dignity, from the Recognition, of a Foreign Superior: All which Points, though begun by her Father, and continued by her Brother, were yet, nevertheless, after an Eclipse, or Intemillion, Restored, and Restablished, by her Majesties Self.

Secondly, the Finenesse of Money: For as the Purging away, of the Dross of Religion, the Heavenly Treasure, was common to her Majesties, with her Father, and her Brother: So the Purging, of the Base Money, the Earthly Treasure, hath been, altogether, proper, to her Majesties own Times; Whereby our Money, bearing the Natural Estimation, of the Stamp, or Mark, both every Man replenish, affurred of his own vallew, and free from the looses, and Decrets, which fall out in other places, upon the Rising, and Falling, of Money.

Thirdly, the Might of the Navy, and Augmentation, of the Shipping, of the Realm: which, by politique Constitutions, for Maintenance of Filling, and the Encouragement, and Assistance, given, to the undertakers, of New Discoveries, and Trader by Sea, is so advanced, as this Island is become, (as the Natural Seat thereof deserveth,) the Lady of the Sea.

Now to passe, from the Comparison, of Time, to the Comparison, of place: We may find, in the States abroad; Cause of Pity, and Compassion in some; But of Envy, or Emulation, in none; Our Condition being, by the good Favour of God, not Inferiour to any.

The Kingdom of France, which, by reason, of the Seat of the Empire, of the West, was wont, to have the precedence, of the Kingdom of Europe, is now fallen, into those Calamities, that as the Prophet faith, From the Crown of the Head, to the Soul of the Foot, there is no whole place. The Divisions, are so many, and so intricate, of Protestants, and Catholicks; Royalists, and Leaguers; Butlerises, and Lorainists; Patriots, and Spaniards; As it seemeth, God hath some great Work, to bring to passe, upon that Nation; yea, the Nobility divided, from the Third Estate; And the Town, from the Field: All which Miseries, truly to speak, have been wrought by Spain, and the Spaniards Faction.

The Low-Countries, which were, within the Age of a young Man, the Richest, the best Peopled, and the best Built, Plots of Europe,
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Europe, are in such Estate, as a Country is like to be iu, that hath been the Seat, of thirty years War; And although, the Sea-Provinces, be rather encreased, in Wealth, and Shipping, then other-wise; yet, they cannot but mourn, for their Distraction, from the rest of their Body.

The Kingdom of Portugal, which, of late times, through their Merchandizing, and places in the East Indies, was grown, to be an Opulent Kingdom, is, now at the last, after the unfortunate journey of Affrick, in that state, as a Country is like to be, that is reduced, under a Forreiner, by Conquest; And such a Forreiner, as hath his Competitor in Title, being a Natural Portugal, and no Stranger; And having been once in possession, yet in Life: whereby his Jealousie, must necessarily be encreased, and through his Jealousie, their Oppression: which is apparent, by the Carrying, of many Noble Families, out of their Natural Countries, to live in Exile: And by putting to Death, a great Number of Noble-Men, naturally born, to have been principal Governors, of their Countries. These are three Afflicted, parts of Christendom; The Rest of the States, enjoy, either Prosperity, or tolerable Condition.

The Kingdom of Scotland, though at this present, by the good Regiment, and wise proceeding, of the King, they enjoy good quiet; yet, since our Peace, it hath passed, through no small Troubles; And remaineth, full of Boiling, and Swelling, Humours; But like, by the Maturity, of the said King, every day encreasing, to be pressed.

The Kingdom of Poland, is newly recovered, out of great Wars, about an Ambiguous Election. And besides, is a State, of that Composition, that their King being Elective, they do, commonly, chuse, rather a Stranger, than one of their own Country. A great Exception, to the Flourishing Estate, of any Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Swedeland, besides their Forrain Wars, upon their Cousins, the Muscovites, and the Danes; Hath been, also, subject, to divers Intensitive Tumults, and Mutations, as their Stories do record.

The Kingdom of Denmark, hath had good Times, specially, by the good Government, of the late King, who maintained, the profession, of the Gospel; But yet, greatly, giveth place, to the Kingdom of England, in Climate, Wealth, Fertility, and many other Points, both of Honour, and Strength.

The Estates of Italy, which are not, under the Dominion of Spain, have had peace, equal in continuance with ours; Except, in regard of that, which hath passed between them, and the Turk; Which hath forrest, to their Honour, and Commendation: But yet, they are so brideled, and over-awed, by the Spaniard, that polleffeth the two principal Members thereof; And that, in the two extream parts, as they be like Quilles of Freehold, being intermixed, in the midst, of a great Honour or Lordship. So as their Quiet, is intermingled, not with Jealousy alone, but with Restraint.
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The States of Germany, have had, for the most part, peaceable Times; But yet they yield, to the State of England, Not only, in the great Honour, of a great Kingdom, (they being, of a mean Style, and Dignity,) but also in many other Respects, both of Wealth, and Policy.

The State of Savoy, having been, in the old Duke Time, governed, in good Prosperity, hath since, notwithstanding, their new great Alliance, with Spain, whereupon they waxed insolent, to design, to snatch up, some piece of France; After the dishonourable Repulse, from the Seige of Geneva; been often distressed, by a particular Gentleman of Daulpheny; And at this present day, the Duke feeleth, even in Piedmont, beyond the Mountains, of the weight, of the same Enemy: Who hath lately shut up his Gates, and common Entries, between Savoy, and Piedmont.

So as hitherto, I do not see, but that we are, as much bound, to the Mercies of God, as any other Nation; Considering, that the Fires of Dilention, and Oppression, in some Parts of Christendom, may serve us, for Lights; to shew us our Happiness: And the good Estates, of other places, which we do congratulate with them for, is such, nevertheless, as doth not stain, and exceed ours: But rather, doth still leave somewhat, wherein we may acknowledge, an ordinary Beneficent, of God.

Lastly, we do not much emulate, the Greatness, and Glory, of the Spaniards; Who, having not only Excluded, the Purity of Religion, but also Fortified against it, by their Device, of the Inquisition; which is a Bulwark, against the Entrance, of the Truth of God: Having, in recompence, of their new Purchase of Portugal, lost, a great part, of their ancient Patronies, of the Low-Countries; (Being of far greater Commodity, and Value;) or, at the least, holding part thereof, in such sort, as most of their other Revenues, are spent there, upon their own: Having lately, with much Difficulty, rather smoothed, and skinned over, then Healed, and extinguished, the Commotions of Arragon; Having rather sowed Troubles in France, then reaped Affured Fruit thereof, unto themselves: Having, from the Attempt, of England, received Scorn, and Disreputation; Being, at this time, with the States of Italy, rather suspected, then either Loved, or Feared: Having, in Germany, and else where, rather much Prudence, then any Sound Intelligence, or Amity: Having no such clear Precedent, as they need object, and Reproach, the Uncertainty thereof, unto another Nation: Have, in the end, won a Reputation, rather of Ambition, then Justice; And in the pursuit, of their Ambition, rather of Much Entrepri sing, then of Fortunate Achieving; And, in their Entrepri sing, rather, of Doing Things, by Treasure, and Expense, then by Force, and Valour.

Now, that I have given the Reader, a Tale of England, respectively, and in Comparison, of the Times past, and of the States abroad,
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abroad: I will descend, to examine, the Libellers, own Divisions: Whereupon, let the World judge, how easily, and clean, this inke, which he hath cast in our faces, is washed off.

The First Branch, of the pretended Calamities, of England, is the great, and wonderfull, Confusion, which, he faith, is in the State, of the Church; which is subdivided, again, into two parts: The one, the Profecutions, againg the Catholicks: The other, the Discords, and Controversies, amongst ourselves: The former, of which 2. parts, I have made, an Article by it self; Wherein, I have set down, a clear, and simple, Narration, of the proceedings, of State, against that sort of Subjects; Adding this by the way: That there are 2. Extremities, in State, concerning the Causes, of Faith, and Religion: That is to say, the Permission, of the Exercises, of mor Re- ligious, then one, which is a dangerous Indulgence, and Toleration; the other, is the Entering, and Sifting, into Mens Consciences, when no Overt Scandal is given; which is Rigorous, and Strainable. Inquisition: And I avouch, the proceedings, towards the intended Catholicks, to have been a Mean, between these two Extremities; Referring, the Demonstration thereof, unto the aforesaid Narrative, in the Articles following.

Touching the Divisions, in our Church, the Libeller affirmeth, that the Protestantall Calumny, (For so it pleaseth him, with very good grace, to term the Religion, with us establisht;) is grown, Contemptible, and Detected, of Idolatry, Heresie, and many other Injuries, Abysses, by a Purified sort of Professors, of the same Gospel. And this Contention is yet grown, to be more intricate, by reason of a Third Kind, of Professors, called Brownists. Who, being directed, by the great Fervour, of the Unholy Ghost, do expressly affirm, that the Protestantall Church of England, is not gathered, in the name of Christ, but of Anti-christ: And that, if the Prince, or Magistrate, under her, do refuse, or defer, to reform the Church, the people may, without her Consent, take the Reformation, into their own Hands; And hereto, he addeth, the Fanatical Pageant of Hacket: And this is the Effect, of this Accusation, in this point.

For Answer whereunto; First, it must be remembred, that the Church of God, hath been, in all Ages, Subject to Contentions, and Schisms. The Tares were not sown, but where the Wheat was sown before. Our Saviour Christ, delivereth it, for an ill Note, to have Outward Peace, saying: When a strong Mau, is in possession, of the House, (meaning the Devil,) all things are in Peace. It is the Condition, of the Church, to be, ever, under Trials: And there are, but Two Trials: The one, of Persecution; The other, of Scandal, and Contention: And when the One ceaseth, the other succeedeth: Nay, there is scarce, any one Epistle, of St. Pauls, unto the Churches, but containeth, some Reprehension, of unnecessary, & Schismatical, Controversies. So likewise, in the Reign, of Constantine the Great, after the time, that the Church, had obtained Peace, from persecution,

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on, strait entred, sundry Questions, and Controversies, about no little Matters, then the Essential Parts, of the Faith, and the High Mysteries of the Trinity. But Reason teacheth us, that in Ignorance, and Implied Belief, it is easie, to agree, as Colours agree in the Dark: Or if any Courtrey decline into Atheism, then Controversies, wax dainty, because Men do think Religion, scarce worth, the Falling out for: So as, it is weak Divinity, to account Controversies, an ill Sign, in the Church.

It is true, that certain Men, moved with an inconsiderable Detestlation, of all Ceremonies, or Orders, which were in use, in the time, of the Roman Religion: (As if, they were, without difference, superstitious, or polluted;) And led, with an affectionate Imitation, of the Government, of some Protestant Churches, in Forrain States; Have fought, by Books, and Preaching, indiscriminately, and sometimes undutifully, to bring in, an Alteration, in the Extern Rites, and Pollicy, of the Church: But neither, have the Grounds, of the Controversies, extended unto any Point of Faith: Neither hath the Pressing, and Prosecution, exceeded, in the generality, the Nature of some Inferiour Contempts: So as, they have been, far from Heresie, and Sedition: And therefore, rather offensive, then Dangerous, to the Church, or State.

And as for Those, which we call Brownists, being, when they were at the moft, a very small Number, of very slyly, and base, people, here and there, in Corners, disperfed: They are now, (thanks be to God,) by the good Remedies, that have been used, suppressed, and worn out; So as, there is scarce, any Newes of them. Neither, had they been, much known, at all; had not Brown, their Leader, Written a Pamphlet; Wherein, as it came into his Head, he inveighed more, against Logick and Rhetoric, then against the State, of the Church: (which Writing was much read;) And had not, also, one Barrow, (being a Gentleman, of a good House, but one that lived in London, at Ordinaries;) And there learned, to argue, in Table-Talk; And so, was very much known, in the City, and abroad;) made a Leap, from a vain, and Libertine, youth, to a precifeness, in the Highest Degree; The strangeness, of which Alteration, made him very much spoken off: The Matter, might long before, have breathing out. And here I note, an Honesty, and Discretion, in the Libeller, which I note, no where else; In that, he did forbear, to lay, to our charge, the Sect, of the Family of Love: For about 12 years since, there was creeping, in some secret places, of the Realm, indeed, a very great Heresie, derived from the Dutch, and named, as before was said: which since, by the good Blessing of God, & by the good strength, of our Church, is banished, and Extinct. But so much we fee, that the Dizeases, wherewith our Church hath been visited, whatsoever these Men say, have, either, not been, Maligne, and Dangerous: Or else, they have been as Blisters, in some small Ignoble part of the Body, which have soon after fallen, and gone away. For
For such also, was the Threnetical, and Fanatical. (For I mean not to determine it.) Attempt of Hackett; Who must needs have been thought, a very Dangerous Heretic, that could never get, but two Disciples; And those, as it should seem, perished in their Brain; And a Dangerous Commotioner, that in so great, and populous, a City, as London is, could draw, but those same two Fellow, whom the People, rather laughed at, as a May-game, then took any heed, of what they did, or said: So as it was very true, that an honest Poor Woman said, when she saw Hackett, out of a Window, passe to his Execution: Said she to her Self; It was foretold, that, in the latter days, there should come those, that have deceived many; but, in faith, thou hast deceived, but a Few.

But it is manifest Untruth, which the Libeller, setteth down, that there hath been no Punishment, done upon those, which, in any, of the foreaid kinds, have broken the Lawes, and disturbed, the Church, and State; And that the Edge of the Law, hath been, one ly, turned, upon the pretended Catholics. For the Examples are very many, where, according to the Nature, and Degree, of the Offence, the Correction of such Offenders, hath not been neglected.

These be the great Confusions, whereof he hath accused our Church; which I refer, to the Judgement, of an indifferent, and understanding, person, how true they be: My Meaning is not, to blanch, or excuse, any Fault of our Church; Nor, on the other side, to enter into Commemoration, how flourishing it is, in Great, and Learned Divines; or painfull, and excellent Preachers: Let Man, have the Reproof, of that, which is amiss, and God, the Glory, of that, which is good. And so much, for the First Branch.

In the Second Branch, He maketh great Musters, and Showers, of the strength, and Multitude, of the Enemies, of this State, Declaring, in what evill Terms, and Correspondence, we stand, with Foreign States; And how desolate, and destitute, we are, of Friends, and Confederates; Doubting, like, how he should be able, to prove, and justify his Assertion, touching the present Miseries; And therefore, endeavouring, at the least, to maintain; That the good Estate, which we enjoy, is yet, made somewhat bitter, by reason, of many Terrors, and Feares. Whereupon, entering into Confederation, of the Security, wherein, not by our own Policy, but by the good Providence, and Protection, of God, we stand at this Time; I do find it, to be a Security, of that Nature, and Kind, which Iphicrates, the Athenian, did commend; who being, a Commissioner, to treat, with the State of Sparta, upon Conditions of Peace; And hearing, the other side, make many Propositions, touching Security; Interrupted them, and told them; There was but one manner of Security, whereupon the Athenians could rest; which was, if the Deputies of the Lacedemonians, could make it plain unto them, that after these and these things parted withall, the Lacedemonians should not be able, to hurt them, though they would. So it is with us; As we have
have not, jutly provoked, the Hatred, or Enmity, of any other State; so, howsoever that be, I know not, at this time, the Enemy, that hath the Power, to offend us, though he had the Will.

And whether, we have given, just Cause of Quarrell, or Offence, it shall be afterwards touch'd, in the fourth Article; Touching the true Case, of the Disturbance of the Quiet, of Christen-Men; As far as it is fit, to justify the Actions, of so High a Prince, upon the Occasion, of such a Libel, as this. But now, concerning the Power, and Forces, of any Enemy, I do find, that England, hath sometimes apprehended with Jealousie, the Confederation, between France and Scotland: The one, being upon the same Continent that we are, and breeding, a Soldier, of Puffance, and Courage, not much differing from the English; The other, a Kingdom very Opulent, and thereby able, to sustain Wars, though at very great Charge; And having a brave Nobility; And being a Near Neighbour. And yet, of this Conjunction, there never came, any Offence, of Moment. But Scotland, was ever, rather us'd by France, as a Diversion, of an English Invasion, upon France, then as a Commodity, of a French Invasion, upon England. I confesse also, that since the Unions, of the Kingdom of Spain: and during the time, the Kingdom of France, was in his Entire; A Conjunction, of those two potent Kingdoms, against us, might have been, of some Terror to us. But now it is evident, that the State of France is such, as both those Conjunctions, are become Impossible: It refeth, that either Spain, with Scotland, should offend us, or Spain alone; For Scotland, (thanks be to God,) the Amity, and Intelligence, is so sound, and secret, between the two Crowns; Being strengthened, by Conjoint in Religion, Neerennesse of Blood, and Continual good Offices, reciprocally, on either side; as the Spanish himself, in his own Plot, thin-keth it easier, to alter, and overthrow, the present State of Scotland, then to remove, and divide it, from the Amity of England. So, as it must be, Spain alone, that we should fear: which should seem, by reason, of his Spacious Dominions, to be, a great Over-match. The Conceit whereof, maketh me call to mind, the Resemblance, of an Ancient Writer, in Physick, who labouring, to perswade, that a Physician, should not doubt, sometimes, to purge his Patient, though he see him very weak; Entreth into a Distinction, of Weakness, and faith; there is a Weakness of Spirit; and a Weakness of Body: The latter whereof, he compareth, unto a man, that were otherwise very strong, but had a great pack on his Neck: So great, as made him double again; So as one, might thrust him down, with his Finger: Which Similitude, and Distinction, both, may be fitly applied, to matter of State: For some States, are Weak, through want of Means; and some Weak, through Excess of Burthen: In which rank, I do place, the State of Spain, which having outcompassed it self, in embracing too much; And being, it self, but a barren Seed-plot of Soldier; And much
much Decayed, and Exhausted, of Men, by the Indies, and by continual wars: and, as to the State of their Treasure, being entailed, and engaged, before such times, as they waged, to great Forces in France; (And therefore, much more since,) is not, in brief, an Enemy to be feared, by a Nation, Scared, Manned, Furnished, and Pollyced, as is England.

Neither, is this spoken by gueffe; For the Experience, was Substantial enough, and of Fresh Memory, in the late Enterprise of Spain, upon England: What Time, all that Goodly Shipping, which, in that Voyage, was confused, was Compleat; what Time, his Forces, in the Low Countries, was also full, and Entire, which now, are waisted, to a fourth part: What time also, he was not entangled, with the Matters of France; But was, rather like to receive Assistance, then Impediment, from his Friends there; In respect, of the great Vigour, wherein the League, then was, (while the Duke of Guise then lived: and yet, nevertheless, this great preparation, passed away like a Dream. The Invincible Navy, neither took, any one Barque of ours; Neither yet, once offered, to land; But after, they had been well beaten, and Chased, made a Perambulation, about the Northern Seas; Ennoblimg, many Coasts, with Wrecks, of Mighty Ships; and so, returned home, with greater Division, then they set forth, with Expectation.

So as, we shall not need, much Confederacies, and Succours; (which, he faith, we want, for the breaking, of the Spanish Invasion;) No, though the Spaniard, should settle in Britain, and supplant the French, and get some Fort-Towers into their hands there, (which is yet far off;) yet, shall he, never, be, so commodiously seated, to annoy us, as if he had kept, the Low-Countries; And we shall rather fear Him, as a wrangling Neighbour, that may Trespass, now and then, upon some Straggling Ships, of ours, then as an Invader.

And as for our Confederacies, God hath given us, both Means, and Minds, to tender, and relieve, the States, of others. And therefore, our Confederacies, are rather of Honour, then such as we depend upon. And yet, nevertheless, the Apostasies, and Hughnons, of France, on the one part; (For so he terms their whole Nobility, in a manner, of France;) Among the which, a great part, is of his own Religion; which maintain the clear, and unblemished Title, of their Lawfull, and Natural King, against the seditious popular;) And the Beere-Brewers, and Basket-Makers, of Holland, and Zealand. (As he also terms them,) on the other, have, almost, banded away, between them, all the Duke of Parma’s Forces: And, I suppose, the very Mines, of the Indies, will go low, or ever the one be Ruined, or the other recovered. Neither, again, desire we, better Confederacies, and Leagues, then Spain it self, hath provided for us: Non enim verborum fed a confirmantur, sed jisdem uilitatibus: We know, to how many States, the King of Spain, is odious, and suspected; And for our selves, we have incensed none, by our Injuries; Nor made, any Jealous, of our R.
Observations upon a Libell, published, In Anno 1529.

Ambition: These are, in Rules of Pollicy, the Firmeft Contruals.

Let thus much be said, in Answer, of the Second Branch, concerning the Number, of Exterior Enemies: Wherein, my Meaning, is nothing leffe, then to attribute, our Felicity, to our Pollicy; Or to nourish our selves, in the Hamour of Security. But, I hope, we shall depend upon God, and be vigilant: And then, it will be seen, to what end, these False Alarums will come.

In the Third Branch, of the Miseries of England, he taketh upon him, to play the Prophet, as he hath, in all the rest, play'd the Poet: And will needs Divine, or Prognosticate, the great Troubles, wherunto this Realm shall fall, after her Majesty's Times: As if he, that hath so singular a Gift, in Lying, of the present Time, and Times past, had, nevertheless, an extra-ordinary Grace, in telling Truth, of the Time to come: Or as if, the Effect, of the Papes Curfe, of England, were, upon better Ad-vife, adjourned, to those days. It is true, it will be Misery enough, for this Realm, (whenever it shall be,) to leefe, such a Soveraign: But for the rest, we must repofe our selves, upon the good pleasure, of God: So it is, an unjust Charge, in the Libeller, to impute, an Accident of State, to the Fault of the Government.

It pleaeth God, sometimes, to the end, to make Men depend, upon him, the more, to hide, from them, the clear sight, of future Events; And to make them think, that full of Uncertainties, which proveth, Certain, and Clear: And, sometimes, on the other side, to croffe Mens expectations, and to make them, full of Difficulties, and Perplexity, in that, which they thought, to be Eafe, and Affured. Neither is it, any New Thing, for the Titles, of Succession, in Monarchies, to be, at Times, leffe, or more declared. King Sebastian, of Portugal, before his Journey into Affrick, declared no Successor. The Cardinal, though he were of extream Age, and were much importuned, by the King of Spain, and knew, directly, of 6, or 7, Competitors, to that Crown; yet he rather establisht, I know not, what Interims, then decided the Titles, or designed any certain Successor. The Duke of Ferrara, is, at this Day, after the Death, of the Prince, that now liveth, uncertain, in the point of Succession: The Kingdom of Scotland, hath declared no Successor. Nay, it is very rare, in Hereditary Monarchies, by any Ail of State, or any Recognition, or Oath of the People, in the Collaterall Line, to establisht a Successor. The Duke of Orleans, succeeded, Charles the 8th. of France, but was never declared, Successor, in his time. Monsieur d' Angouleme, also succeeded him, but without any Designation. Sons of Kings, themelves, oftentimes, through desire to reign, and to prevent their Time, wax dangerous to their Parents: How much more, Confens, in a more Remote Degree? It is lawfull, no doubt, and Honourable, if the Case require, for Princes, to make an establishtment. But, as it was said, it is rarely practifed, in the Collaterall Line. Trajan, the best Emperor.
The Fourth Branch, he maketh to be, touching the Overthrow, of the Nobility: And the Oppression, of the People: wherein, though he may, perceate, abuses, the Simplicity, of any Forreiner; yet to an English Man, or any, that heareth, of the present Condition, of England, he will appear, to be a Man, of singular Audacity, and worthy to be employed, in the defence of any Paradox. And surely, if he would needs, have defaced, the general State of England, at this time, he shoulde, in wisdome, rather have made, some Priestly Declamation, against the Excess of Superfluity, and Delicacy of our Times; than to have insilied, upon the Misery, and Poverty, and Depopulation, of the Land; as may sufficiently appear, by that which hath been said.

But nevertheless, to follow this Man, in his own steps; Firdt, concerning the Nobility: It is true, that there have been, in Ages past, Noblemen, (as I take it,) both of greater Possessions, and of greater Command, and Swell, then any arc, at this day. One Reason, why the Possessions are lesse, I conceive to be, because certain Sumpsuous Vains, and Humors of Expenditure, (As Apparel, Gaming, Maintaining of a kind of Followers, and the like;) Do raign, more, then they did, in times past. Another Reason, because Noblemen, now a dayes, do deal better, with their younger Sons, then they were accustomed to do, heretofore; whereby, the principal House, receiveth many Abatements. Touching the Command, which is not, indeed, so great, as it hath been, I take it, rather, to be a Commendation of the Time, then otherwise; For Me, were wont, factiously, to Depend upon Noblemen; whereof enfued, many Partialities, and Divisions, besides much Interruption of Justice, while the great Ones, did seek to bear out Thofe, that did depend upon them. So as the Kings of this Realm, finding, long since, that kind of Commandement, in Noblemen, Unfit unto their Crown, and Inconvenient unto their People,
thought meet, to refrain the same, by Provision of Lawes: whereupon grew the Statute of Retreats: So as men, now, depend upon the Prince, and the Lawes, and upon no other: A Matter, which hath also a Congruity, with the Nature, of the Time; as may be seen in other Countries: Namely in Spain, where their Grandees, are nothing so Potent, and so Absolute, as they have been, in Times past. But otherwise, it may be truly affirmed, that the Rights, and preheminences, of the Nobility, were, never, more duly, and exactly, preferred unto them, then they have been, in her Majesties Times: The Precedence of Knights, given to the younger Sons of Barons; No Subpena's, awarded against the Nobility, out of the Chancery, but Letters; No Answer upon Oath, but upon Honour; Besides, a Number of other Priviledges, in Parliament, Court, and Country. So likewise, for the Countenance of her Majesty, and the State, in Lieutenancies, Commissions, Offices, and the like, there was never, a more Honourable, and Gracefull, regard, had of the Nobility: Neither was there, ever, a more Faithfull Remembrancer, and exacter, of all the particular preheminences, unto them; Nor a more Diligent Searcher, and Register, of their Pedegree, Alliances, and all memorialls, of Honour, then that MAN, whom he chargeth, to have overthrown the Nobility, because, a few of them, by immoderate Expense, are decayed, according to the Humor of the time, which he hath not been able, to relish, no not, in his own House. And as for Attainders, there have been, in 35 years, but Five, of any of the Nobility, whereof, but Two, came to Execution, and one of them, was accompanied, with Restitution of Blood, in the Children: Yea, all of them, except Westmorland, were such, as whether it were, by Favor of Law, or Government, their Heirs have, or are like to have, a great Part of their Possession. And so much, for the Nobility.

Touching the Oppression, of the People, he mentioneth four points. 1. The Conjunction, of People, in the Wars. 2. The Interruption, of Traffick. 3. The Corruption, of Justice. 4. The Multitude, of Taxations: Unto all which points, there needeth no long Speech. For the first, (thanks be to God;) the Benediction of Crescitae and Multiplicami, is not so weak, upon this Realm of England, but the Population thereof, may afford, such Loss of Men, as were sufficient, for the Making our late Wars; and were, in a perpetuity, without being seen, either in City, or Country. We read, that when the Romans, did take Caris, of their People, whereby the Citizens, were numbered, by the Poll, in the beginning of a great War, and afterwards, again, at the ending, there, sometimes, wanted a Third Part, of the Number. But let our Master Books be perused: (tho' I lay, that certifie, the Number, of all Fighting Men, in every Shire,) ofvicissimo of the Queen; At what time, except a handful of Souleiers, in the Low Countries, we expended no Men in the Wars; And now again, at this
this present time, & there will appear, small Diminuition. There may be many Tokens, in this Realm, rather of Prefe, and Suppence, of People, then of Want, and Depopulation, which were before recited. Besides, it is a better Condition, of Inward Peace, to be accompanied, with some Exercise, of no Dangerous Warr, in Foreign parts, than to be, utterly, without Apprentilage, of Warr; whereby, People grow Efeminate, and unpractised, when Occasion shall be. And it is, no small strength, unto the Realm, that in these Warrs of Exercise, and not of Terill, so many of our People, are trained; And so many, of our Nobility, and Gentlemen, have been made, Excellent Leaders, both by Sea, and Land. As for that he objecteth, we have no Provision, for Soulliers, at their Return; Though that Point, hath not been, altogether neglected; yet I wish, with all my Heart, that it were more Ample, then it is; Though, I have read, and heard, that in all Estates, upon Caffiering, and Difbanding, of Soulliers, many have endured Necessity.

For the Stopping of Trafique, as I referred my Self, to the Master-Books, for the First; So I refer my Self, to the Customs-Books, upon this; which will not lye; And do make Demonstration, of no Abatement, at all, in these last years, but rather of Rising, and Encrease. We know, of many in London, and other places, that are, within a small time, greatly come up, and made Rich, by Merchandizing: And a Man, may speak, within his Compass, and affirm; That our Prizes, by Sea, have countervalied, any Prizes, upon us.

And as to the Justice, of this Realm, it is true, that Cunning, and Wealth, have bred, many Suits, and Debates, in Law: But let those Points be considered: The Integrity, and Sufficiency, of those, which supply, the judicall places, in the Queens Courts: The good Lawyer, that have been made, in her Majesties time, against Informers, and Promoters; And for the bettering of Trials; The Example, of Severity, which is used, in the Star-chamber, in oppressing Forces, and Frauders; The Diligence, and Stoutness, that is used, by Justices of Assizes, in Encountring, all Contemnuance, and Bearing of Caufes, in the Country, by their Authorities, and Wifedomes; The great Favours, that have been ufed, towards Copp'y-holders, and Customary Tenants, which were, in ancient times, meere, at the Discretion, and Mercy, of the Lord; And are now, continually, relieved, from hard Dealing, in Chancery, and other Courts of Equity; I say, let these, and many other Points, be considered; and Men will, worthily, conceive, an Honourable Opinion, of the Justice, of England.

Now to the Points, of Levies, and Distributions, of Money, which he calleth Excations. First, very coldly, he is not abashed, to bring in, the Gathering, for Paules Steeple, and the Lottery Trifles: Whereof, the former, being but a Voluntary Collection, of that, Men were freely disposed, to give, never grew, to fo great a Sum, as was sufficient, to finish the Work, for which it was appointed: And
And so, I imagine, it was converted, into some other use; like to that Gathering, which was, for the Fortifications of Paris, save that, the Gathering, for Paris, came, too much greater, though, (as I have heard,) no competent Sum. And for the Lottery, it was but a Novelty, devised, and followed, by some particular persons, and only allowed by the State, being as a Gain of Hazard: Wherein, if any Gain was, it was, because many Men, thought Scorn, after they had fallen, from their greater hopes, to fetch their odd Money. Then he mentioneth Loans, and Private Scales; Wherein, he sheweth great Ignorance, and Indiscretion, considering the Payments, back again, have been, very Good, and Certain; And much, for her Majesty's Honour. Indeed, in other Princes' Times, it was not wont, to be so: And therefore, though the Name, be not so pleasant, yet the Use of them, in our Times, have been, with small Grievance. He reckoneth also, new Customs upon Clothes, and new Impost upon Wines. In that of Clothes, he is deceived; For the ancient Rate of Customs, upon Clothes was not raised, by her Majesty, but by Queen Mary, a Catholic Queen: And hath been, commonly, continued by her Majesty; Except, he mean, the Computation, of the odd yards, which, in strict Duty, was ever answerable; Though the Error, were but lately, looked into, or rather, the Tolerations, taken away. And to that of Wines, being a Foreign Merchandize, and but a Delicacy, and of those which might be forborne, there hath been, some Increase of Impost, which can rather make, the Price of Wine Higher, then the Merchant poorer. Lastly, touching the Number of Subsidies, it is true, that her Majesty, in respect, of her great Charges, of her Wars, both by Sea, and Land, against such a Lord of Treasure, as is the King of Spain: Having, for her part, no Indies, nor Mines; And the Revenues, of the Crown, of England, being such, as they left grate, upon the People, then the Revenues, of any Crown, or State in Europe; Hath, by the Assent, of Parliament, according to the ancient Customs, of this Realm, received, divers Subsidies, of her People; which, as they have been employed, upon the Defence, and preservation, of the Subject; Not upon Excessive Buildings, nor upon Immoderate Donatives, Nor upon Triumphs and Pleasures; Or any like vein, of Dissipation, of Treasure, which have been Familiar, to many Kings: So have they been yielded, with great good will, and cheerfulness: As may appear, by other kinds of Benevolence, present'd to her, likewise, in Parliament; which her Majesty, never the less, hath not put in Ure. They have been Taxed also, and Assisted, with a very Light, and Gentle Hand; And they have been spared, as much, as may be; As may appear, in that, her Majesty, now twice, to spare the Subject, hath sold, of her own Lands. But he, that shall look, into other Countries, and consider the Taxes, and Tallages, and Imposts, and Assises, and the like, that are every where in use; Will find, that the English Man, is the most Master, of his own Valuation, and the least bit-
3. Of the Proceedings, against the pretended Catholiques; Whether they have been Violent, or Moderate, and Necessary.

I Find, her Majesties Proceedings, generally, to have been grounded, upon two Principles: The one;

That Consciences, are not to be Forced, but to be Won, and reduced, by the Force of Truth, by the Aide of Time, and the Use of all good Means, of Instruction, or Persuasion.

The other;

That Causes of Conscience, when they exceed their Bounds, and prove to be Matter of Factions, lefte their Nature;

And that Sovereign Princes, ought, distinctly, to punish the Practice, or Contempt, though coloured, with the Pretence, of Conscience, and Religion.

According to these two Principles, her Majestie, at her Comming, to the Crown, utterly disliking, of the Tyranny, of the Church of Rome, which had used, by Terror, and Rigour, to seek Commandment, over Mens Faith, and Consciences; Although, as a Prince, of great Wisdom, and Magnanimity, she suffered, but the Exercise of one Religion, yet her Proceedings, towards the Papists, was with great Lenity; Expecting the good Effects, which Time might work in them.

And therefore, her Majestie, revived not the Lawes, made in 28o, and 35o, of her Fathers Reign; Whereby, the Oath of Supremacy, mought have been, offered, at the Kings Pleasure, to any Subject, though he kept his Conscience, never so modestly to himself; And the Refusal, to take the same Oath, without Further Circumstance, was made Treason: But, contrariwise, her Majestie, not liking, to make Windows, into Mens Hearts, and Secret Thoughts, Except the Abundance of them, did overflow, into Oure, and Express, Acts, and Affirmations; Tempered her Law so, as it re-
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RESTRAINETH, only manifest Disobedience, in impugning, and impeaching, advisedly, and ambitiously, her Majesty's supreme power; And Maintaining, and Extolling, a Foreign Jurisdiction. And as for the Oath, it was altered, by her Majesty, into a more grateful Form; the Harshness, of the Name, and Appellation, of Supreme Head was removed; And the Penalty, of the Refusal thereof, turned, into a Disenablement, to take any Promotion, or to exercise any charge; And yet that, with a Liberty, of being Revoc'd, therein, if any Man shall accept thereof, during his Life.

But after many years Toleration, of a Multitude, of Factions Papists; When Titus Quintus, had Excommunicated her Majesty; And the Bill, of Excommunication, was published in London; Whereby, her Majesty, was, in a fort, proscribed, and all her Subjects, drawn, upon pain of Damnation, from her obedience; And that, thereupon, as upon a Principal Motion, or Preparative, followed, the Rebellion, in the North; yet, notwithstanding, because many, of those Evil Humours, were, by that Rebellion, partly, purged; And that the feared, at that time, no Foreign Invasion; And much less, the Attempts, of any, within the Realm, not backed, by some Foreign Succours, from without; she contented her self, to make a Law, against that speciall Cause, of bringing in, or publishing, of Bulls, or the like Instruments: Whereunto was added, a Prohibition, not upon Pain of Treason, but of an Inferiour Degree of Punishment, against bringing in, of Agnus Dei's, Hallowed Beades, and such other Merchandise, of Rome; As are well known, not to be any Essentiall Part of the Roman Religion: but only to be used, in practice, as Love-Tokens; to enchant, and bewitch, the peoples Affections, from their Allegiance, to their Natural Sovereign. In all other Points, her Majesty continued, her former Liberty.

But, when about the 20th. year of her Reign, she had discover'd, in the King of Spain, an Intention, to Invade her Dominions; And that a principall Point, of the Plot, was, to prepare, a Party, within the Realm, that might adhere to the Ferrarines: And that the Seminaries, began to blossom, and to send forth, daily, Priests, and professed Men, who should, by way, taken at Shrift, reconcile her Subjects, from her obedience; yet, and bind, many of them, to attempt, against her Majesty, Sacred Person; And that, by the Poyson they 'spred, the Humours, of most Papists, were alter'd; And that, they were no more Papists in Custome, but Papists, in Tresonable Faction: Then were there, new Laws made, for the punishment of such, as should submit themselves, to Recconilements, or Remissions, of Obedience. For it is to be understood, that this Manner of Recconilement, in Confession, is of the same Nature, and Operation, that the Bull, it self, was of, with this onely difference; That whereas, the Bull, affoloyed the Subjects, from their Obedience, at once, the other doth it, one by one. And therefore it is, both more Secret, Sc more Insubmissive, into the Conscience, being joyned with no leffe Matter, then an Abjuration, from
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from Mortall Sin. And because, it was a Treason, carried in the Clouds, and in wonderfull Secrecie, and came seldom to Light; And that there was no Pretumption, thereof of so great, as the Recusants, to come to Divine Service; because it was set down, by their Decrees; That to come to Church, before Reconciliation, was to live in Sebins; But to come to Church, after Reconciliation, was, absolutely, Heretical, and Damnable. Therefore there were added new Laws, containing a Penumbrary, against the Recusants; Not to enforce Consciences, but to Enforce those, of whom it refted Indifferent, and Ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or not. For there is no double, but if the Law, of Reconcile, (which is challenged, to be fo Extreme, and Rigorous,) were thus qualified; That any Recusant, that shall, voluntarily, come in, and take his Oath, that He, or She, were never reconciled, should, immediately, be discharged, of the Penalty, and Forfeiture, of the Law; They would be so far, from liking well, of that Mitigation, as they would cry out, it was made to entrap them. And when, notwithstanding, all this provision, this Poyson was dispensed so secretly, as that there was no Means to stay it, but to refrain the Merchants, that brought it in; Then was there lastly added, a Law, whereby such seditius Priests, of the New Erection, were exiled; And those, that were, at that time, within the Land, shipped over; And so commanded, to keep hence, upon Pain, of Treason.

This hath been the Proceeding, with that Sort, though intermingled, not only, with sundry Examples, of her Majesties Grace, towards such, as, in her wisdome, she knew to be Papistes, in Conscience, and not in Faction; But, also, with an extraordinary Mitigation, towards the Offenders, in the Higheft Degree, convicted by Law, if they would protest: That, in Cafe, this Realm, should be invaded, with a Foreign Army, by the Popes Authority, for the Catholick Cause, (as they term it,) they would, take part, with her Majefly, and not adhere, to her enemies.

And whereas he faith, no Priest dealt, in matter of State; (Ballard only excpted, it appeareth by the Records, of the Confeffion, of the said Ballard, and sundry other Priests;) That all Priests, at that time, generally were made acquainted, with the Invasion then intended, and afterwards put in Act; And had received Instructions, not only, to move an Expectation, in the People, of a Change; But also, to take their Vows, and Vemifie, in Shift; to adhere to the Forrainer. Inshort, that one, of their Principal Heads, vaunted himself, in a Letter, of the Devife, saying: That it was a Point, the Counsell of England, would never dream of; Who would imagine, that they should practise, with some Noble-Man, to make him Head, of their Faction; whereas they took a Course, only, to deal, with the People; And then, so severally, as any One apprehended, should be able to appeal, no more then Himself, except the

Priests;
4. Of the Disturbance, of the Quiet, of Christendom; And, to what Causes, it may be justly assigned.

It is indeed a Question, (which those, that look into Matters of State, do well know, to fall out very often: though this Libeller, seemeth to be more ignorant thereof;) whether the Ambition of the more Mighty State, or the Jealousy, of the Left Mighty State, be to be charged, with Breach of Amity. Hereof, as there be many Examples, so there is one, so proper, unto the present Matter: As though it were, many years since, yet it seemeth, to be a Parable, of these Times; and namely, of the Proceedings, of Spain, and England.

The States. Then, which answered, to these two, Now, were Macedon, and Athens. Consider therefore the Resemblance, between the two Philip, of Macedon, and Spain. He of Macedon, aspired, to the Monarchy, of Greece, as He of Spain, doth, of Europe: But more apparently then the First; Because, that Design, was discovered in his Father, Charles the Fifth, and so left him by Descend: whereas Philip of Macedon, was the first of the Kings, of that Nation, which fixed, so great Conceits, in his Breach. The Course, which this King, of Macedon, held, was not, so much, by great Armies, and Invasions; (Though these wanted not, when the Case required;) But by Pragmatic, By Sowing, of Factions, in States, and by Obliging, sundry particular persons, of Greatness. The State of Opposition, against his Ambitious proceedings, was only the State of Athens, as now is, the State of England, against Spain. For Macedon and Thebes, were both low, as France is now; And the rest, of the States of Greece, were, in Power, and Territories, far inferior. The People of Athens, were, exceedingly, affected to Peace; And weary of Expence. But the Point, which I chiefly make the Comparison, was, that of the Orators, which were, as Counsellors, to a Popular State; Such as were sharpest sighted, and looked deepest, into the Projects, and and spreading, of the Macedonians, (doubting, first, that the Fire, after it licked up, the Neighbour States, and made it self Opportunity to pass, would at last, take hold, of the Dominions, of Athens, with so great Advantages, as they should not be able to remedy it;) were ever charged, both by the Declarations, of the King of Macedon, and by the Imputation, of such Athenians, as were
were corrupted, to be of his faction, as the Kindlers of Troubles, and Disturbers, of the Peace, and Leagues: But, as that Party, was, in Athens, too Mighty, so as it discountenanced, the true Counsels, of the orators; And so bred, the Ruine, of that State; And accomplished, the Ends, of that Philip: So, it is to be hoped, that in a Monarchy, where there are, commonly, better Intelligences, and Resolutions, then in a popular State, those Plots, as they are detected already, So they will be refus'd, and made Fruitless. But, to follow the Libeller, in his own Conjure, the Sum, of that, which he delivereth, concerning the Imputations: As well, of the Interruption, of the Anity, between the Crowns, of England, and of Spain; As the Disturbance, of the general Peace, of Christendom; Unto the English Proceedings, and not, to the Ambitious Appetites of Spain; may be reduced, into Three Points.

1. Touching the Proceeding, of Spain, and England, towards their Neighbour States.

2. Touching the Proceeding, of Spain, and England, between themselves.

3. Touching the Articles, and Conditions, which it pleaseth him, as it were, in the behalf of England, to Pen, and propose, for the treating, and Concluding, of an Universal Peace.

In the First, he discovereth, how the King, of Spain, never offered Molestation; Neither, unto the States of Italy, upon which he confineth, by Naples, and Stilbain; Neither, unto the States of Germany, unto whom he confineth, by a part of Burgundy, and the Low-Countries; Nor unto Portugal, till it was devolved, to him, in Title, upon which he confineth, by Spain: But, contrariwise, as one, that had, in precious regard, the Peace of Christendom, he design'd, from the beginning, to turn his whole Forces, upon the Turk. O sey, he confesseth, that agreeable to his Devotion, which apprehended, as well the purging of Christendom, from Heresies, as the Enlarging thereof, upon the infidels; He was ever ready, to give Succours, unto the French Kings, against the Hughonotts, especially being their own Subjects; Whereas, on the other side, England, (as he affirmeth,) hath not only fow'd, Troubles, and Distentions, in France, and Scotland; (The one, their Neighbour, upon the Continent; The other, divided, onely, by the Narrow Seas;) But also, hath actually invaded both Kingdomes. For, as for the Matters, of the Low-Countries, they belong to the Dealings, which have pass'd by Spain.

In Answer whereof, it is worthy the Consideration, how it pleased God, in that King, to crofs, one Passion, by another; And namely, that Passion, which mought have proved dangerous, unto all Europe (which was his Ambition,) by another, which was only hurtfull to himself, and his own; Which was, Wrath, and Indignation, towards his Subjects, the Netherlands. For after that, he was settled in his Kingdom, and freed from some Fear of...
the Turk; Revolving his Father's design, in aspiring to a Monarchy of Europe; casting his Eye, principally, upon the two Potent Kingdoms of France, and England; And remembring, how his Father, had once promised unto himself, the Conquest of the one; And how himself, by Marriage, had lately, had some Possession of the other; And seeing, that Diversity, of Religion, was entered, into both those Realms; And that France, was fallen unto Princes weak, and in Minority; And England, unto the Government of a Lady, In whom, he did not expect, that Policy, of Government, Magnanimity, & Felicity, which since he hath proved; Concluded, (as the Spaniards are great Waiters upon Time, & ground their Plots deep;) upon two Points: The one, to profess an extraordinary Patronage, & Defence, of the Roman Religion; making account thereby, to have Factions, in both Kingdoms; (In England, a Faction, directly against the State;) In France, a Faction, that did content, indeed in Religion, with the King, and therefore, at first view, should seem improper, to make a Party for a Forreiner. But he foresaw well enough, that the King of France, should be forced, (to the end, to retain Peace, and obedience;) to yield, in some things, to those of the Religion; which would, undoubtedly, alienate the Fiery, and more violent, sort of Papists: Which Preparation, in the People, added, to the Ambition, of the Family, of Guise, (which he nourished for an Instrument,) would, in the end, make a Party for him against the State, as since, it proved, and ought well have done, long before: As may well appear, by the Mention, of League, and Associations, which is above 25. years old in France.

The other Point, he concluded upon, was; That his Low-Countries, was the aptest place, both for Ports and Shipping, in respect of England; And for Scarcity, in respect of France; having goodly Frontier Towns, upon that Realm; And joyning also, upon Germany, whereby they might receive in, at Pease, any Forces, of Almaine; To annoy, and offend, either Kingdom. The Impediment was, the Inclination of the People; which receiving, a wonderfull Commodity, of Trades, out of both Realms, especially of England; And having been, in ancient League, and Confederacy, with our Nation; And having been, also, Homagers unto France; He knew, would be, in no wise, disposed, to either War. Whereupon, he resolved, to reduce them, to a Martial Government; Like unto that, which he had established in Naples, and Milan: upon which suppression of their Liberties, ensued the Defection, of those Provinces. And about the same time, the Reformed Religion, found entrance, in the same Countries; So as the King, enflamed, with the Resistance, he found, in the first Part, of his Plots; And also, because, he thought not dispensive, with his other Principle, in yielding, to any Toleration, of Religion; And withall, expecting, a shorter work of it, then he found; Became, passionately bent, to Reconcile those Countries: Wherein, he hath, consumed, infinite Treasure, and Forces. And this is the true
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Can it, if a Man will look into it, that hath made the King of Spain so good a Neighbour? Namely, that he was so entangled with the Wars, of the Low-Countries, as he could not intend, any other Enterprise. Besides, in Enterprizing upon Italy, he doubted, first, the Displeasure of the See of Rome; with whom, he meant, to run, a Course, of strict Conjunction: Also, he doubted, it might invite, the Turk, to return. And for Germany, he had a fresh Example, of his Father; who, when he had annexed, unto the Dominions, which he now posses'd, the Empire of Almain, nevertheless, funk in that Enterprise: whereby, he perceived, that the Nation, was, of too strong a Compostition, for him, to deal with-all; Though, not long since, by practice, he could have been contented, to match up, in the East, the Country of Edom. For Portugal, first, the Kings thereof, were good Sons, to the See of Rome; Next he had no Colour, or Quarrel, or pretence: Thirdly, they were Officious unto him: yet, if you will believe, the Genealog, (who, otherwise, writeth, much to the Honour, and Advantage, of the Kings of Spain;) It seemeth, he had a good mind, to make himself a way, into that Kingdom, seeing that, for that purpose, (as he reporteth,) he did, artificially, nourish, the young King Sebastian, in the Voyage of Affrick, expecting that overthrow with followed.

As for his Intention, to warre upon the Infidels, and Turks, it maketh me think, what Francis Guicciardine, a wife writer of History, speaketh, of his great Grand-Father; Making, a Judgement of him, as Historiographers use: That he did, always, mark, and wail, his Appetites, with a Demonstration, of a Devout, and Holy, Intention, to the Advancement, of the Church, and the Publick Good. His Father, also, when he received Advertisement, of the taking of the French King, prohibited, all Ringings, and Bonfires, and other Tokens of Joy, and said; Those were to be reserved, for Victories, upon Infidels; On whom, he meant, never, to warre. Many a Crusada, hath the Bishop of Rome, granted to him, and his Predecessors, upon that Colour: Which all, have been spent, upon the Effusion, of Christian Blood: And now, this year, the Levies of Germany, which should have been made, under hand, for France, were coloured, with the pretence, of War, upon the Turk; Which the Princes of Germany, desiring, not onely brake the Levies, but threatened the Commissioners, to hang the next, that should offer, the like Abuse: So that this Form, of Dissembling, is Familiar, and, as it were, Hereditary, to the King of Spain.

And as for his Successors, given to the French King, against the Protestants, he could not chuse, but accompany the Venerous Counsel, which still he gave to the French Kings, of breaking their Edicts, and admitting of no Pacification, but purfuing their Subjects with Mortall Warre, with some Offer of Aides; which having promised, he could not, in some small Degree, perform; whereby also, the Subject of France, (namely, the violent Papists,) was enured, to depend upon Spain. And so much, for the King of Spaines, proceedings, towards other States. Now
Now for Ours, and first, touching the Point, wherein, he chargeth us, to be the Authors of Troubles, in Scotland, and France: It will appear to any, that have been well informed, of the Memories, of those Affairs; That the Troubles of those Kingdoms, were, indeed, chiefly kindled, by one, and the same Family, of the Guiles: A Family, (as was partly touched before,) as particularly devoted, now for many years together, to Spain, as the Order, of the Jesuites, is. This House of Guiles, having, of late years, extraordinarily flourished, in the eminent Verine, of a few Persons, whose Ambition, nevertheless, was nothing inferior to their Vertue; But being of a House, notwithstanding, which the Princes, of the Blood, of France, reckoned but as strangers; Aspired, to a Greatness, more than Civil, and proportionable to their Cause, wheresoever they had Authority: And accordingly, under Colour of Concupiscence, and Religion, they brought into Scotland, in the year 1559, and in the Absence, of the King, and Queen, French Forces, in great numbers: whereupon, the Ancient Nobility of that Realm, seeing the imminent danger, of Reducing that Kingdom, under the Tyranny of Strangers, did pray, (according to the good Intelligence, between the two Crowns,) her Majesty's Neighbourly Forces. And so it is true, that the Action, being very Just, & Honourable, her Majesty undertook it, expelled the Strangers, and restored the Nobility, to their Degrees, and the State to Peace.

After, when Certain Noble-Men of Scotland, of the same Faction of Guiles, had, during the Minority of the King, possessed themselves, of his Person, to the end, to abuse his Authority, many ways; And namely, to make a Breach, between Scotland, and England, her Majesty's Forces, were again, in the year, 1582, by the King's behest, and truest Servants, sought, and required; And, with the Forces of her Majesty, prevailed so far, as to be possessed, of the Castle of Edinborough, the principall part of that Kingdom; which, nevertheless, her Majesty, incontinently, with all Honour, and Sincerity, restored; After she had put the King, into good, and faithful, Hands; And so, ever since, in all the Occasions, of Intestine Troubles, whereunto that Nation hath been ever subject, she hath performed unto the King, all possible good Offices, and such, as he doth, with all good Affection, acknowledge.

The same House of Guiles, under Colour of Alliance, during the Reign, of Francis the second, and by the Support, and praiseth, of the Queen Mother; who desiring, to retain the Regency, under her own Hands, during the Minority of Charles the ninth, used those of Guiles, as a Counterpoise, to the Princes, of the Blood; obtained also, great Authority, in the Kingdom, of France; whereupon, having raised, and moved, Civil Wars, under pretence of Religion; But indeed, to enfeeble, and depress, the Ancient Nobility, of that Realm; The contrary Part, being compounded, of the Blind Royal, and the Greateof Officers, of the Crown; opposed themselves, only.
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only, against their Insolency; And, to their Aides, called in, her Majesty's Forces, giving them, for security, the Town of New-Haven: which nevertheless, when as afterwards, having by the Reputation, of her Majesty's Confederation, made their Peace, in Effect, as they would themselves; They would, without observing any Conditions, that had passed, have had it back again; Then, indeed, it was held by force, and so had been long, but for the great Mortality, which it pleased God, to send amongst our Men. After which time, so far was her Majesty, from seeking, to sowe, or kindle, New Troubles: As continually, by the Solicitation, of her Embassadors, the still perwaded, with the Kings, both Charles the 90, and Hen. the 3d, to keep, and observe, their Edicts of Pacification, and to preserve their Authority, by the Union, of their Subjects; which Counsell, if it had been as happily followed, as it was prudently, and sincerely, given, France, had been, at this day, a most Flourishing Kingdom, which is now, a Theater of Atrocities. And now, in the end, after that the Ambitious Prerogatives, of the same House, of Guise, had grown to that Ripeness, that gathering further Strength, upon the weaknes, and Misgovernament, of the said King Hen. 3; He was fain, to execute, the Duke of Guise, without Ceremony, at Blois: And yet, nevertheless, so many Men were embarqued, and engaged, in that Conspiracy, as the Flame thereof, was nothing affliged; but, contrarily, wise, that King Hen. grew disturbed, so as he was enforced, to implore, the Succours of England, from her Majesty; Though no way, interested, in that Quarrel; Nor, any way, obliged, for any good offices, she had received of that King; yet she accorded the same. Before the Arrival of which Forces, the King, being, by a sacrilegious Jacobine, murdered, in his Camp, near Paris, yet they went on, and came, in good time, for the Assistance, of the King, which now reigneth; The Justice of whose Quarrel, together with the long continued Amity, and good Intelligence, which her Majesty had with him, hath moved her Majesty, from time to time, to supply with great Aides: And yet, she never, by any Demand, urged upon him, the putting into her Hands, of any Town, or Place. So as, upon this, that hath been said, let the Reader judge, whether hath been, the more Just, and Honourable, Proceeding; And the more free, from Ambition, and Passion, towards other States; That of Spain, or that of England? Now, let us examine the proceedings, reciprocal, between themselves.

Her Majesty, at her Coming to the Crown, found her Realm, entangled, with the Wars of France, and Scotland, her nearest Neighbours: which Wars were grounded, only, upon the Spanish Quarrel; but, in the pursuit of them, had lost England, the Town of Calais. Which, from the 21. year, of King Edward 3, had been poiffessed, by the Kings of England. There was a meeting near Bourdeaux, towards the end, of Queen Maries Raign, between the Commissioners, of France, Spain, and England; and some Overture,
of Peace was made; but broke off, upon the Article, of the Restitution, of Callotse. After Queen Marie's Death, the King of Spain, thinking himself discharg'd, of that Difficulty, (though in honour, he was no leas bound to it, then before,) renewed the like Treaty, wherein her Majesty concurred: so as the Commissioners, for the said Prince, met at Château Cambrai; near Cambrai. In the proceedings, of which Treaty, it is true, that at the first, the Commissioners, of Spain, for form, and in Demonstration only, pretended to stand firm, upon the Demand of Callotse; but it was discerned, indeed, that the King's Meaning was, after some Ceremonies, and perfunctory Inflating therupon, to grow, apart, to a Peace, with the French, excluding her Majesty; and so to leave her, to make her own Peace, after her People, had made his Wars. Which Covent Dealing, being politickly look'd into, her Majesty had reason, being newly invovled in her Kingdom; and of her own Inclination, being affeected to Peace; to conclude the same, with such Conditions as she mought: and yet, the King of Spain, in his Diffimulation, had so much Advantage, as the was fain, to do it, in a Treaty, apart, with the French; whereby to one, that is not informed, of the Counsels, and Treaties of State, as they pass'd, it should seem to be, a voluntary Agreement, of her Majesty, whereto the King of Spain, would not be party, whereas, indeed, he left her no other choice. And this was the first Assay, or Earnest penny, of that Kings, good affection, to her Majesty.

About the same time, when the King was sollicited, to renew, such Treaties, and Leagues, as had pass'd, between the two Crowns, of Spain, and England, by the Lord Cobham, sent unto him, to acquaint him, with the Death of Queen Mary; and afterwards, by Sir Thomas Challenor, and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, successively, Embassadors, Resident in his Low Countries; who had order divers times, during their Charge, to make Overtures thereof, both unto the King, and certain principal persons about him, and lastly, those former Motions, taking no effect; by Viscount Montacute, and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, sent unto Spain, in the year 1569; no other Answer, could be had, or obtained, of the King, but that, the Treaties did stand, in as good Force, to all Intentions, as new Ratification, could make them. An Answer strange at that time, but very conformable, to his Proceedings since; which belike, even then, were closely smother'd, in his own Breast. For had he not, at that time, some hidden Alienation, of Mind, and Design, of an Enemy, towards her Majesty; so wise a King, could not be ignorant; that the Renewing, and Ratifying, of Treaties, between Princes, and States, do add to great Life, and Force, both of Assurance, to the parties themselves, and Consternation, and Reputation to the World besides; and have, for that cause, been commonly, and necessarily, used, and practis'd.

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In the Message, of Viscount Montague, it was also contained, that he should crave, the King's Counsell, and Assistance, according to Amity, and good Intelligence, upon a Discovery, of certain pernicious Plots, of the House of Guise, to annoy this Realm; by the way of Scotland: whereunto the King Answered, was so Dark, and so cold, as Nothing could be made of it; Till he had made, an Exposition of it, himself, by effects, in the expresse Refrain, of Munition, to be carried, out of the Low-Countries, unto the Siege of Leith; Because our Nation, was to have supply, thereof, from thence. So as, in all the Negotiations, that passed, with that King, still, her Majesty, received no Satisfaction, but more and more injurious, and Bad Tokens, of evil affection.

Soon after, when upon that Project, which was disclosed, before the King had resolved, to disannull the Liberties, and Privileges, unto his Subjects, the Netherlands, anciently belonging; And to establish amongst them, a Marshall Government, which the People, being very Wealthy; And inhabiting Townes, very strong, and Defensible, by Fortifications, both of Nature, and the Hand, could not endure; there followed the Defection, and revolt, of those Countries. In which Action, being the greatest, of all those, which have passed, between Spain, and England, the Proceeding, of her Majesty, hath been so Just, and mingled, with so many Honourable Regards, as Nothing, doth so much clear, and acquit, her Majesty, not only from Passion, but also, from all Dishonourable Policy. For first, at the beginning of the Troubles, she did impart, unto Him, faithfull, and sincere, Advice, of the Course, that was to be taken, for the quieting, and appeasing them; And, expressly, forewarned, both himself, and such as were, in principal Charge, in those Countries, during the Wars, of the danger like to ensue, if he held, so heavy a Hand, over that People; left, they should cast themselves, into the Arms, of a Stranger. But finding the King's Mind, so exulcerate, as he rejected all Counsell, that tended, to Mild, and Gracious, proceeding, her Majesty, nevertheless, gave not over her Honourable Resolution; (which was, if it were possible, to reduce, and reconcile, those Countries, unto the obedience, of their Natural Sovereign, the King of Spain: And if that, ought not be, yet to preserve them, from alienating themselves, to a Foreign Lord;) As namely, unto the French, with whom they much treated; And amongst whom the Enterprise of Flanders, was ever pronounced, as a Mene to unite, their own Civill Differences;) But, patiently, temporizing, expected the good effect, which Time ought breed: And whensoever, the States grew, into Extremities, of Despair, and thereby ready, to embrace the Offer, of any Foreigner; Then would her Majesty, yield them, some Relief of Money, or permit, some Supply of Forces, to go over unto them; To the end, to interrupt, such violent Resolution; And still continued, to mediate, unto the King, some Just, and Honourable
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nourable, Capitulations, of Grace, and Accord; Such as where-
by, always, should have been preferred, unto him, such Inter-
ests, and Authority, as He, in Justice, could claim: Or a Prince, moderately minded, would seek to have. And this Course the
held, interchangeably, seeking to mitigate, the Wrath of the
King, and the Dompair of the Countries; Till such Time, as, after
the Death, of the Duke of Anjou; (Into whose Hands, according
to her Majesties prediction, but against her good liking, they had put themselves;) The Enemy prefling them, the united
Provinces, were received, into her Majesties Protection: which
was, after such Time, as the King of Spain, had discovered
himself, not only an Implacable Lord to them, but also, a pro-
fered Enemy, unto her Majestey; having, actually, invaded Ireland,
and designed the Invasion of England. For it is to be noted, that
the like Offers, which were then made unto her Majestey,
had been made to her, long before; but as long, as her Majesty
conceived, any Hope, either of Making, their Peace; Or en-
tertaining her own, with Spain, she would never hearken there-
unto. And yet now, even at last, her Majestey retained, a sin-
gular, and evident Proof, to the World, of her Justice, and
Moderation; In that, she refused, the Inheritance, and Sovereign-
ty, of those Goodly Provinces; which by the States, with much
Instance, was pressed upon her; and being accepted, would have
wrought, greater Contentment, and Satisfaction, both to her Peo-
ple, and theirs; Being Countries, for the State; Wealth; Commodity of
Trafick; Affection to our Nation; Obedience of the Subjects, (well
used,) most convenient, to have been annexed, to the Crown of
England; And withall, one Charge, Danger, and Offence of
Spain; onely, took upon her, the Defence, and Protection, of
their Liberties: Which Liberties, and Priviledges, are of that
Nature, as they may justly, esteem themselves, but Conditionall
Subjects, to the King of Spain; More justly then Aragon: And
may make her Majestey,as justly esteem, the ancient Confederacies;
and Treaties, with Burgundy, to be, of Force, rather, with the
People, and Nation, then, with the Line, of the Duke, because it
was, never, an Absolute Monarchy. So as, to summe up, her Ma-
jesties Proceedings, in this great Action, they have but this; That,
they have fought, first, to restore them to Spain; Then, to keep
them from Strangers; And never, to purchase them, to Her
Self.

But during all that time, the King of Spain, kept one tenour,
in his Proceedings, towards her Majestey; Breaking forth, more
and more, into Injuries, and Contemps: Her Subjects, trading in-
to Spain, have been, many of them, Burned; Some cast into the
Gallics; Others have died in Prison, without any other Crimes
committed, but upon Quarrells, pickt upon them, for their Re-
ligion, here at home. Her Merchants, at the Sack of Antwerp,
were, diverse of them, spoyled, and put to their Ransomes,
though
tho' they could not be charg'd, with any Part-taking: Neither, upon the Complaint, of Doctor Wilson, and Sir Edward Horsey, could any Redress be had. A general Arrêt was made; by the Duke, of Alva, of English mens, both Goods, and Persons, upon pretence, that certain Ships, stayed in this Realm, laden with Goods, and Money, of certain Merchants, of Genoa, belonged to that King: which Money, and Goods, was, afterwards, to the utmost value, restored, and pay'd back: Whereas our Men, were far, from receiving, the like Justice, on their side. Doctor Man, her Majesties Embassador, received, during his Legation, sundry Indulgencies, himself, being Removed, out of Madrid, and Lodged, in a Village; As they are accustomed, to use, the Embassadors of Moors: His Son, and Steward, forced, to assist, at a Mass, with Tapers in their Hands; Besides sundry other Contumelies, and Reproaches. But the Spoyling, or Damnifying, of a Merchant; Vexation, of a Common Subject; Dissonour of an Embassador; Were rather, but Demonstrations of ill Disposition, then Effects; If they be compared, with Actions of State; Wherein He, and his Ministers, have fought the Overthrow, of this Government: As in the year 1569, when the Rebellion, in the North part of England, brake forth; Who but the Duke of Alva, (then the Kings Lieutenant, in the Low-Countries,) and Don Guerres, of Elsper, then his Embassador Lieger here, were discover'd, to be chief Instruments, and Practisers; Having complott'd, with the Duke of Norfolk, at the same time; As was proved, at the same Duke's Condemnation, that an Army, of 20,000 Men, should have landed at Harwich, in aid of that Part, which the said Duke had made, within the Realm; And the said Duke, having spent, and imploy'd, 150,000 Crowns, in that Preparation.

Not contented thus, to have conforted, and assist'd, her Majesties Rebels, in England; He procur'd, a Rebellion, in Ireland: Armig, and Sending thither, in the year 1579, an Arch-Rebell, of that Country, James Fitz Morrice, which before was fled: And truly to speak, the whole course of Molestation, which her Majestie hath receiv'd, in that Realm, by the Rising, and Keeping on, of the Irish, hath been nourish'd, and fomented, from Spain; but afterwards, most apparently, in the year, 1580, he inva'd, the same Ireland, with Spanish Forces, under an Italian Colonell, by Name San Josepho, being but the Fore-runners, of a greater Power; Which, by Treaty, between Him, and the Pope, should have follow'd: But that, by the speedy Defeat, of those former, they were discourag'd, to pursue the Action: Which Invasion, was prov'd, to be done, by the Kings, own Orders; both by the Letters, of Secretary Escuado, and of Guerres, to the King: And also, by divers other Letters, wherein, the particular Conferences, were let down, concerning this Enterprise, between Cardinal Riario, the Popes Legate, and the Kings Deputy in Spain: Touching the General, the Number of Men, the Contribution of Money,
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...and the Manner, of the Prosecuting, of the Actions; And by the Confessions, of some of the Chiefest, of those, that were taken Prisoners, at the Fort: Which Act; being an All, of apparent Hostility, added, unto all the Injuries, aforesaid; And accompanied, with a continuall Receipt, Comfort, and Countenance, by Audiences, Confusions, and Employments, which he gave to Trayours, and Fugitives, both English, and Irish; As Welfmerland, Paget, Englishfield, Beltinglassie, and Numbers of others; Did, sufficiently, justify, and warrant, that pursuit of Revenge, which, (either in the Spy of Carthageone, and San Domingo, in the Indies, by Aff Drake; Or, in the undertaking, the protection, of the Low-Countries, when the Earl of Leicester was sent over;) afterwards followed. For before that time, her Majesty, though she stood upon her Guard, in respect, of the just Caution of Jealousie, which, the Sundry Injuries of that King, gave her, yet had entered, into no Offensive Action, against Him. Forboth, the Voluntary Forces, which Don Antonio, had collected, in this Realm, were, by express commandment, refrained; And Offer was made, of Restitution, to the Spanish Embassador, of such Treasure, as had been brought, into this Realm; upon Proof, that it had been taken by wrongs; And the Duke of Arjoun, was, (as much as could stand, with the near Treaty, of a Marriage, which then, was very forward, between her Majesty, and the said Duke;) Diverted, from the Enterprise, of Flanders.

But to conclude this Point; when that, some yeares after; the Invasion, and Conquest, of this Land; Intended long before, but through many Cresseys, and Impediments, which the King of Spain, found in his Plots, deferred; Was, in the year 1588, attempted; Her Majesty, not forgetting her own Nature, was content, at the same Instant, to Treat of a Peace; Not ignorantly, as a Prince, that knew not, in what Forwardness, his preparations were; (For she had discovered them long before;) Nor fearfully, as may appear, by the Articles, whereupon her Majesty, in that Treaty, stood; which were not, the Demands, of a Prince afraid; But only, to spare the bleeding, of Chrisitian Blood; And to know, her constant Desire, to make her Reign Renowned, rather by Peace than warlike Actions: which Peace, was, on her part, treated sincerely; But, on his part, (as it should seem,) was but an Abuse; Thinking thereby, to have taken us more unprovided: So that the Duke of Parma, not liking, to be used as an Instrument, in such a Case, in regard of his particular Honour, would, sometimes, in Treating, interlace; That the King, his Master, went to make his Peace, With his Sword in his Hand; Let it then be tried, upon an indifferent view, of the proceedings, of England, and Spain; Who it is, that Fifeth, in Troubled Waters; And hath disturbed, the Peace, of Christendome; And hath written, and describ'd, all his plots, in Blood.

There follow the Articles, of an Universal Peace, which the Parma.
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heller, as a Commissioner, for the Estate of England, hath propounded, and are these:

First, that the King of Spain, should recall such Forces as of great compassion, to the Natural People of France, he hath sent thither, to defend them, against a Relapsed Hugonott.

Secondly, that he suffer, his Rebels, of Holland and Zealand, quietly, to possess the places, they hold; And to take unto them, all the Rest, of the Low-Countries also; Conditionally, that the English, may still keep, the possession, of such Fort-Towns, as they have, and have some half a dozen more, annexed unto them.

Thirdly, that the English Rover, ought, peaceably, go, to his Indies; And there, take away his Treasure, and his Indes also.

And these Articles, being accorded (he faith,) might follow that Peace, which passes all understanding; As he calleth it, in a scurrile, and prophane Mockery, of the Peace, which Christian, enjoy with God, by the Attonement, which is made, by the blood of Christ; Whereof the Apostle faith, That it passes all understanding; But these his Articles, are, sure, mistaken; And indeed corrected, are briefly these:

1. That the King of France, be not impeached, in Reducing his Rebels, to obedience.

2. That the Netherlands, be suffered, to enjoy their Ancient Liberties, and Priviledges; And so Forces of Strangers, to be with-drawn, both English, and Spanishe.

3. That all Nations, may trade, into the East, and West, Indies; yea discover; and occupy, such parts, as the Spaniards, doth not actually possesse; And are not, under Civil Government, notwithstanding any Donation, of the Pope.

5. Of the Cunning, of the Libeller, in Palliation, of his malicious Invectives, against her Majesty, and the State, with pretence, of Taxing, only the Actions, of the Lord Burghley.

I Cannot, rightly, call this Point, Cunning, in the Libeller, but rather, good will to be Cunning, without skill, indeed, or Judgement: For finding, that it had been, the Usual, and Ready, practice, of Seditious Subjects, to plant, and bend their Invectives, and Clamours; Not against the Sovereigns themselves, but against some such, as had Grace with them; and Authorities under them; He put, in use, his Learning, in a wrong, and unproper, Case. For this hath some Appearance, to cover undutifull Invectives, when it is used, against Favourites, or New Upstarts, and sudain-risen Counsellors: But, when it shall be practis'd, against One, that
that hath been Counsellor, before her Majesties Time, and hath continued longer Counsellor, then any other Counsellor in Europe; One, that must needs have, been Great, if it were but by Surviving alone, though he had no other Excellency; One, that hath passed the Degrees of Honour, with great Travail, and long Time, which quenches always Envy, except it be joined, with extreme Malice; Then, it appeareth, manifestly, to be but a Brick wall, at Tennis, to make the Deformation, and Malice rebound, from the Counsellor, upon the Prince. And assuredly, they be very simple, to think, to abuse the World, with those Shifts. Since, every Child, can tell the Fable; That the Wolf's Malice was not to the Shepherd, but to his Dog. It is true, that these Men, have altered their Time, twice, or thrice: when the Match, was in Treading, with the Duke, of Aunjon, they spoke Honesty, as to her Majesty: All the Gall was uttered, against the Earl of Leicester. But, when they had gotten Heart, upon the Expectation, of the Invasion, they changed Style, and disclosed, all the Revenge in the World, immediately, against her Majesty: what New Hope, hath made them return, their Sinous Note, in teaching Troy, how to fave it self; I cannot tell. But, in the mean time, they do his Lordship, much Honour: For, the more spitefully, they inveigh, against his Lordship, the more Reason, hath her Majesty, to trust him, and the Realm to honour him. It was wont, to be a Token, of scarce a good Liegedeman, when the Enemy, spoiled the Country, and left, any particular Mens Hones, or Fields, unwaisted.

6. Certain true general Notes upon the Actions of the Lord Burleigh.

But above all the rest, it is a strange Fancy, in the Libeller, that he maketh his Lordship, to be, the Primum Mobile, in every Action, without Distinction. That to him, her Majesty is Accompitant, of her Resolutions. That to him, the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Secretary Walfingham, both Men, of great Power, and of great wit, and understanding, were but as Instruments; whereas, it is well known, that as to her Majesty, there was never a Counsellor, of his Lordship's long Continuance, that was so applicable, to her Majesty, Princely Resolutions; Endeavouring, always, after Faithful Propositions, and Re monstrances, and these in the best words, and the most Grateful Manner, to rest upon such Conclusions, as her Majesty, in her own wisdom, determineth, and them to execute to the best. So far, hath he been, from Contestation, or drawing her Majesty, into any his own Counsellor. And as, for the Forenamed Counsellors, and others, with whom his Lordship, hath comforted, in her Majesties Service; It is rather true, that his Lordship, out of the Greatness, of his Experience,
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and Wisdom; And, out of the Coldness of his Nature, hath qualified, generally, all Hard, and Extreme, Coward, as far, as the Service of her Majesty, and the Safety of the State, & the Making himself compatible, with those, with whom he served, would permit. So far, hath his Lordship been, from inciting others, or running a full Course with them, in that kind. But yet, it is more strange, that this Man, should be so absurdly Malicious, as he should charge his Lordship, not only, with all Actions of State, but also, with all the Faults, and Vice, of the Times; As if Curiosity, and Imagination, have bred some Controversies, in the Church; Though, (thanks be to God,) they extend, but to outward Things; As if Wealth, and the Cunning of Wits, have brought forth, Multitudes of Suits, in Law; As If, Excess in Pleasures, and in Magnificence, joyned with the unfaithfulness of Servants, and the Greediness of Monied Men, have decayed, the Patrimony, of many Noble Men, and others; That all these, and such like, Conditions of the Time, should be put, on his Lordship's account, who hath been, as far, as to his Place, appertaining, a most Religious, and Wise, Moderator in Church Matters, to have Unity kept; who with great Justice, hath dispatched, infinite Causes in Law, that have orderly, been brought before him; And, for his own Example, may say that, which few Men can say, but was sometime said, by Cephalus, the Athenian, so much Renowned, in Plato's Works, who having lived, near to the age, of an 100 years; And in continuall, Affairs, and Business, was wont to say of Himself; That he never said any, neither had been said by any; Who by reason, of his Office, hath preferred, many Great Houses, from Overthrow, by relieving sundry Extremities, towards such, as in their Minority, have been circumvented; And towards all such, as his Lordship, might advise, did ever perwade, Sober, and Limited, Expence. Nay, to make Proof, further, of this Contested Manner of Life, free from Suits, and Covetousness; as he never said, any Man, so did he never raise, any Rent, or put out, any Tenant, of his own; Nor ever gave content, to any of the Queen's Tenants; Matters, singularly, to be noted, in this Age.

But however, by this Fellow, as in a Falsely, Artificially, Glass, which is able, to make the best Face Deformed, his Lordship's Doings be set forth; yet, let his Proceedings, (which be indeed his own,) be indifferentely weighed, and considered; And let Men call to Mind, that his Lordship was never a violent, and transported Man, in Matters of State, but ever Respective, and Moderate; That he was never Man, in his particular, a Breaker of Necks, no heavy Enemy, but ever Placable, and Mild; That he was never a Brewer, of Holy Water in Court, no Dallier, no Abuser, but ever Real, and Certain; That he was never, a Bearing Man, nor Carrier of Causes, But ever gave way to Justice, and Course of Law; That he was never, a Glorious, Wilful, Proud Man, but ever
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ever civill, and familiar, and good to deal withall: That in the Course, of his Service, he hath, rather, sustained the BURTHEN, then fought the Fruition, of Honour, or Profit; Scarcely sparing any time, from his Care, and Troubles, to the SUBLIMATION of his Health: That he never had, nor fought to have, for Himself, and his Children, any Penny-worth of Lands, or Goods, that appertained to any, attainted, of any Treason, Felony, or otherwife; That he never had, or fought, any kind of Benefit, by any Forfeiture, to her Majesty; That he was never, a Passionate Commander, of Men, as he, that intended, any waies, to besiege Her, by bringing in, Men at his Devotion; But was ever, a true Reporter, unto her Majesty, of every Mans Deserts, and Abilities: That he never took the Course, to unquiet, or offend, nor nor exasperate her Majesty, but to content her mind, and mitigate her Displeasure; That he ever bare Himself reverently, and without Scandal, in Matters of Religion, and without blemish in his Private Course, of Life: Let Men, I say, without Passionate Malice, call to mind, these Things; And they will think it Reafon, that, though he be not canonized for a Saint, in Rome, yet he is, worthy, celebrated, as Pater Patriae, in England: And though he be Libelled against, by Envious, yet he is prayed for, by a Multitude, of good Subjects: And lastly, though he be envied, while he liveth, yet he shall be deeply wanted, when he is gone. And assuredly, many Princes, have had, many Servants of Trust, Name, and Sufficienti: But where there have been great parts, there hath often wanted, Temper of Affection; Where there have been, both Ability, and Moderation, there have wanted, Diligence, and Love of Travaile: Where all Three have been, there have, sometimes, wanted, Faith, and Sincerity; Where some few, have had, all these Four, yet they have wanted Time, and Experience: But where there is a Concurrency, of all these, there is no marvaile; though a Prince of Judgement, be constant, in the Employment, and Trust, of such a Servant.

7. Of divers particular Untruths, and Abuses, dispersed through the Libel.

THE Order which this Man keepeth, in his Libell is such, as it may appear, that he meant but to empty some Note Booke, of the Matters of England; To bring in, (whatsoever came of it,) a Number of Idle Jefts: which he thought might fly abroad; And intended nothing lesse, then to clear the Matters, be handled, by the Linht of Order, and Distinct Writ-
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... Having therefore; in the Principall Points, namely the Second, Third, and Fourth, Articles, ranged his Scattering, and wandering, Discourse, into some Order, such as may help the Judgement of the Reader, I am now content, to gather up, some of his By-Matters, and Stragling Untruths; and very briefly, to confute them.

Page 9, he faith; That his Lordships could, neither by the Greatness, of his Reader; creeping to the Cross; Nor exterior view of Devotion before the High Altar; find his entrance, into high Dignity, in Queen Maries Time. All which, is a meer Fiction, at Pleasure: For Queen Mary, bare that Respect unto him, in regard, of his constant standing, for her Title; As she desired to continue his Service; The Refall thereof, growing from his own Part: He enjoyed, nevertheless, all other Liberties, & Favours, of the time; Save only, that it was put, into the Queens Head, that it was dangerous, to permit him, to go beyond the Sea, because he had a great Wit of Allion; and had served, in fo Principall a Place; Which nevertheless, after, with Cardinall Pooles, he was sufficiënt to do.

Pag. Badem. he faith; Sir Nich. Bacon, that was Lord Keeper, was a Man of exceeding crafty wit; Which sheweth, that this Fellow, in his Slanders, is no good Marks-Man; But throweth out his Words, of Defaming, without all Level. For all the World noted, Sir Nich. Bacon, to be a Man, Plain, Direct, and Constant, without all Fineness, and Doubleness; And one that was, of the mind, that a Man, in his private Proceedings, and Estate, and in the Proceedings, of State, should rest, upon the Soundness, and Strength, of his own Courses, and not upon Practise, to Circumvent others; According, to the Sentence of Solomon; Vir Prudentes advertit ad Grofus snot, stultus autem divertit ad Dolor: Infomuch, that the Bishop of Roch, a Subtile, and Observing, Man, said of him; That he could fasten, no words upon him; and that it was impossible to come within him, because he offered no play. And Queen Mother of France, a very politick Princesse, said of him; That he should have been, of the Council of Spain, because he descried the Occurrents, and rested upon the First Plot; So that, if He were Crafty, it is hard to say, who is wife.

Pag. 10. he faith; That the Lord Burleigh, in the Establishment, of Religion, in the Beginning of the Queens Time, prescribed a Composition, of his own Invention; Whereas the same Form, not fully six years before, had been received, in this Realm, in King Edwards Time: So as his Lordship, being a Christian, Politick, Counsellor, thought it better, to follow a President, then to innovate; And chose the President, rather at Home, then Abroad.

Pag. 41. he faith; That Catholicks, never attempted, to murder, any principall person, of her Majesties Court, as did Burrchew, (whom he calleth a Puritan) In wounding, of a Gentleman, instead, of Sir Christopher Hatton; But by their great Fortune, Modesty, and Patience, do manifest, in themselues, a far different Spirit,
from the other Sort. For whence, it is certain he was Mad; As appeareth, not only by his Mad Mistaking, but by the Violence, that he offered after, to his Keeper; And most evidently, by his Behaviour, at his Execution: But of Catholicks, I mean, the Traitors sort, of them, a Man may say, as Cato, said, sometimes, of Caesar: Eum autemuintem, hanc, &b. sue, accipisse: They came sober, and well advised, to their Treasons and Conspiracies; And commonly, they look not follow, as the Counsellors, but have bent, their Murderous Attempts, immediately, against her Majesties sacred Person; (Which God have in his precious Custody.) As may appear, by the Conspiracy of Sommerside, Farry, Savage, the Six, and others; Nay, they have defend'd it, in Thee, to be a Lawful Act.

Pag. 43. he faith; That his Lordship, whom he calleth the Arch-politick, hath fraudulently provided, that when any Frier, is arraigned, the Indictment, is enforced, with many odious Matters: Wherein he wretcheth great Ignorance, if it be not Malice: For the Law, permiteth not, the ancient Forms of Indictments, to be altered; Like as in an Action of Trespass, although a Man, take away another's Goods, in the peaceablest manner, in the World, yet the Wit hath, Queruus, & Arnis; And if a Man enter, upon another's Ground, and do more, the Plantis, mentioneth: Quod Herbam suam, idem crescentia, cum Equis, Babes, porcis, & Bestiis, depasisset, conculisavit, & cumipisset. Neither is this any Absurdity; For, in the Pracitce, of all Law, the Formularies, have been few, and certain; And not varied, according to every particular Case. And in Indictments, also, of Treason, it is not to far fetched, as in that of Trespass; For the Law, ever presumeth in Treason, an Intention of subverting the State, and Impeaching the Majesty Royal.

Pag. 45. and in other places, speaking of the percuting, of Catholicks, he still mentioneth, Bowellings, and Consuming Mens Entrailers, by Fire. As if this, were a Torture, newly devis'd: Wherein he doth Cautionably, and Maliciously, suppliceth, that the Law, and custom, of this Land, from all Antiquity, hath ordained that Punishment, in Case of Treason, and permiteth no other. And a Punishment, surely, it is, though of great Terror, yet by reason, of the quick Dispatching, of lesse, Torment far, then either the Whole, or Persecution, yea, then Simple Burning.

Pag. 48. he faith; England, is confederate, with the Great Turk. Wherein, if he mean it, because the Merchants, have an Agent in Constantinople; How will he answer for all the Kings, of France, since Francis the First, which were good Catholicks? For the Emperor, & for the King of Spain, Himself? For the Senate of France, and other States, that have had, long time, Embassadors Liedgers, in that Court? If he mean it, because the Turk, hath done, some particular Honour, to our Embassadors, (if he be so to be termed,) we are beholding, to the King of Spain for that; For that, the Honour, we have won upon Him, by Opposition, hath given us,
Reputation, through the World: If he mean it, because the Turk, seemeth to affect us, for the Abolishing of Images: Let him consider then, what a Scandal, the Matter of Images, hath been, in the Church: As having been, one of the principal Branches, whereby Mahometrians entered.

Page 65. he saith; Cardinal Allen, was, of late, very near, to have been elected Pope. Whereby, he would put, the Catholics here, in some hope, that once, within Five or Six years; (For a Pope, commonly, sitteth no longer,) he may obtain that, which he missed narrowly. This is a direct Abuse: For it is certain, in all the Conclave, since Sextus Quintus, who gave him his Hat, he was never in possibility: Nay, the King of Spain, that hath patronized, the Church of Rome, so long, as he is become a right Patron of it: In that, he looketh to preserveth, to that see, whom he liketh, yet never durft, strain, his Credit, to so desperate a Point, as once, to make a Canvas, for him: No, he never nominated him, in his Inclusive Narration. And those that know any Thing, of the Respects, of Conclave, know, that he is not Papable: First, because he is, an Ultramontane, of which sort, there hath been none, these Fifty years: Next, because he is a Cardinal, of Wales, of Spain, and wholly, at the Devotion, of that King: Thirdly, because he is like to employ, the Treasure, and Favours, of the Popedom, upon the Enterprises of England: And the Relief, and Advancement, of English Fugitives, his Necessities Countrymen; So as, he presumed much, upon the Simplicity of the Reader, in this point, as in many more.

Page 55. and again Page 70. he saith; His Lordship, (Meaning the Lord Burleigh,) Intendeth to match, his Grandchild, Mr. William Cecil, with the Lady Arbella. Which being a more Imaginatonic, without any Circumstance at all, to endure it; More then that, they are both unmarried; And that their years, agree well! Needeth no Answer. It is true, that his Lordship, being no Stoicall, Omnisexual Man, but loving towards his Children; For Charitas Reip. incipit a Familia, Hath been glad, to match them, into Honourable, and Good Bloods; And yet not so, but, that, a private Gentleman, of Northampton Shore, that lived altogether, in the Country, was able to bestow his Daughters, higher, than his Lord, hath done. But yet, it is not seen by any Thing past, that his Lordship, ever thought, or affected, to match his Children, in the Blood Royall: His Lordships Wisdom, which hath been so long of Gathering, teacheth him, to leave to his Pevity, rather Securely, than Danger. And I marvaile, where be the Combinations, which have been, with Great Men; And the Popular, and Plausible, Courser, which ever accompany such designs, as the Libeller speaketh of: And therefore, this Match, is but like unto that, which the same Fellow, concluded, between the same, Lady Arbella, and the Earl of Leicester's Son, when he was, but a Twelve-Moneth old.

Page 70. he saith; He laboureth, incessantly, with the Queen; to
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8. Of the Heighth; of Impudency; that these Men, are
grown unto, in publishing, and Avoaching, untruths;
with a particular Recitall of some of them, for an
Affay.

These Men, are grown, to a singular Spirit, and Faculty, in
Lying, and Abusing the world; such, as it seemeth, al-
though they are, to purchase a particular Dispensation, for all o-
 ther Sins; yet they have a Dispensation Dormant, to lie, for the Ca-
tholique Cause; which moveth me, to give the Reader, a Taft, of
their
their Truths, such as are written, and are not meerly grosse, and palpable; Deifying him, out of their own Writings, when any shall fall, into his Hands, to encrease the Rowle, at least, in his own Memory.

We retain, in our Calendars, no other Holy-dayes, but such, as have their Memorials, in the Scripture: And therefore, in the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, we only receive, the Forfeits, of the Annunciation, and the Purification; Omitting the other, of the Conception, and the Nativity; Which Nativity, was used to be celebrated, upon the 8th. of September; the Vigil whereof, hapned to be, the Nativity of our Queen: which though we keep not Holy, yet we use therein, certain Civil Customs, of Joy, and Gratulation; As Ringing of Bells, Bonfifes, and such like; And likewise, make a Memorial, of the same Day, in our Calendar: whereupon they have published; That we have expunged, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and put in stead thereof, the Nativity of our Queen. And further, that we sing, certain Hymnes, unto her, used to be sung, unto our Lady:

It hapned, that upon some Blood-foed, in the Church of Pauls, according to the Canon Law, yet with us in force, the said church was interdicted, and so, the Gates shut up, for some few Dayes; whereupon, they published, that, because the same Church, is a place, where People use to meet, to walk and confer, the Queens Majesty, after the manner, of the Ancient Tyrants, had forbidden, all Assemblies, and Meetings, of People, together; And for that Reason, upon extreme Jealousie, did cause, Pauls Gates, to be shut up.

The Gate of London, called Lud-Gate, being in decay, was pulled down; And built anew: And on the one side, was set up, the Image, of King Lud, and his two Sons; who, according to the Name, was thought, to be the First Founder, of that Gate: And, on the other side, the Image of her Majesty, in whose time, it was reedified: whereupon, they published, that her Majesty, after all the Images, of the Saints, were long beaten down, had now, at last, set up her own Image, upon the Principal Gate, of London, to be adored; And that all Men, were forced, to do reverence to it, as they passed by; And a watch, there placed, for that purpose.

Mr. Jewell, the Bishop of Salisbury, who, according to his Life, died most godly, and patiently; At the Point of Death, used, the Verse, of the Hymne, Te Deum; Oh Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded; Whereupon, suppressing the rest, they published, that the principal Champion, of the Hereticks, in his very last words, cried, he was confounded.

In the Act of Recognition, of primo, whereby, the Right, of the Crown, is acknowledged, by Parliament, to be in her Majesty; (The like whereof, was used, in Queen Marys time;) The words, of Limitation, are; In the Queens Majesty, and the Natural Heirs, of
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Upon which word, (Naturally,) they do, maliciously, and indeed villanously, gloss; That it was, the Intention, of the Parliament, in a Cloud, to convey the Crown, to any Illuc, of her Majesty, that were Illegitimate; Whereas the word, (Here,) doth, with us, so necessarilily, and pregnantly, import Lawfulness; As it had been, Indecorum and impietity, of the Issues, of a Prince, to have expresedit.

They set forth, in the year a Book, with Tables, and Pictures, of the Persecutions, against Catholiques; Wherein, they have, not only stories, of 50 years old, to supply their Pages; But also, taken all the persecutions, of the Primitive Church, under the Heathen, and translated them, to the practise of England. As that, of Worshipping Priests, under the Skins, of Beasts, by Dogs, and the like.

I conclude then, that I know not, what to make, of this Exceff, in Avouching untruths, save this; That they may truly Chant, in their Queris; Linguam nostram magnificabimus; Labia nostra, nobis sunt; And that they, that have long ago, forfaken, the Truth of God, which is the Touch-stone, must now hold by the Whetstone; And that their Ancient Pillar, of Lying wonders, being decayed, they must now hold, by Lying Slanders; And make, their Libells, Successours to their Legend.
A TRUE REPORT

Of the detestable TREASON,

INTENDED,

By Doctor RODERIGO LOPEZ,

A Physician, attending upon the Person of the QUEENES MAJESTY,

Whom He, for a Sum of Money, promised, to be paid him, by the King of Spain, did undertake, to have destroyed, by Poison; with certain Circumstances, both of the Plotting, and Detecting, of the same, T. R. E. A. S. O. N.

Penmed during the Queen's Life.

He King of Spain, having found, by the Enterprise of 88; the Difficulty, of an Insurrection, of England; And having also, since that time, embraced the Matters of France; (Being a Deserter, of a more easy nature, and better prepared, to his Hand;) Hath, of necessity, for a time, layed aside, the Prosecution of his Attempts, against this Realm, by open Forces; As knowing, his Means unable, to wield both Actions, at once; As well, that of England, as that of France. And therefore, casting at the Fairest, hath, (in a manner,) bent his whole Strength, upon France, making, in the mean time, only a Defensive War, upon the Low-Countries. But finding again, that the Supports, and Aides, which her Majesty hath continued, to the French King, are
A true Report of Dr. Lopez his Treason.

a principall Impediment, & Retardation, to his prevailing there, according to his Ends: He hath now, of late, by all means, projected, to trouble the Waters, here; & to cut us off, some work at home; That by practice, without diverting, and employing any great Forces, he might, nevertheless, divert, our Succours from France.

According to which purpose, he first proved, to move some Innovation in Scotland; Not so much, in hope, to alienate the King, from the Amity, of her Majesty, as practicing, to make a Party, there, against the King himself; Whereby, he should be compelled, to use her Majesties Forces, for his Affistance. Then, he solicited a Subject, within this Realm, (being a Person of great Nobility,) to rise in Arms, and levy War, against her Majesty, which practice was, by the same Nobleman, loyally, and prudently, revealed. And lastly, (rather as it is to be thought,) by the Instigation, of our Traiterous Fugitives, in Forraim parts; And the corrupter Sort, of his Counsellours, and Ministers; then of his own nature, and Inclinations;) either of himself, or his said Counsellours, and Ministers, using his name, have defecned to to a course, against all Honour; All Society, and Humanity; Odious to God, and Man; Detected by the Heathen themselves; which is, to take away the Life, of her Majesty, (which God have in his precious Custody,) by violence, or poison. A Matter, which might be proved to be, not onely against all Christianity, and Religion, but against Nature, the Law of Nations, the Honour of Arms, The Civil Law, The Rules of Morality, and Policy: Finally, to be the most Condemned, Barbarous, and Fering, Act, that can be imagined: yea, (supposing the Quarrells, and Hostility, between the Princes, to be never so Declared, and so Mortal,) yet, were it not, that it would be very Reproach, unto the Age, that the Matter should be once disputed, or called in question; it could never be defended. And therefore, I leave it to the Censure, which Titus Livius giveth, in the like case, upon Person, the last King of the Macedons, afterwards overthrown, taken with his Children, & led in Triumph by the Romans: Quem non in Bello sum gere, Regio Amino, sed per omniam clandestina Graffiti seeler, Latrocinorum, ac beneficiorum, cernebant.

But to proceed, certain it is, that even about this present time, there have been suborned, and sent, into this Realm divers persons, some English, some Irish, corrupted by Money, and Promises; And resolved, and Conjured, by Priests, in Confession, to have executed, that most wretched, and horrible Fact: Of which Number certain have been Taken, and some have suffered, and some are spared, because they have, with great fores, confessed these Attempts, and detected their Suborners. And, if I should conjecture, what the reason is, why this cursed Enterprise, was at this time so hotly, and with such diligence, pursued; I take it to be, chiefly because the Matters of France, wax ripe; And the King of Spain, made himself ready, to unmask
A true Report of Doctor Lopez his Treason.

mask himself, and to reap that in France, which he had been long in sowing; In regard, that there being like to be, a Division, in the League, by the Reconciliation, of some of the Heads, to the King; the more passionate Sort, being deftirited by their Associates, were like, to call themselves, wholly, into the King of Spain’s Arms; And to dismember, some important Piece, of that Crown; Though now, upon this fresh Accident, of Receiving the King into Paris, it is to be thought, that both the worst affected, of the League, will submit themselves, upon any tolerable Conditions, to their Natural Kings, thus advanced, in strength, and Reputation: And the King of Spain, will take take a second Advise, ere he embargue himself too far, in any new Attempt, against France. But taking the Affairs, as they then stood, before this Accident unexpected: Especially, of the Council of Spain, during this his supposed Unrest in France; His Council had reason, to wish, that there were no Disturbance from hence; Where they make account, that if her Majesty, were removed, (upon whose person, God continue, his extraordinary Watch, and Providence;) here would be nothing but Confusion; Which they do not doubt, but with some, no great Treasure, and Forces, from without may be nourished, till they can more fully, intend the Ruin, of this State, according to their ancient malice.

But howsoever that be, amongst the Number of these execrable Undertakers, there was none, so much built, and relied upon, by the Great Ones, of the other side, as was this Physician Lopez; Nor, (indeed,) None so dangerous: whether you consider the Appliance of the Instrument; Or the subtilty, and secrecy, of those, that practised with him; Or the Shift, and Evasion, which he had provided, for a Colour of his Doings, if they should happen, to come into Question. For first, whereas others were to find, and encounter, infinite Difficulties, in the very obtaining, of an Opportunity, to execute this Horrible Act; And besides, cannot but fee, present, and most asflured Death, before their eyes; And therefore must be, (as it were,) damnable Notories, if they undertake it; This Man, in regard of his Faculty, and of his private Accesie, to her Majesty, had both Means, to perpetrate, and Means to conceal; whereby, he sought reap the fruit, of his wicked Treason, without evident peril. And for his Complicies, that practised with him, being Portuguese, and of the Retinue of King Antonio, the King of Spain’s Mortal Enemy, they were Men, thereby freed, and discharged from Suspicion; And sought send Letters, and receive Letters, out of Spain, without Jealousie, Asthothe, which were thought, to entertain, Intelligences there, for the good of their Master: And for the Evasion, and Masque, that Lopez had prepared, for this Treason, if it had not been searched, and lifted to the bottom, It was, that he did intend, but to crown the King of Spain, without ill Meaning: somewhat in the nature, of that Stratagem,
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gem, which Party, a most Cunning, and Artificiall Triftings, had provided for Himself.

Nevertheless, this Matter, by the great Goodness of God, falling into good Hands, of those Honourable, and sufficient, persons, which dealt therein; Was, by their great, and worthy, Industry, so handled, and followed; As this Proteus of a disguis'd, and Transformed, Treason, did at last, appear, in his own Likeness, and Colour: which were as Hollow, and Monstrous, as have been known, in the world. For some of her Majesties Counsell, long since, entred into consideration; That the Retinue of King Antonio, (I mean some of them,) were not unlike, to hatch, these kinds of Treasons. In regard, they were needy Strangers, entred into despair of their Masters Fortune, and like enough, to aspire, to make their Peace at home, by some such wicked Services, as these. And therefore grew, to have, an extraordinary vigilant Eye upon them. Which Prudent, and Disceret, Presumption, or Conjecture, Joyned with some Advertisements, of Espialls abroad, and some other Industry, was the first Cause, (next under the great Benediction of God, which giveth unto Princes,) zealous Counsellours; And giveth to Counsellours, Policy, and Discerning Thoughts:) of the Revealing, and Discovering, of these Treason, which were contrived, in Order, and Form, as hereafter is set down.

This Lopez, of Nation, a Portuguese, and suspected, to be in fact, secretly, a Spy; (Though here he conformed Himself, to the Rites of Christian Religion,) For a long time, professed physic in this Land; By occasion whereof, (being withheld a Man very Observant, and Officious, and of a pleasing, and applicable, behaviour;) In that regard, rather then for any great Learning, in his Faculty;) He grew known, & favoured in Court; And was, some years since, sworn Physician, of her Majesties Household; And by her Majesties Bounty, of whom he had received, divers Gifts, of good commodity, was grown, to good Estate of Wealth.

This Man, had inflam'd himself, greatly, (in regard he was of the same Nation,) with the King Antonio; Whose Causes, he pretended, to solicit at the Court; Especially while he supposed, there was any Appearance, of his Fortune: of whom also, he had obtained, (as one that reserved all his doings to Gain,) an Affigntion of 50000 Crowns, to be levied, in Portgall, But being a Perfon, wholly, of a Corrupt, and Mercenary, Nature; And finding his Hopes cold, from that part; He cast his Eyes, upon a more able Paymaster; And secretly, made offer, long since, of his service, to the King of Spain: And accordingly, gave sundry Intelligences, of that which paffed here, and import'd most, for the King of Spain to know; Having no small Means, in regard of his continual Attendance at Court, Nearness, and Access, to learn, many particulars, of great weight. Which Intelligences, he maintained, with Bernardine Mendoza, Antonio Vega, Roderigo Marquez, and divers others.
In the Conveyance, of which his Intelligences, and in the making known of his Disposition, to do the King of Spain service, he had, (amongst others,) one Manuel Andrade, a Portuguese, revolted from Don Antonio, to the King of Spain: One, that was discovered, to have practised the Death, of the said Don Antonio, and to have betrayed him, to Bernardine Mendoza. This Man coming hither, was, for the same his practifé, appearing by Letters, intercepted, apprehended, and committed to Prison. Before which time also, there had been, by good diligence, intercepted, other Letters; whereby, the said Andrade, advertised Mendoza, that he had won, Dr. Lopez, to the King's service: But Lopez, having understanding thereof; And finding means, to have secret conference, with Andrade, before his examination; Persuaded with him, to take the Matter upon himself, as if he had invented, that Advertisement, touching Lopez, only to procure himself credit, with Mendoza; And to make him conceive well, of his Industry, and Service. And to move him hereunto, Lopez set before Andrade, that if he did excuse him, he should have credit, to work his Deliverie; Whereas, if he did impeach him, he was not like, to find, any other Means, of favour. By which subtle persuasion, Andrade, when he came to be examined, answered, according to the Direction, and Leffoning, which Lopez had given him. And having thus acquitted himself of this suspicion, became Suitour, for Andrade's Deliverie, craftily suggesting, that he was to do, some notable Service, to Don Antonio: In which his suit, he accordingly prevailed. When Lopez had thus got Andrade, out of prison, he was suffered, to go out of the Realm, into Spain: In pretence, (as was said,) to do some service to Don Antonio; But, in truth, to continue Lopez Negotiation, and Intelligences, with the King of Spain: which he handled so well, as at his Return hither, for the comforting of the said Lopez, he brought to him, from the King, besides thanks, and words of encouragement, and an Anbrace, (which is the Complement of Favour,) a very good Jewell, garnished, with sundry stones, of good value. This Jewell, when Lopez had accepted, he cunningly cast with himself; That if he should offer it, to her Majesty, first, He was asfured, he would not take it: Next, that thereby, he should lay her asleep, and make her Secure of him, for greater Matters; According to the saying, From fidem in parvis praebuit, ut in magnis opprimat; which accordingly he did, with Protestations of his Fidelity: And her Majesty, as a Princefse of Magnanimity, not apt to fear, or suspicion, returned it to him, with Gracious words.

After Lopez, had thus abused her Majesty, and had these Trials of the Fidelity of Andrade; they fell in conference, (the matter being first moved by Andrade, as he that came freshly out of Spain,) touching the enpoifoning of the Queen. Which Lopez (who saw that Matter of Intelligence, without some such particular
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icular service, would draw no great Reward, from the King of Spain: such as a Man, that was not Needy, but wealthy, as he was, could find any Taste in ;] allented unto. And to that purpose, procured again this Andrade, to be sent over; As well, to advertise, and allure, this Matter, to the King of Spain, and his Ministers; (Namely, to the Count de Fuentes, Assistant to the General, of the King of Spain's Forces, in the Low Countries; as also, to capitulate, and contract, with him, about the Certainty of his Reward. Andrade, (having received those Instructions, and being furnished with money, by Lopez procurement, from Don Antonio, about whose service, his Employment, was believed to be;) Went over to Calais; Where he remained, to be near unto England, and Flanders; Having a Boy, that ordinarily passed to and fro, between him and Lopez; by whom he did also, (the better to colour his Employment,) write to Lopez, Intelligence, as it was agreed he should, between him, and Lopez; Who bad him, send such News, as he should take up, in the Streets. From Calais, he wrote, to Count de Fuentes, of Lopez Promise, and Demands. Upon the Receipt of which Letters, after some Time taken, to advertise this Proposition, into Spain; And to receive direction thereupon; The Count de Fuentes, associated with Stephano Ibarra, Secretary of the Counsell of the War, in the Low Countries, calleth to him, one, Manuel Lousy Tinoco, a Portuguese, who had also followed King Antonio; and of whose good Devotion, he had had Experience, in that he had conveyed unto him, two severall Packets, wherewith he was trusted, by the King Antonio, for France. Of this Lousy, they first received a Corporall Oath, with solemn Ceremony, taking his Hands between their Hands, that he should keep secret, that which should be imparted to him; And never reveal the same, though he should apprehend, and questioned, here. This done, they acquaint him, with the Letters, of Andrade, with whom, they charge him, to conferreat Calais, in his way; and to pulse to Lopez, into England; Addressing, him further, to Stephano Ferrera de Camas, and signifying unto the said Lopez, withall, (as from the King,) that he gave no great credence to Andrade, as a person, too light, to be used, in a Cause, of so great weight: And therefore marvelled much, that he heard nothing, from Ferrera, of this Matter: From whom, he had, in former time, been advertised, in generality, of Lopez good affection, to do him service. This Ferrera, had been, sometimes a Man, of great Livelyhood, and wealth in Portugal, which he did forego, in adhering to Don Antonio; And appeared to be a Man, of a Capacity, and practises; But hath, some years since, been secretly won, to the service, of the King of Spain; not travelling, nevertheless, too and fro, but residing, as his Leiger, in England.

Manuel Lousy, dispatched with these Instructions, and with all affectionate commendations, from the Count to Lopez; And with
with Letters to Ferrera; Took his Journey, first to Cadiz, where he conferred with Andrada; Of whom, receiving more ample Information, together with a short Ticket of Credence, to Lopez, that he was a Person, whom he sought trust, without scruple, came over into England; And, first, repaired to Ferrera, and acquainted him, with the State of the Ensignes, who had, before that time, given some Light, unto Lopez, that he was not a Stranger, unto the Privilege, between him, and Andrada; Wherewith, (indeed,) Andrada, had (in a fort,) acquainted him. And now, upon this new Dispatch, and Knowledge, given to Lopez, of the choice of Ferrera, to continue that, which Andrada, had begun; He, to conform himself the better, to the Satisfaction, of the King of Spain: and his Ministers abroad, was content more fully, to communicate, with Ferrera, with whom, from that time forward, he meant, singly, and aptly to deal; And therefore, cunningly forbear, to speak with Manuel Longs himslef, but concluded, that Ferrera should be his only Trunk, and all his Dealings, should pass through his Hands, thinking thereby to have gone Invisible.

Whereupon he cast with Himself, that it was not safe, to use, the Mediation, of Manuel Longs, who had been made privy to the matter, as some base carrier, of Letters, which Letters, also, should be written, in a Cypher; Not of Alphabet, but of Words; Such as might, if they were opened, import no vehement Suspicion. And therefore, Manuel Longs, was sent back, with a short Answer, And Lopez purveyed himself, of a base Fellow, a Portugeze, called Gomes d’ Avilla, dwelling hard by Lopez Houfe, to convey his Letters. After this Messenger provided, it was agreed, between Lopez, and Ferrera, that Letters should be sent to the Count de Fuenters, and Secretary Quarra, written, and signed, by Ferrera (for Lopez, cautelously, did forbear, to write himself,) but directed, and (indeed,) dictated word by word, by Lopez himself. The Contents thereof were; That Lopez was ready, to execute that Service, to the King, which before had been treated, but required, for his Recompence, the sum of 50000 Crowns, and assurance for the same.

These Letters were written obscurely, (as was touched,) in Terms of Merchandise; To which Obscurity, when Ferrera excepted, Lopez anfwered; They knew his meaning, by that, which had passed before. Ferrera wrote also, to Manuel Longs, but charged this Gomes, to deliver the same Letters, unto him, in the presence of Quarra; As also, the Letter to Quarra, in the presence of Manuel Longs. And these Letters, were delivered to Gomes’ Avilla, to be carried to Bruxelles: And a Passport procured, and his charges defrayed, by Lopez. And Ferrera, the more to approve his Industry, wrote Letters two several times; The one conveyed by Emmanuel Palacios, with the privy of Lopez, to Christophoro
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ChriStofer Moro, a principall Counsellor, of the King of Spain, in Spain: Signifying, that Lopez, was won, to the King of Spain: And that, he was ready to receive his Commandement: And receiv'd a Letter, from the same ChriStofer Moro, in answer to one of these, which he chewed unto Lopez. In the mean time, Lopez, though a Man (in semblance,) of a heavy wit, yet, indeed, fubtile of himself, as one trained in Practife; And besides, as wily, as Fear, and Covetousnesse, could make him; Thought to provide for himself, (as was partly touched before,) as many starting Holes, and Evasions, as he could devise; If any of these Matters, should come to Light. And first, he took his time, to cast forth, some generall words, a far off, to her Majesty, as asking her the Question; Whether a Deceiver might not he deceived? Whereof her Majesty, (not imagining these words, tended to such end, as to warrant him, colourably, in this wretched Conspiracy; But, otherwise, of her own naturall Disposition, bent to integrity, and Sincerity,) uttered Dilike, and Difallowance. Next he thought, he had wrought a great Mystery, in demanding the precise sum of 50000. Crowns, agreeing just, with the sum, of Affignation, or Donation, from Don Antonio; Idly, and in that, grobably, imagining; That if afterwards, he should accept the same sum, he might excuse it, as made good by the King of Spain, in regard, he desisted, to follow, and favour, Don Antonio: Whereupon, the King of Spain, was, in honour, tied, not to see him a Looser. Thirdly, in his Conferences, with Ferrera, when he was apposed, upon the particular manner, how he would pay for her Majesty, he purposefully, named unto him, a Syrop; Knowing, that her Majesty, never uteth Syrop; And therefore, thinking, that would prove an high point, for his Justification, if Things should come in any Question.

But, all this while, desirous after his prey, which he had in hope devoured, He did instantly importune Ferrera, for the answering, of his last Dispatch; Finding the Delay strange, and reiterating, the Proteftations, of his Readiness, to do the Service, if he were assured of his Money.

Now before the Return, of Gomez d' Avila, into England, this Steven Ferrera, was discovered, to have Intelligence, with the Enemy; But so, as the particular, of his Traffique, and Overtures, appeared not. Only it feemed, there was great account made, of that he managed; And thereupon, he was committed to Prison. Soon after, arrived Gomez d' Avila, and brought Letters, onely, from Manuel Louis, by the Name, of Francisco de Thores; Because, (as it feemeth,) the great persons, on the other fide, had a contrary disposition, to Lopez; And liked not, to write, by fo base a Meffenger, but continued their Courfe, to truft, and employ Manuel Louis himself, who, in likelihood, was retained, till they thought receive, a full Conclusion, from Spain; Which was not, till about two moneths, after. This Gomez, was apprehended,
at his Landing, and about him, were found the Letters afo-
said, written in Jargon, or Verball Cypher, but yet somewhat sus-
picious; in these words: This Letter will tell you, the price, in which
your Pearles are esteemed, and in what resolution, we rest, about a little
 Musk, and Amber; which I am determined to buy. Which Words,
the said Manuel Loyes, afterwards, voluntarily confessed, to be
deciphered, in this fort: That by the Allowance of the Pearles,
he meant, that the Count de Fuentes, and the Secretary, did gladly
accept, the Offer of Lopez, to pay the Queen, signified by Fer-
re's Letter; And for the Provision, of Amber, and Musk, it was
meant, that the Count, looked shortly, for a Resolution from the
King of Spain: concerning a Matter of importance; Which was,
For Burning of the Queen's Ships; and another Point, tending to
the satisfaction, of their Vindicative Humour.

But while the sense, of this former Letter, rested ambiguous;
And that, no direct particular, was confessed, by Ferrera; Nor
sufficient Light given, to ground, any rigorous examination, of
him; Cometh over Manuel Loyes, with the Resolution from
Spain: Who first understanding, of Ferrera's Restraint; and there-
doubting, how far things were discovered, to shadow the
matter, like a cunning Companion, gave advertisement, of an
Intent he had, to do service, and hereupon obtained a Pasport.
But after his coming in, he made no hast, to reveal any thing,
but thought to dally, and abuse, in some other fort. And while
the Light was thus in the Clouds, there was also intercepted, a
little Ticket, which Ferrera, in Prison, had found meanes, to write,
in care to conceale Lopez, and to keep him out of danger, to give
a Caveat of staying all further Answers, and Advertisements,
in these Causes. Whereupon, Lopez was first called in Que-

But in Conclusion, this matter being with all Affiduity, and
Policie, more and more, pierced, and mined into; First, there
was won, from Manuel Loyes, his Letters, from the Count de Fu-
entes, and Secretary Juara, to Ferrera; In both which, mention is
made, of the Queen's Death. In that of the Count, under the
Term, of a Commission; And in that of the Secretaries, under the
Term, of the Great Service, whereof should arise, an univer-
sal Benefit, to the whole World. Also the Letters of Credit, written
by Gonzalo Gomez; One to Pedro de Carrera; And the other, to
Juan Vallacio, to take up, a sum of Money, by Emanuel Loyes,
by the foresaid falle Name, of Fr. de Thores; Letters so large, and
in a manner, without Limitation, as any sum, by vertue thereof,
ought be taken up. Which Letters, were delivered, to Loyes,
by the Count de Fuentes own hands, with directions, to shew them
to Lopez, for his assurance. A matter, of Gods secret work-
ing, in staying the same; For thereupon, rested only, the Exe-
cution, of the Fact of Lopez. Upon so narrow a point, confessed
the safety, of her Majesty's Life; already, sold by Avarice, to
Mallice,
Malice and Ambition; but extraordinarily, preferred, by that
Watchman, which never shrubred. This same Emanuel Lopez, and
Steven Ferrera also; Whereof the one, manag'd the Matter a-
broad; And the other, resided here, to give correspondence,
never meeting, after Emanuel had returned, severally examined,
without Torture, or Threatening, did, in the end, voluntarily,
and clearly, confess the Matters, above mentioned: And in
their Confessions, fully confess, and concur; Not only in sub-
stance, but in all points, particularities, and Circumstances:
Which Confessions, appear express'd, in their own Natural Lan-
guage, teetified, and subscibed, with their own Hands: And
in open Assembly, at the Arraignment of Lopez, in the Guild
hall, were, by them confirmed, and avouched, to Lopez his face; And
therewithal are extant, undecased, the Original Letters, from
Count de Fuente, Secretary Juara, and the Rest.

And Lopez himself, at his first Apprehension, and Examini-
tion, did indeed deny; And deny, with deep and terrible Oathes,
and Excreations, the very Conferences, and Treatyes, with Fer-
erra, or Andrada, about the Employment. And being demanded,
if they were proved against him, what he would say? He an-
swered; That he would yield himself guilty, of the Fact intended.
Nevertheless, being afterwards confronted by Ferrera, who con-
stantly maintained to him, all that he said; Reducing him, to
the Times, and places, of the said Conferences, he confessed the
Matter; As by his Confession, in writing, signed with his own
Hand, appeareth. But then he fell, to that slender Evagination, as
his last Refuge; That he meant, only, to confer on the King of Spain,
of the Money; And in that he continued, at his Arraignment;
when, notwithstanding, at the first, he did retract his own Con-
feiion; And yet, being asked, whither he was drawn, either by
Mean of Torture, or promise of Life, to make the same Confession,
he did openly testify, that no such Means, was used towards
him.

But the Falsity of this Excuse, being an Allegation, that any
Treaty may ufe, and provide for himself, is convicted, by three
notable Proofs. The first, That he never opened this Matter,
neither unto her Majesty, unto whom he had ordinary Access;
Nor to any Counsellor of State, to have permission, to toll on, and
invagle these Parties, with whom he did treat, if it had been
thought so convenient. Wherein, percase, he had opportunity,
to have done, some good service, for the further Discovery, of
their secret Machinations, against her Majesty's Life. The sec-
ond, that he came, too late, to this shift; Having first bewray-
ed, his guilty Conscience, in denying those Treaties, and Confe-
rences, till they were, evidently, and manifestly, proved to his
Face. The third, that in conferring, with Ferrera, about the
manner, of his assurance, he thought it better, to have the Mo-
ney, in the Hands, of such Merchants, as he should name in An-
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Then to have brought it into England: Declaring his purpose to be, after the Fact done, speedily to fly to Antwerp; And there, to tarry some time, and to convey himself, to Constantinople, where it is affirmed, that Don Salomon, a Jew, in good credit, is Lopez his near Kinman; And that, he is greatly favoured, by the said Don Salomon; whereby, it is evident, that Lopez, had cast his Reckonings, upon the supposition, of the Fact done.

Thus may appear, both, how justly, this Lopez is condemned, for the Highest Treason; that can be imagined; And how, by God's marvellous Goodness, her Majesty, hath been preferred. And surely, if a Man do truly consider, it is hard to say; Whither God, hath done greater things, by her Majesty, or For Her: If you observe on the one side, how God hath ordained her Government, to break, and crosse, the unjust Ambition, of the Two Mighty Potentates, the King of Spain; and the Bishop of Rome, never so straitly, between themselves, combined; And, on the other side, how mightily God hath protected her, both against foreign Invasion, and Inward Troubles; And singularly, against the many secret Conspiracies, that have been made against her Life: Thereby declaring, to the world, that he will indeed preserve that Instrument, which he hath magnified. But the Corruptions, of these Times, are wonderfull, when that Warrs, which are the highest Trialls of Right, between Princes, (that acknowledge no superior Jurisdiction;) And ought to be prosecuted, with all Honour, shall be stained, and infamed, with such Foul, and Inhumane Practises. Wherein, if so great a King hath been named, the Rule of the Civill Law, (which is a Rule of Common Reason;) Must be remembred; frustra Legis auxilium implorat, qui in Legem Committit. He that hath fought, to violate, the Majesty Royall, in the Highest Degree, cannot claim, the preheminence thereof, to be exempted, from just Imputation.
AN ADVERTISEMENT, TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES, OF THE CHURCH, OF ENGLAND.

This but Ignorance, if any Man find it strange, that the State of Religion, (especially, in the Dayes of Peace,) should be exercised, and troubled, with Controversies: For as it is, the Condition, of the Church Militant, to be ever under Trials; So it commeth to passe, that when the Fiery Trial, of Persecution, ceaseth, there succeedeth another Trial, which, (as it were,) by contrary Blasts of Doctrine, doth sift, and winnowe, Mens Faith; And proveth, whether they Know God aright; Even as that other, of Afflictions, discovereth, whether they Love him, better, then the World. Accordingly, was it foretold, by Christ, saying; That in the latter times, it should be said; Lo here, loe there is Christ: Which is to be understood, not as if the very Person of Christ, should be assuemed, and counterfeitted; But his Authority, and preheminence, (which is to be Truth it self,) should be challenged, and pretended. Thus have we read, and seen, to be fulfilled, that which followeth, Ecce in Deserto; Ecce in Fenestra-libus: While some have fought the Truth, in the Convincibles, and Conciliables, of Hereticks, and Sectaries; others, in the Externe Face, and Representation, of the Church; And both Sorts have been seduced. Were it then, that the Controversies,
verset, of the Church, of England, were such, as they did Divide, the Unity of the Spirit; And not only such, as do not pray her, of her Lands, (the Lands of Peace;) yet could it be no Occasion, for any pretended Catholics, to judge us; or for any Irreligious Person, to despise us: Or if it be, it shall but happen to us all, as it hath used to do; To them to be Hardened, and to us to Endure, the good pleasure of God. But now, that our Contentions, are such, as we need not, so much, that general Canon, and Sentence, of Christ, propounded against Heretics; Erratis, nescientes Scripturas, & petes, Dei, You do Err, not Knowing the Scripture, & the Power of God; As we need, the Admonition, of St. James; Let every Man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath; And that the Wound, is no way, dangerous, except we poison it, with our Remedies: As the Former Sort of Men, have lative Reason, to make themselves Mensick, in our Discords; So I have good hope, that Nothing shall displease our Selves; we shall be sincerely, & modestly propounded, for the appeasing of these Dissentions. For if any shall be offended, at this course; For effis fratres; ye are brethren, why strive ye? He shall give, a great presumption, against himself, that he is the Party, that doth his brethren wrong.

The Controversy themselves, I will not enter into; As judging, that the Disease, requireth rather Rest, than any other Cure. Thus much we all know, and confess, that they be not of the Highest Nature: For they are not, touching the high Mysteries of Faith, such as detained the Churches, for many yeares, after their first Peace: what time the Heretics moved curious Questions, and made strange Anatomies, of the Nature, and person, of Christ: And the Catholick Fathers, were compelled to follow them, with all Subtily of Decisions, and Determinations, to exclude them, from their Errors, and to take them in their Labyrinths: So as it is rightly said; 

Ille temporibus, ingenua Res facta, eodem Christi Nam; In those days, it was an ingenious, and subtile thing, to be a Christian. Neither are they, concerning the great parts, of the Worship of God; Of which it is true; that, Non servatur unitas in Credendo, nisi cadem sit in Coelendo: There will be kept, soundness in Believing, except it be entertained, in worshipping; Such as were the Controversies, of the East, and West, Churches, touching Images: And such, as are many of those, between the Church of Rome, and Us; As about the Adoration of the Sacrament, and the like: But we contend, about Ceremonies, and Things indifferent; About the Extern Pollicy, and Government of the Church. In which kind, if we would but remember, that the Ancient, and True Bounds, of Unity, are, One Faith, One Baptism, And not, One Ceremoyy One Pollicy; If we would observe the League, amongst Christians, that is penned by our Savour, He that is not against us, is with us: If we could but comprehend, that Saying; Differentis Ritus, commensurant unitatem Doctrinæ; The Diversities of Ceremonies, do set forth, the unity of Doctrine; And that, Habet Religio que sunt Aeternitatis, habet que sunt
An Advertisement, touching the Controversies

Temporis; Religion hath parts, which belong to Eternity, and parts which pertain to Time: And if we did but know, the virtue of silence, and knowliness to speak, commended by Saint James; Our Controversies, of themselves, would close up, and grow together. But most especially, if we would leave, the Overweening, and Turbulent Humours, of these times; And revive, the blessed proceeding, of the Apostles, and Fathers, of the Primitive Church; which was, in the like, and greater Cases, not to enter into Assertions, and Positions, but to deliver Counsels, and Advice: we should need no other Remedy at all; Si non dum Consilium, (frater,) quae affirmas, consilienti debetur Reverentia, cum non debetur Fides affirmanti: Brother, if that which you set down, as an Assertion, you would deliver, by way of Advice, There were Reverence due to your Counsell, whereas Faith is not due to your Affirmation. Saint Paul, was content, to speak thus, Ego, non Dominus; I, and not the Lord: Et, secundum Consilium meum; According to my Counsell: But now, Men do, too lightly, say, Non ego, sed Dominus; Not I, but the Lord; yea, and bind it, with an Heavy Denunciation of his Judgements, to terrify the simple, which have not sufficiently understood, out of Solomon; That the Cursing Cure shall not come.

Therefore, seeing the Accidents are they, which breed the peril, and not the Things themselves, in their own Nature; It ismeet, the Remedies, be applied unto them, by Opening, what it is, on either part; that keepeth the Wound Green; And formalizeth, both sides, to a further Opposition; and worketh, an Indisposition, in Mens minds, to be reunited; wherein no Accusation is pretended. But I find in Reason, that Peace, is best built, upon a Repetition, of wrongs; And in Example, that the Speeches, which have been made, by the wisest Men, De Concordia Ordinum, have not abatened, from reducing to Memory, the Extremities, used on both parts: So as it is true, which is said; Qui pacem trahat non repetit, Conditionibus Diffidit, it nagi Animos Homini, dulcedine pacis fultit, quam equitatem componit.

And First of all, it is more then Time, that there were an End, and surfcease, made, of this Immodest, and Deformed, manner of Writing, lately entertained; whereby, Matter of Religion, is handled, in the Stile of the Stage. Indeed, bitter, and earnest, Writing, must not hastily, be condemned; For Men cannot contend Coldly, and without affectation, about Things, which they hold Dear, and Precious. A Politick Man, may write, from his Brain, without Touch, and Sense, of his Heart; As in a Speculation, that appertaineth not unto him: But, a FeelingChristian, will express, in his words, a Character, of Zeal, or Love. The latter of which, as I could wish rather embraced, being more proper for these Times, yet is the Former warranted also, by great Examples.

But to leave, all Reverent, and Religious, Compassion, towards Evils, or Indignation towards Faults; and to turn, Religion in-
of the Church, of England.

To a Comedy, or Satyre: To search, and rip up wounds, with a Laughing Countenance; To intermix, Scripture, and Serulity, sometime, in one Sentence: Is a thing, far from the devout Reverence, of a Christian, and scant becometh, the honest Regard, of a sober Man. Non esse major Confusio, quam Scriii, & joci. There is no greater Contusion, then the confounding, of jest and Earnest. The Majesty of Religion; and the Contempt, and Deformity, of things ridiculous, are things as distant, as things may be. Two principall Causes, have I ever known, of Atheism; Curious Controversies, and prophane Scoffing: Now, that these two, are rejoyned in one, no doubt, that Secr, will make no small Progression. And here, I do much esteem, the Wifdome, and Religion, of that Bishop, which replied, to the first Pamphlet, of this kind, who remembred, that a Fool, was to be anwered, but not, by becomming like unto him; And considered, the Matter, which he handled, and not the Person, with whom he dealt.

Job, speaking of the Majesty, and Gravity of a Judge, in himself faith: If I did smile, they believed it not: As if he should have said; If I diverted, or glanced, upon Conceit of Mirth, yet Mens Minds, were so possesed, with a Reverence, of the Action in hand, as they could not receive it. Much more, ought not this to be, amongst Bishops, and Divines, disputing about Holy Things. And therefore, as much, do I mlike, the Invention of him, who, (as it seemeth,)pleased himself in it, as in no mean Policy; That these Men, are to be dealt withall at their own Weapons, and, pledged in their own Cup. This seemed to him, as profounda Devile, as when the Cardinal Sanovino, counsell'd julius the second, to encounter the Council of Pisa, with the Council of Lateran; Or as Lawfull a Challenge, as Mr. Jewell made, to confute, the pretended Catholiques, by the Fathers: But those Things, will not excuse, the Imitation, of Evil in another. It should be, contrariwise, with us, as Cesar said; Nil malo; quam eos familes effe sui. Et me mi. But now; Dum de bonis contendimus, de Malis nostris, sint: While we Differ about good things, we Resemble in evil.

Surely, if I were asked, of these Men, who were the more to be blamed, I should, per casæ, remember the Proverbs: That the second Blow maketh the Fray; And the saying of an Obscure Fellow; Quis replicat, multiplicant: He that replicat, multiplieth. But, I would determine, the Question, with this Sentence; Alter principium Ma- lo dedit, alter Medium absulit: By the one's Means, we have a Begin- ning, and by the other, we shall have none End.

And truly, as I do marvell, that some of those Preachers which call for Reformations; (whom I am far from wrongingso far, as to joyn them, with these Scoffers;) Do not, publish some Declaration, whereby they may satisfie the world, that they dislike their Caufe, should be thus solicited; So I hope, assuredly, that my Lords of the Clergy, have none Intelligence, with this interlibel-
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ling; But do altogether disallow, that their Credit should be thus defended. For though, I observe in one of them, many Glosses, whereby the Man, would insinuate himself, into their Favourites; yet I find it to be ordinary, that many Pressing, and Fawning Persons do misconjecture, of the Humours, of Men in Authority; And many times, Veneri immolant suos; they seek to gratifie them, with that, which they most dislike. For I have great Reason, to satisifie my self, touching the Judgement of my Lords, the Bishops, in this Matter, by that which was written by one of them, which I mentioned before, with honour. Nevertheless I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried, towards these Pamphlets, as they deserve; For the one part, flies in the Dark, and the other, is uttered openly. Wherein, I might advise, that side, out of a Wife writer, who hath set it down, This, penitus ingenii glibit Authoritas.

And, indeed, we see, it ever falleth out, that the Forbidden Writing, is always thought, to be certain Sparks of a Truth, that fly up into the faces of those, that seek to chock it, and tred it out; Whereas, a Book Authorized is thought to be, but Tempore Voca. The Language of the Time. But in plain Truth, I do find, (to mine understanding,) these Pamphlets, as meet to be suppressed, as the other. First, because, as the former fort, doth deface, the Government, of the Church; in the persons of the Bishops, and Prelates; So the other, doth lead into Contempt, the Exercises of Religion, in the Persons of sundry Teachers; So as it disgraceth an higher matter, though in the meaner Person.

Next, I find, certain indiscreet, and dangerous Amplifications, as if the Civil Government, it self, of this State, had near lost the Force of her Sinews; And were ready to enter, into some Convulsion, all things being full of Faction, and Disorder; which is as unjustly acknowledged, as untruly affirmed. I know, his Meaning is, to enforce, this unrevengerent, and violent Impugning, of the Government of Bishops, to be, a suspected Forerunner, of a more general Contempt. And I grant, there is sympathy, between the Estates; But no such matter, in the Civil Policy, as deferveth so dishonourable a Taxation.

To conclude this Point, As it were to be wilhed, that these Writings, had been abortive, and never seen the Sun; So the next is, since they be common abroad, that they be censured, (by all that have Understanding, and Conscience,) as the untemperate Extravagancies, of some Light Persons. Yea, further, that Men beware, (except they mean to adventure, to deprive themselves, of all Sense of Religion, and to pave their own Hearts, and make them as the High Way,) how they be conversant in them; And, much more, how they delight in that Vein, but rather to turn their Laughing, into Blushing; And to be ashamed, as of a short Madness. That they have, in matters of
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of Religion, taken their Disport, and Solace. But this, perchance, is of these Faults, which will be soonest acknowledged; Though I perceive, nevertheless, that there want not some, who seek to blancho, and excuse it.

But to descend, to a sincere View, and Consideration, of the Accidents, and Circumstances, of these Controversies, wherein, either part, deserveth Blame, or Imputation; I find, generally, in Causes of Church-matters, that Men do offend, in some, or all, of these five Points.

The First is, the Giving Occasion, unto the Controversies; And also, the Unconsiderate, and Ungrounded, Taking of Occasion.

The Next is, the Extending, and Multiplying, the Controversies, to a more general Opposition, or Contradiction, then appeareth, at the first propounding of them, when Mens Judgements are least partial.

The Third is, the Passionate, and Unbrotherly Pratifices, and Proceedings, of both Parts, towards the Persons, each of others, for their Discredit, and Suppression.

The Fourth is, the Courties, bolden, and entertained, on either side, for the drawing of their Partizans, to a more straight, Union within themselves; Which ever importeth, a further Distraction, of the Entire Body.

The last is, the Undue, and Inconvenient, Propounding, publishing, and Debating, of the Controversies. In which Point, the most palpable Error, hath been already spoken of; As that, which through the strangeness, and Frequentie of the Abuse, first offereth it self, to the Conceits, of all Men.

Now concerning the Occasion, of the Controversies; It cannot be denied, but that the Imperfections, in the Conversation, and Government of those, which have chief place in the Church, have ever been principall Causes, and Motives, of Schisms, and Divisions. For whilsts the Bishops, and Governors, of the Church, continue full of Knowledge, and good Works; Whiles they Feed the Flock indeed; Whiles they deal, with the Secular States, in all Liberty, and Resolution, according to the Majesty of their Calling, and the precious care of Souls, imposed upon them; So long, the Church is situate, as it were upon an Hill; No Man keth question of it, or seeketh to depart from it: But when these virtues, in the Fathers, and Leaders, of the Church, have loft their Light, And that they wax worldly, Lovers of themselves, and Pleasers of Men; Then Men begin, to groap for the Church, as in the Dark; They are in doubt, whether they be the Successors of the Apostles, or of the Pharisees: yea, howsoever they sit in Moses Chair, yet they can never speak, Tangam Authoritatem habentes, as having Authority, because they have loft their Reputation, in the Consciences of Men, by declining their steps, from the way, which they trace out to others. So as Men, had need
need, continually, have founding in their Eares, this same; * Nolite Exire: Go not out: * So ready are they, to depart from the Church, upon every voice. And therefore, it is truly noted by one, that writeth as a Natural Man; That the Humility of the Friars, did, for a great time, maintain, and bear out, the Irreligious, of Bishops, and Prelates.

For this is the Double Pollicy, of the Spirituall Enemy; either by counterfeit Holiness of Life, to Establish, and Authorize Errors; Or by Corruption of Manners, to discredit, and draw in question, Truth, and Things Lawfull. This concerneth, my Lords the Bishops, unto whom, I am wittnesse to my self, that I stand affected, as I ought: No Contradiction hath supplant, in me, the Reverence, that I owe to their Calling: Neither hath any Detraction, or Calumny, imbased mine Opinion, of their Persons. I know some of them, whose Names are most pierced, with these Accusatons, to be Men of great vertues; Although the Indisposition of the times, and the want of Correspondence, many wayes, is enough to frustrate, the best Endevours, in the Edifying of the Church. And for the rest, generally, I can condemn none. I am no Judge of them, that belong, to fo High a Master; Neither have I two Witnesses. And I know, it is truly said, of Fame, that

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*Pariter Facta, atq Insecta Canebat.*

Their Taxations, arise not, all, from one Cause; They have many, and different, Enemies; Ready to invent Slander, more ready to amplifie it, and most ready to beleive it. And *Magna Mendacii Credulitas:* Credulity is the Adamant of Lies. But if any be, against whom, the *supremae Bis^op,* hath not a few Things, but many Things; If any have *left his first Love;* If any be neither Hot, nor Cold; If any have stumbled, too fondly, at the Threshold, in such sort, that he cannot sit well, that entred ill; It is time they return, whence they are fallen, and confirm the Things, that remain.

Great is the Weight of this Fault: *Et corum causa abhorrebat a Sacrificio Domini:* And for their Cause, did Men abhor, the Adoration of God. But howsoever it be, Those, which have sought to deface them, and call Contempt upon them, are not to be excused.

It is the precept of *Salomon,* that the *Rulers* be not Reproached; No, not in our Thought. But that, we draw, our very Conceit, into a Modest Interpretation, of their Doings. *The Holy Angel,* would give no *Sentence of Blasphemy,* against the Common Slanderers, but said; *Increret te Dominus:* The Lord Rebuke thee. *The Apostle, Saint Paul,* though against him, that did pollute Sacred Juslice, with Tyrannous Violence, he did justly denounce the Judgement of God, saying; *Perentiet te Dominus:* The Lord will
will strike thee yet in saying, Farius dicatate, he thought he had gone too far, and retracted it. Whereupon a Learned Father laid; Ipsum, quarevis inane nonum, & umbran Sacerdotes, expant.

The ancient Councils, and Synodes, (as is noted by the Ecclesiastical Story,) when they deprived any Bishop, never recorded the offence, but buried it in perpetually Silence: Only Chum, purchased, his Curfe, by revealing his Father's Disgrace. And yet a much greater Fault is it, to ascend, from their Person, to their Calling, and draw that in question. Many good Fathers, speke rigourously, and severely, of the unworthinesse of Bishops; As if, presently, it did forfeit, and cease their Office. One faith: Sacerdotes nominamur: & non sumus: We are called Priests, but Priests we are not. Another faith; Nisi bonum Opus amplieferis, Episcopus effet: non potes: Except thou undertake the good work, thou canst not be a Bishop: Yet they meant nothing less, then to move doubt, of their Calling, or Ordination.

The Second Occasion, of Controversies, is the Nature, and Humour, of some Men. The Church never wanteth, a kind of Persons, which love the Salutation, of Rabbi, Master; Not in Ceremony, or Complement, but in an Inward Authority, which they seek, over Mens Minds; in drawing them, to depend, upon their Opinions, and to seek Knowledge, at their Lips. These Men, are the true Succesours, of Diotrephes, the Lover of Preeminence; And not, Lord Bishops. Such Spirits do light upon another sort of Nature, which do adhere to these Men; Quaestis gloria in Obsequio; Stifco Followers, and such, as zeal mervailously, for those, whom they have chosen, for their Masters. This latter sort, for the most part, are Men, of young years, and superficial Understanding; Carried away, with partial respect of Persons; Or with the Enticing Appearance, of Godly Names, and Pretences; Puui res ipsas sequatur, pluris nominis Rerum, plurimi nominia Magistrorum. Few follow the things themselves, more the names of the things, and most the Names of their Masters.

About these general Affections, are wreathed, and interlaced, accidentall, and private Emulations; and Discontentments, All which, together, break forth into contentions, Such as either violate Truth, Sobriety, or Peace. These generalities apply themselves. The Universities, are the Seat, or the Continent, of this Disease; Whence it hath been, and is derived, into the Realm. There Men, will no longer be, & numeris, of the Number. There, do others side themselves, before they know, their Right Hands, from their Left. So it is true, which is said; Transfunt ab Ignorantia ad prejudicium. They skip from Ignorance to a prejudicate Opinion: And never take, a sound Judgement, in their way, But, as it is well noted; Inter juvenes Judicium, & senile prejudicium, omnis veritas corruptiur: Through want of years, when Men are not indifferent, But partiall, then their Judgement, is weak, and unripe.
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And when it groweth, to Strength, and Ripeness, by that time, it is forestalled, with such a Number of prejudicate Opinions, as it is made unprofitable: So as, between these two, all Truth is corrupted. In the mean while, the Honourable Names, of Sincerity, Reformation, and Discipline, are put in the fore Ward; So as, Contentions, and Evil Zeal, cannot, be touched, except these Holy Things, be thought fit to be violated. But howsoever, they shall infer, the Solicitation, for the Peace, of the Church, to proceed, from Carnall Sense, yet, I will conclude, ever, with the Apostle Paul; Cum fit intcr vos, Zelus & Contentione, nonne carnalis esist? While there is amongst you, Zeal, and Contention, are ye not carnall? And howsoever, they esteem, the Compounding of Controversies, to favour of Man's Wisdom, and Human Policy; And think themselves led, by the Wisdom, which is from above; yet I say with Saint James; Non est ista sapientia de sordum descedens; sed Terrena, Animalis, Diabolica. Obi enim Zelus, & Contentio, Ibi Inconstantia, & omne opus pravum. Of this Inconstancy, it is said by a Learned Father; Procedure voluit, non ad perseverationem, sed ad permutationem: They seek to go forward still, not to perfection, but to change.

The Third Occasion of Controversies, I observe to be, an Extrem and unlimited, Detestation, of some former Heresies, or Corruption, of the Church, already acknowledged, and convicted. This was the Cause, that produced, the Heresies of Arrinus, grounded, especially, upon Detestation of Gentilium; left the Christians, should seem, by the Affertion, of the equal Divinity, of our Saviour Christ, to approach, unto the Acknowledgement, of more Gods, then One. The Detestation, of the Heresies, of Arrinus, produced that of Sabellius; who holding for Execrable, the Distinction, which Arrinus pretended in the Trinity, fled so far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the Distinction of Persons: And to say, they were, but onely Names, of several Offices, and Dispensations. Yea, most of the Heresies, and schisms, of the Church, have sprung up, of this Root; While Men, have made it, as it were, their Scale, by which, to measure the Bounds, of the most perfect Religion; Taking it, by the furthest distance, from the Error, last condemned. These be Pojibumi Heresium Fili; Heresies, that arise, out of the Ashes, of other Heresies, that are extinct, and amortized.

This Manner of Apprehension, doth, in some degree, possesse many in our Times. They think it the true Touchstone, to try what is good and evil, by measuring, what is more, or lese, opposite, to the Institutions, of the Church, of Rome; Be it Ceremony, Be it Policy, or Government s; ye, be it other Institutions of greater Weight; That is, ever most perfect, which is removed, most degrees, from that Church; And that, is ever polluted, and blemished, which participateth, in any Appearance, with it. This is a subtile, and dangerous, Conceit, for Men to entertain; Apt to delude
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delude themselves more apt to delude the People, and most apt of all, to calumny their Adversaries. This surely, (but that a Notorious Condemnation, of that Position, was before our Eyes,) had, long since, brought us, to the Re-baptization of Children, baptized according to the Pretended Catholick Religion. For I can, that which is a Matter of much like reason; Which is the ordering of Churches, is a Matter, already, resolutely maintained. It is very meet, that Men beware, how they be abused by this Opinion; And that they know, that it is a Consideration, of much greater Wisedom, and Sobriety, to be well advised; whether, in general Demolition, of the Inquisitions, of the Church, of Rome, there were not, as Mens Actions are imperfect,) Some Good purged with the Bad; Rather, then to purge the Church as they pretend, every day anew: Which is the way, to make wounds in the Bowels, as is already begun.

The Fourth, and Last, Occasion, of these Controversies, (a Matter, which did also, trouble the Church, in former times,) is the partial, Affectation, and Imitation, of Foreign Churches. For many of our Men, (during the time of perfection, and since,) having been Conversant, in Churches abroad; And received, a great Imagination, of the form of Government, there ordained, have violently sought, to intrude the same, upon our Church. But I answer: Contention in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod reception est: Let us agree in this, that every Church do that, which is convenient, for the State, of it self, and not in particular Customs: Although the Churches, had received, the better Form, yet, many times, it is to be sought; Non quod optimum, sed quod quidem optimun: Not that which is Best, but of good Things, which is the Best, and Readieff, to be had. Our Church is not now to plant; It is settled, and established. It may be in Civill States; a Republicke, is a better Policy, then a Kingdom; Yet God forbid, that lawfull Kingdomes, should be tyr'd to innovate, and make Alterations. Qui nulius introductio, voluntatem Dei oppugnat, revelatam in verbo; Qui Nova introductionem, vel suam Dei oppugnat, revelatam in Rebus. He that brings in new Customs, refiseth the will of God, revealed in his Word; He that brings in new Things, refiseth the Will of God, revealed in the Things themselves. Consule providentiam Dei cum verbo; Dei, Take Counsell, of the Providence of God, as well as of his Word. Neither yet do I admit, that their Form, although it were possible, and convenient, is better then ours, if some Abuses were taken away. The Purity, and Equality, of Ministers, is a Thing, of wonderfull great Confusion: And so is an Ordinary Government by Synods; which doth, necessarily, ensue upon the other.

It is hard, in all Causes, but especially in Religion, when Voyces, shall be Numbred, and not Weighed: Equidem, (faith a Wife Father,) ut were quid vet est scribam; provis decreci fugere omnes Conuen- tiones Episcoporum; Nullus enim Concilii bonum extinum unquam vidi; Cons-
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cilia enim non minus Mart demanding petitis. To say the truth, I am utterly determined, never to come, to any Council of Bishops. For I neveryet saw, good end, of any Council; For Councils have not all things, but rather encrease them, which is to be understood, not so much of General Councils, as of Synods gathered, for the ordinary Government of the Church. As for the Depreration of Bishops, and such like causes; This mischief hath taught the use of Arch.Bishops, Patriarchs, and Primates; as the abuse of them since, hath taught Men to mislike them.

But it will be said; Look to the Fruits of the Churches abroad, and Ours. To which I say, that I beseech the Lord, to multiply his Blessings, and Graces, upon those Churches, an hundred fold. But yet, it is not good, that we fall, on the numbering of them. It may be, our peace, hath made us more wanton. It may be also, (though I would be loath, to derogate, from the Honour, of those Churches, were it not to remove Scandals,) that their Fruits, are, as Torches, in the Dark, which appear greatest, afar off. I know, they may have some strict Orders, for the repelling of fundry Excellies. But when I consider, of the Censures of some persons, as well upon particular Men, as upon Churches; I think on the saying of a Platonic, who faith; Cerise vittia Irae.abilis partis Anima sunt gradu pravura, quam concupiscibilis, tametf occulittera: A matter, that appeared much, by the Ancient Contentions, of Bishops. God grant, that we may contend, with other Churches, as the Vine with the Olive, which of us shall bear the best Fruit? And not, as the Briar with the Thistle, which of us is most unprofitable. And thus much, touching the occasions of these Controversies.

Now, briefly, to set down, the Growth and Progression, of the Controversies: whereby will be verified, the saying of Salomon; That the Course of Contention, is to be stopped, at the first; Being else, at the waters, which if they gain a Breach, it will hardly ever be recovered.

It may be remembred, that on that part, which call for Reformation, was, first, propounded, some Dillike, of certain Ceremonies, supposed to be Superstitions; some complaint of Certain Ministers, who posestle Rich Benefices; And some Invective, against the Idle, and Monasticall, Continuance, within the Universities, by those, who had Livings, to be refident upon, and such like Abuses. Thence, they went on, to condemn, the Government, of Bishops, as an Hierarchy. Remaining to us, of the Corruptions of the Romane Church; And to except, to fundry Institutions, in the Church; As not sufficiently, delivered, from the pollutions, of former Times.

And lastly, they are advanced, to define, of an onely, and perpetuall Form, of Tollery, in the Churches; which, without Consideration, of possibility, and foresight of Perills, and perturbation of the Church, and State, must be erected, and planted, by the Magistrate. Here they stay. Others, not able, to keep foot-
ing in so steep Ground, descend further; That the same must be
entred into, and accepted of the people, at their perill, with-
out the 

Attending, of the Establishment, of Authority. And, so in
the mean time, they refuse to communicate with us, reputed
us to have no Church. This hath been, the progression, of that
side. I mean of the Generality. For I know, some persons, (be-
ing of the Nature, not only to love Extremities, but also, to fall to
them, without degrees,) were at the highest strain, at the first.

The other Part, which maintaineth, the present Government,
of the Church, hath not kept, one Tenour, neither. First those
Ceremonies, which were pretended, to be corrupt, they main-
tained, to be things indifferent; and opposed, the examples, of
the good Times, of the Church, to that challenge, which was
made unto them, because they were used, in the latter superstitious
Times. Then were they also content, mildly, to acknowledge,
many Imperfections, in the Church; As Tares, common up, among
the Corn; which yet, (according to the wildomne, taught by our
Saviour,) were not, with strife, to be pull’d up, left it might spoil,
and supplant, the good Corn; But to grow on together till the
Harvest. After, they grew, to a more absolute Defence, and Ma-
tenance, of all the Orders, of the Church; And stiffly, to hold, that
nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, par-
tly because it would make a Breach, upon the Reft. Hence, (exas-
peted through Contentions,) they are fallen, to a direct Condemna-
tion of the Contrary part, as of a sect. Yea, and some indiscet
persons, have been bold, in open Preaching, to use dishonoura-
ble, and Derogatory, Speech, and cenfure, of the Churches
abroad: And that so far, as some of our Men, (as I have heard,) ordained in Forrain parts, have been pronounced, to be no
lawfull Ministers. Thus we see, the Beginnings were modest,
but the Extremes, are violent. So as there is, almost, as great a
Difance, now, of either side, from itself, as was, at the first, of
one, from the other. And surely, though my Meaning, and
Scope, be not, (as I said before,) to enter into the Controversies
themselves, yet I do admonith, the Maintainers, of the alone
Discipline, to weigh, and confider, seriously, and attentively,
how near they are unto them, with whom, I know, they will not
joyn. It is very hard to affirm, that the Discipline, which, they
lay, we want, is one of the effential parts, of the worfhip of God;
And not, to affirm withall, that the People themselves, upon pe-
roll of Salvation, without staying for the Magistrate, are to gather
themselves into it. I demand, if a Civill State, should receive
the preaching, of the Word, and Baptifme; And interdict, and
exclude the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: were not Men bound,
upon danger of their souls, to draw themselves, to Congregations,
wherein they might celebrate this Mystery? And not to content
themselves, with that part of Gods worfhip, which the Magistrate,
had authorised? This I speak, not to draw them, into the mix-
like
like of others, but into a more deep Consideration, of
themselves: tertiis non recondit, quia sum progressum, non inte-
ligit.

Against my Lords, the Bishops, I say: That it is hard, for them,
to avoid Blame, (in the Opinion of an indifferent person,) in
standing, so precisely, upon Altering nothing. Leges, novis Le-
gibus, non recreant, acceperit. Leges, not refractive, with new
Leges: now shew. Qui mala non permittat, in bonis non perfore-
rat: Without change of ill, a Man cannot continue the Good. To take
away many Abuses, Supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth
them. Moros, a Moris Retentio, Rerum bulentia est, sicque Novitias:
A contentious Retaining of Custom is a Turbulent thing, as well as In-
novation. A good Husband, is ever proining in his Vineyard, or
his Field; Not unreasonably, indeed, not unskillfully, but lightly
he findeth, ever somewhat to do. We have heard of no Offers
of the Bishops, of Bills in Parliament; which, no doubt, proceeding
from them, to whom it properly belongeth, would have every
where received Acceptation. Their own Constitutions, and Or-
ders, have reformed them little. Is nothing amiss? Can any
Man defend, the use of Excommunication, as a Bafe Proceede, to
lackay up, and down, for Duties, and Fees: It being, a prejudici-
ary Judgment, of the latter day?

Is there no Means, to train, and nurse up, Ministers? (For the
field, of the Universities, will not serve, though they were never
so well governed:) To train them, I say, not to Preach. (For that,
every Man, confidently, adventureth, to do;) But to preach
soun'dly, and to handle the Scriptures, with Wisdom, and Judg-
ment, I know, Yongieying, was subject to great Abuse; And
would be more abused now, because Heat of Contentions, is en-
creased: But I say, the only Reason, of the Abuse, was, because,
there was admitted to it, a Popular Audience; And it was not con-
tained, within a private Conference, of Ministers: Other things,
might be spoken of. I pray God, to inspire the Bishops, with a
sourvent Love, and Care, of the People; And that they may not
so much, urge Things in Controversie, as Things out of Con-
troversie; Which all Men, confess, to be Gracious, and Good. And
thus much, for the Second Point.

N. w as to the Third Point, of Unbrotherly Proceeding, on either
Part: It is, directly, contrary to my Purpose, to ampline wrongs.
It is enough, to note, and number them; Which I do also, to
move Compassion, and Remorse, on the Offending Side; And
not, to animate Challengers, and Complaints, on the other. And
this Point, (as Reason is,) doth chiefly touch that side, which
can do most: Injuria potentionum sunt: Injuries, come from them,
that have the upper hand.

The Wrongs of them, which are possessed, of the Government, of
the Church, towards the other, may, hardly, be dissembled, or
Excused. They have charged them, as though, they denied the
of the Church, of England.

but to Caesar: And withdrew from the Civil Magistrate, the Obedience, which they have ever performed, and taught. They have forfaced, and coupled them, with the family of Love, whole Herefores, they have laboured, to destroy, and Confute. They have been swift of Credit, to receive Accusatrons against them, from those, that have quarrelled with them, but for speaking, against Sin, and Vice. Their Accusatrons, and Inquisitions, have been strict, Swearing Men to Blanks, and Generalities: Not included within compas of Matter certain; Which the Party, which is to take the oath, may comprehend, to be, a Thing Captious, and Strainable. Their urging of Subscription, to their own Articles, is but LaxeSere, & irritare, Morbos Ecclesiae; Which otherwise, would frpend, and exercise, themselves. Non concessum quirit, sed diffidium, qui, quod satis pretatur, in verbis exigunt. He seeketh not unity, but Division, which exacteth that in words, which Men are content to yield in action. And it is true, there are some, which, (as I am perfwaded,) will not, easily, offend, by Inconformity, who, notwithstanding, make some conscience, to subscribe. For they know, this Note, of Inconstancy, and Defection, from that, which they have long held, shall disable them, to do that good, with otherwise they mought do: For such is the weaknes of Many, that their Ministry, should be thereby discredited. As for their ease Silencing of them, in such great scarcity of Preachers, it is to punish the People, and not them. Ought they not, (I mean the Bishop,) to keep one Eye open, To looke upon the Good, that the Men do; but to fix them both, upon the Hurt, that they suppose commeth by them? Indeed, such as are temperate, and Incorrigible, God forbid they should be permitted to Preach: But shall every incconfiderate Word, sometimes, captiously watched, and for the most part, hardly encreased, be as a Forfeiture, of their voice, & Gift, in preaching? As for fundry particular Moleftations, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a Minifter, shall be troubled, for saying in Baptifm, Do you believe, for, Dof thou believe? If another, shall be called in question, for praying for her Majesty, without the Additions, of her Stile, whereas, the very form of Prayer, in the Book of Common Prayer, hath, Thy Servant Elizabeth, & no more: If a Third, shall be accused, upon these words, uttered touching the Controverties, Toleratur Lex, & salt Certamen: (Whereby was meant, that the prejudice, of the Law, removed, either Reasons should be equally compared;) Of calling the People, to Sedition, and Mutiny; As if he had said, Away with the Law, and try it out with Force: If these, and other like particulars, be true, which I have, but by Rumour, and cannot affirm; It is to be lamented, that they should labour, amongst us, with so little comfort. I know, Restrained Governments, are better, then Rewifje; And I am, of his mind, that said; Better is to live where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull. I dislike, that Laws should not be continued
An Advertisement touching the Controversies

... or Disturbers be unpunished: But Laws, are likened to the Grape, that being too much pressed, yields, an hard, and un-wholesome, Wine. Of these Things, I must say, That since non operatur Jusitium Dei. The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God.

As for the Injuries, of the other Part, they be hidden murders; As it were, Headless Arrows: They be Fiery, and Eager, Inceivable: And, (in some fond Men,) uncivil, and un reverent, behaviour, towards their Superiors. This last invention also, which exposeth them, to Derision, and Obloquy, by Libels, chargeth not (as I am perswaded,) the whole side: Neither doth that other, which is yet more odious, practised by the worst sort of them; which is, to call in, (as it were, to their Aides, (certain Mercury Bands, which impugn the op, and other Ecclesiasticall Dignities, to have the spoyle, of their Endowments, and Livings,) Of those I cannot speak too hardly. It is an Intelligence, between Incredulities, and Robbers: The one to Fire the House, the other to Rife it.

The Fourth Point, wholly pertaineth to them, which impugn, the present Ecclesiasticall Government; whereas, they have not cut themselves off, from the Body, and Communion, of the Church; yet do they affect, certain Cons frustrances and Differences, wherein they seek to correspond amongst themselves, and to be separate from others. And it is truly said; \textit{Tam sanctamen quidem Schismati ci, quam Dogmatam Schismatica: There be as well Schismaticall Fashions, as Opinions.} First, they have impropriated, unto themselves, the Names of Zealous, Sincere, and Reformed; As if, all others, were Cold, Minglers of Holy Things, and Profane, and Friends of abuses. Yea, be a man induced, with great Virtues, and fruitfull in good works; yet, if he concur not with them, they term him, (in Derogation,) a Civill, and Morall, Man; And compare him, to Socrates, or some Heathen Philosopher: Whereas the Wisdom of the Scriptures, teacheth us otherwise: Namely, to judge, and denounce Men Religions, according to their Works, of the Second Table: Because they of the First, are often Counterfeit, and practised in Hypocrisie. So Saint John faith; \textit{That a Man, is clothed vainly boast, of Loving God, whom he never saw, if he love not his brother, whom he hath seen.} And Saint James faith; \textit{This is true Religion, to visit the Fatherless, and the Widow.} Sooth, which is, with them, but Philosophical, and Morall, is, in the Apostles Phrase, \textit{True Religion, and Christianity.} As in Affection, they challenge, the said Virtues of Zeal, and the rest; So in Knowledge, they attribute unto themselves, I Right, and Perfection: They say, \textit{The Church of England, in King Edward's time, and in the Beginning of her Majesties Reign, was but in the Cradle;} And the Bishops, in those times, did somewhat, for \textit{Day-Break;} But that, \textit{Maturity, and Fulness, of Light, proceeded from themselves. So Sabiniun, Bishop of Hercules, a Macedonian Heretic, said;} That the Fathers, in the Counsell of Nice were but \textit{Infants, and Ignorant Men;} That the Church
Church, was not so perfect in their Decrees, as to refuse, that Further Ripeness, of Knowledge, which Time had revealed. And as they cenfure, porous Names, by the Names of Civil, and Avail, So do they cenfure Men, truly, and godly wife, (who see into the vanity of their Affections,) by the name of Politicks: saying, that their Willome, is but Carnall, and favouring of Mans Brain. So likewise, ita Preachers, preach with Care, and Meditation; (I speak not, of the vain, Scholasticall, Manner of Preaching, But soundly indeed, ordering the Matter, he handleth, distinctly, for Memory; Deducting, and drawing it down, for Direction; and authorizing it, with strong proofs, and warrants;) They cenfure it, as a Form of Speaking, not being comming, the Simplicity of the Gospell; And refer it, to the Repræhenion, of Saint Paul, Speaking, of the Entire Speech, of Mans Wisdom.

Now, for their own Manner of Preaching, what is it? Surely, they exhort well, and work Compunction of Mind: And bring Men well to the Question; Viri, fratres, qual saciunn But that is not enough; Except they resolve the Question. They handle, Matters of Controversy, weakly, and abster, and as before a People, that will accept of any Thing. In Doctrine of Manner, there is little, but Generality, and Repetition. The word, (the Bread of Life,) they tost up and down, they break it not: They draw not, their Directions down, ad causas Scientificas: That a Man may be warranted, in his perpetuall Actions, whether they be Lawfull, or no. Neither, indeed, are many of them, able, to do it; What through want, of Grounded knowledge; What through want, of Study, and Time. It is a Compendious, and easy Things, to call for the Observation of the Sabbath Day; or to speak against unlawful Gaine: But what Actions, and works, may be done upon the Sabbath, and what not; And what Courses, of Gain, are Lawfull, and in what Cases? To set this down, and to clear the whole Matter, with good Distinctions, and Decisions, is a Matter of great Knowledge, and Labour; And asketh much Meditation, and Converging, in the Scriptures, and other Helps, which God hath provided, and preserved, for Instruction.

Again, they carry not, an equall Hand, in Teaching the People, their lawfull Liberty, as well, as their Restraints, and Prohibitions: But they think, a Man, cannot go too far, in that, that hath a shew of a Commandement.

They forget, that there are Sins, on the Right Hand, as well as on the Left; And that, the word is double edged, and cutteth on both Sides; As well the Profane Transgressors, as the superflious Observances. Who doubteth, but that, it is as lawfull, to shut, where God hath opened, as to open, where God hath shut: To bind, where God hath loosed, as to loose, where God hath bound. Amongst Men, it is, commonly, as ill taken, to turn back Favour, as to disobey Commandemets. In this Kind of Zead, (for Example,) they have pronounced, generally, and with-
out difference, all Untruths, unlawful; Notwithstanding, that the Midwives are directly reported, to have been blessed, for their Exeuser: And Rahab, is said, by Faith, to have concealed the Spies. And Solomon's selected Judgement, proceeded upon a Situation: And our Saviour, the more to touch the Hearts, of the two Disciples, with an holy Dalliance, made, as if he would have paffed Errors. Further, I have heard some Sermons of Mortification, which, I think, with very good Meaning, they have preached, out of their own Experience, and Exercise; And Things, in private Counsels, not unmeet: But surely, no Sound Conceits, Much like to Parson's Resolution, or not so good; Apt, to breed in Men, rather weak Opinions, and perplexed Despaires, then Fidius, and True Repentance, which is sought.

Another Point, of great Inconvenience, and perill, is, to entitle the People, to hear Controversies, and all Kinds of Doctrine. They say, no part, of the Counsell, of God, is to be suppressed, nor the People defrauded. So as the Difference, which the Apostle maketh, between Milk, and Strong Meat, is confounded: And his Precept, that the weak, be not admitted, unto Questions, and Controversies, taketh no place.

But most of all is to be suspected, as a Seed of further Inconvenience, their Manner, of Handing the Scriptures. For whilst, they seek expressive, Scripture, for every Thing; And that they have, in a manner, deprived themselves, and the Church, of a speciall Help, and Support, by Embasing, the Authority, of the Fathers; They resort to Naked Examples, Conceited Inferences, and Forced Allusions; such, as do mine, into all Certainty, of Religion.

Another Extremity, is the Excessive Magnifying of that, which though it be a principal, and most holy Inification; yet hath it Limits, as all things else have. We see, wherefoever, in a manner, they find in the Scriptures, The Word, spoken of, they expand it of Preaching. They have made it, in a manner, of the Essence, of the Sacrament, of the Lord's Supper, to have a Sermon precedent. They have, in a sort, annihilated the use of Liturgies, and Former of Divine Service; Although, the House of God be denominated, of the Principall, Domus Orationis; A House of Prayer, and not a House of Preaching. As for the Life, of the good Monks, and Hermits, in the Primitive Church, I know, they will condemn a Man, as half a Papist, if he should maintain them, as other then Prophane, because they heard no Sermons. In the mean time, what Preaching is, and who may be said to Preach, they move no Question. But, as far, as I see, every man, that presumeth to speak in Chair, is accounted a Preacher. But I am assured, that not a few, that call hotly, for a Preaching Ministry, deserve to be the First themselves, that should be expelled. All which Errors, and Misproceedings, they do forlorn, and intrench, by an addicted Respect, to their own Opinions; And an Impatience, to hear Contradiction, or Arguments; yes, I know some of them, that would
that would think it, a Tempting of God, to hear, or read, what may be said against them: As if there could be, A, quod hominem est, territ; without an omnia probare, going before.

This may suffice, to offer unto themselves, a Thought, and Consideration, whether, in these things, they do well, or no? And to correct, and allwage, the Partiality, of their Followers. For as for any Man, that shall, hereby, enter into a Contempt of their Ministry; it is but his own Hardness of Heart. I know, the work of Exhortation, doth chiefly rest upon these Men, and they have Zeal, and Hate, of Sin. But again, let them take Heed, that it be not true, which one of their Adversaries said; That they have but two small wants; Knowledge, and Love. And so I conclude this Point.

The last Point, touching the due Publishing, and Debating, of these Controversies, needeth no long Speech. This strange Abuse, of Antiques, and Paquilis, hath been touched before. So likewise, I repeat that, which I said; That a Character of Love, is more proper for Debates, of this Nature, then that of Zeal: As for all direct, or indirect, Glances, or Levels, at Mens Persons, they were ever, in these Causes, disallowed.

Lastly, whatsoever be pretended, the People is no meet Arbitrator; but rather the quiet, modest, and private Assemblies, and Conferences, of the Learned. Quis apud Incapacem loquitur, non discipitatem, sed calumniatur. The Press, and Pulpit, would be freed, and discharged, of these Contentions: Neither Promotion, on the one Side; nor Glory, and Heat, on the other Side, ought to continue those Challenges, and Cartells, at the Cross, and other Places. But rather, all Preachers, especially such as be of good temper, and have Wisdom with Conscience; ought to inculcate, and beat upon a Peace, Silence, and Serenane. Neither let them fear Solon's Law, which compelled, in factions, every particular Person, to range himself, on the one side; Nor yet, the fond Calumny of Neutrality. But let them know, that is true, which is said by a wise Man; That Neuters, in Contentions, are either better, or worse, then either Side.

These things have I, in all sincerity, and simplicity, set down, touching the Controversies, which now trouble, the Church of England. And that, without all Art, and Infusion. And therefore, not like to be gratefull, to either Part. Notwithstanding, I trust, what hath been said, shall find a Correspondence, in their minds, which are not embarqued in Partiality; And which love the Whole, better then a Part. Wherefore, I am not, out of hope that it may do good; At the least, I shall not repent myself, of the Meditation.

FINIS.
IN
HAPPY MEMORY,
of
ELIZABETH,
QUEEN of ENGLAND.
or,
A COLLECTION,
of
THE
FELICITIES,
of
Queen Elizabeth.

Written by his Lordship in Latin;
and
Engliished by the Publisher.

Queen Elizabeth, both in her Natural Endowments, and her Fortune, was Admirable amongst Women, and Memorable amongst Princes. But this is no Subject, for the Pen of a meer Scholler, or any such cloister'd Writer. For these Men, are eager in their Expressions, but shallow in their Judgements; And perform the Schollers part well, but transmit Things but unfaithfully to Posterity. Certainly, it is a Science, belonging to Stater.
A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen Elizabeth.

...and to such as fit at the helm of great Kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the weight, and secrets, of civil business to handle this matter dextrously. Rare, in all Ages, hath been the reign of a Woman: More rare, the felicity of a Woman, in her reign; but most rare, a permanency, and losing, joyned with that felicity. As for this Lady, she reigned four and fourty years, compleat, and yet thee did not survive her felicity. Of this felicity, I am purposed to say somewhat; yet without any excursus into praises. For praises are the tribute of Men, but felicity the gift of God.

First, I reckon it a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the regal throne, from a private fortune. For this is ingenerate, in the nature, and opinions, of Men, to ascribe that to the greatest felicity, which is not counted upon, and cometh unlooked for. But this is not that I intend. It is this, princes, that are trained up, in their fathers' courts, and to an immediate, and apparent, hope of succession, do get this, by the tenderness, and remissness, of their education, that they become (commonly) less capable, and less temperate, in their affections. And therefore, you shall find those, to have been the ablest, and most accomplished kings, that were tutoured, by both fortunes. Such was with us, King Henry the seventh; and with the French, Lewis the twelfth: Both which, in recent memory, and almost, about the same time, obtained their crowns, not only, from a private, but also from an adverse, and afflicted, fortune; and did both excel, in their several ways; the former in prudence, and the other in justice. Much like was the condition of this princes, whose blossoms, and hopes, were unequally aspected by fortune; that afterwards, when she came to the crown, fortune might prove, towards her, always mild, and constant. For Queen Elizabeth, soon after she was born, was entituled to the succession, in the crown; upon the next turn disinherited again; then layed aside, and slighted, during the reign, of her brother, her estate, was most prosperous, and flourishing; during the reign, of her sister, very tempestuous, and full of hazard. Neither yet, did the palf, immediately, from the prison, to the crown; (which sudden change, might have been enough, to make her cast off all moderation;) but first she regained her liberty; then there buded forth some probable hopes of succession; and lastly, in a great still, and happiness, she was advanced to the imperial crown, without either noise or competition. All which I alledge, that it may appear, that the divine providence, intending to produce, a most exquisite princes, was pleased, to prepare, and mould Her, by these degrees, of discipline. Neither ought the misfortune of her mother, justly to staine, the pure stream of her blood; especially, seeing it is very evident, that King Henry the eighth did first burn, with new loves, before he was enflamed, with indignation, against Queen Anne: Neither
Neither is it unknown, to the Ages, since, that he was a King; naturally prone, to Loves, and Jealousies; And not containing himself, in those cases, from the effusion of Blood. Besides, the very person, for whom she was suspected, sheweth, the Accusation, to be lesse probable, and built upon weak; and frivolous, Suppositions: Which was, both secretly whispered, in many Mens ears, at that Time; And which, Queen Anne her self, testified, by her undaunted courage, and that memorable Speech of hers, at the Time of her Death. For having gotten, (as she supposed,) a faithful and friendly, Messenger, in the very Hour before her Death, she delivered him these words, to relate unto the King; That she had ever found the King, very constant and firm, to his purpose of Advancing her; For first, from the estate of a Gentlewoman, only, and no way pretending to Noble Titles, He raised Her, to the Honour of a Merchiantess; Next, he woulsafed to make her his Comfort, both of his Kingdom, and Bed; And now, that there remained no higher earthly Honour, he meant to crown her Innocency, with the Glory of Martyrdom. But though, the messenger durst not relate these words to the King, who was already enflamed with new Loves; yet certain Tradition, the Conserver of Truth, hath conveyed them to Posterity.

Another principall thing, which I cast into Queen Elizabeths Felicity, was the Time, and Period of her Reign; Not onely for that it was Long, but also, because it fell, into that season, of her Life, which was most Active, and Fittest, for the Swaying of a Scepter. For she was fully Five and Twenty years old, (at which age, the Civill Law freeth from a Curator,) when she came to the Crown; And reigned to the Seventieth year of her Life. So that she never suffered, either the Detriments, of Cupillage, and Check of an Over-running Power; Or the Inconveniences, of an Impotent, and unwieldy, Old-age. And Old-age, is not, without a competent portion of miseries, even to private men; But to Kings, besides the Common Burthen of years, it brings, for the most part, a Declining, in the Estates, they govern, and a Conclusion of their Lives, without Honour. For there hath scarce been known a King, that hath lived, to an Extreme, and Impotent Old-age, but he hath suffered some Detriment, in his Territories, and gone lesse in his Reputation. Of which Thing, there is a most eminent Example, in Philip the Second, King of Spain, a most puissant Prince, and an Excellent Governor; Who, in the last years of his Life, and Impotent Old-age, was sensible of this, whereof we speak; And therefore, with great circumpection, submitted Himself, to Natures Law; Voluntarily surrendered the Territories he had gotten in France; Established a Firm Peace in that Kingdom; Attempted the like in other Places; That so, He might transmit his Kingdoms Peaceable, and Entire, to his next Heir. Contrary-wise, Queen Elizabeths Fortune, was so constant, and deeply rooted, that no
After many of her Dominions, accompanied, her indeed declining, but till able years: Nay further, for an undeniable Token of her Felicity, she died not before the Rebellion in Ireland, was fortunately decided, and quelled, by a Packetthere; Least otherwise, it might have defalked, from the Totall Summer, of her Glory. Now the Condition also, of the People, over whom she reigned, I take to be a Matter, worthy our Observation. For it her Lot had fallen, amongst thode defolate Palmyres, or in Asia, a loft, and extermate Race of Men, a Woman-Prince, might have been sufficient, for a Woman's People; But for the English, a Nation, stout, and war-like, to be ruled by the Check of a Woman, and to yield so humble Obedience to her, is a Thing deserving the highest Admiration.  

Neither was this Disposition of her People, (Hungry of War, and unwillingly bowing to Peace,) any Impediment to her, but that she enjoyed, and maintained: Peace, all her Days. And this Desire, in her, of Peace, together with her fortunate accomplishment thereof, I reckon to be one, of her chiefest Praise. For this was Happy for her Times, Comely for her Sex, and Comfortable to her Conscience. Indeed, about the Tenth year of her Reign, there was an Offer of a Commotion, in the Northern Parts; But it was soon laid asleep, and extinguished: But all her Reign beside, was free from the least Breath, or Air, of Civil Broyles. Now I judge the Peace, maintained by her, to be the more eminent, for two causes; Which indeed make nothing for the Merit of that Peace, but much for the Honour. The one, that it was set off, and made more conspicuous, by the Broyles, and Dissentions, of Neighbouring Nations: As it were, by so many Lights, and Torches: The other, that amidst the Benefits of Peace, the loft not the Honour of Arms: Infomuch, that the Reputation, of the English Arms, was not only preserved, but also advanced by her, upon many glorious Occasions. For the Succours, sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland; The Expeditious by Sea into both the Indies, whereof some circled the whole Globe of the Earth; The Fleets sent into Portugal, and to annoy the Coasts of Spain; And lastly, the often Suppressions, and Overthrows, of the Rebels in Ireland; did both shew the war-like Prowesse of our Nation, to be no whit diminished; And did much encrease the Renown of the Queen.  

There was another Thing, that did greatly advance her Glory: That both by her timely Succours, her Neighbour Kings were settled in their Rightful Thrones; and the Suppliant People, (who by the ill Advisedness of their Kings, were abandoned, and given over, to the Cruelty, of their Ministers: And to the Fury, of the Multitude; and to all manner, of Butchery, and Desolations; were relieved by Her; By reason whereof, they submit unto this Day. Neither was she a Prince, unless Benigne, and Fortunate in the Influence of her Counsels, then of her Succours: As
A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen Elizabeth.

As being One, that had, oftentimes, interceded to the King of Spain, to mitigate his wrath, against his Subjects, in the Netherlands; and to reduce them to his Obedience, upon some tolerable Conditions; And further, as being one, that did perpetually, and upon all occasions, represent to the French Kings, the Observation of their own Edicts, so often declaring, and promising, peace to their Subjects, I cannot deny, but that these good Counsels of hers, wanted the Effect: In the former, I verily believe, for the Universal good of Europe; Least happily, the Ambition of Spain, being unloosed from his Fetters, should have poured itself, (as things then stood,) upon the other Kingdoms, and States of Christendom: And for the latter, the Blood of so many Innocents, with their Wives, and Children; Slain within their own Harbours, and Neafs, by the Scumme of the People, (who like so many Mattises, were let loose, and heartened, and even set upon them, by the State;) would not suffer it; which did continually cry unto God for Vengeance; that so Blood-fucking a Kingdom, might have her fill thereof, in the infinite Slaughters, and Consumption, of a Civil War. Howsoever the perillery, to perform the part of a wife, and loving, Confedrate.

There is another Caufe also, for which we may justly admire, this Peace, so constantly pursued, and maintained, by the Queen. And that is, that it did not proceed, from any Bent, or Inclination, of those Times; But from the Prudence, of her Government, and discreet Carriage of Things. For whereas, she herself, was not without manifest Danger, from an ill affected Party at home, for the Caufe of Religion; And that the Strength and Forces of this Kingdom, were in the Place of a Bulwark, to all Europe, against the then dreadfull, and overflowing Ambition, and Power, of the King of Spain; She might have apprehended just Caufe of a War: But, as she was still ready, with her Council, so she was not, behind hand, with her Forces. And this we are taught by an Event, the most Memorable, of any in our time, if we look upon the Felicity thereof. For when as the Spanish Navy, set forth with such wonderfull Preparations, in all kinds; the Terrou, and Amazement of all Europe; Carried on with almost Assurance of victory; came braving upon our Seas; It took not so much, as one poor Cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one Village, nor landed one Man upon English Ground; But was utterly defeated, and after a shamefull Flight, and many shipwrecks, quite dispersed; So as the Peace, of this Kingdom, was never more Firm, and Solid. Neither was her Felicity, jeffe, in Escaping Treacherous Attempts at home, then in subduing, and Defeating, foreign Invasions. For not a few Treasons, plotted against her Life, were, most fortunately, discovered, and disappointed. And this was no cause, to make her lead, a more fearfull, or diffident, life, than before. No new Excruciate of her Guard; No Immuring her self within her own Walls, or Forbearing to be seen
A Collection of the Feleceities, of Queen Elizabeth.

Sheen abroad; But as one assured, and confident; And that was more mindfull of her Efpcape from Danger, than of the Danger it self, she was constant, to her former Cusromes, and Fashions.

Furthermore, it is worth our labour, to consider the Nature of the Times, in which the Raigned. For there are some Times, fo Barbarous, and Ignorant, that it is no greater matter, to govern People, then to govern a Flock of Sheep. But this Queen, fell upon Times, of singular Learning, and Sufficiency; In which, it was not possible, to be eminent, without admirable Endowments of Wit, and a Rare Temper of Vertue. Again, the Raignes of Women, are, For the most part, obscured by their Husbandst: Upon whom, all their Praises, and worthy Acts, do reflect: As for those, that continue unmarried, it is they that are incomparable, the whole glory, and merit, to themselves. And this was the peculiar Glory of this Princesse; That she had no Props, or Supports, of her Government, but those, that were, of her own making. She had no Brother, the Son of her Mother; No Uncle; None other of the Royal Blood and Lineage, that might be Partner in her Care, and an Upholder of the Regal Dignity. And as for those, whom she raised to Honour, she carried such a discreet Hand over them, and so enter-changed her Favours, as they all strived in Emulation, and Desire, to please her best, and she her self remained, in all Things, an Absolute Princesse. Childlesse she was, and left no Issue behind Her; which was the Case of many, of the most fortunate Princes; Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Trajan, and others. And this is a Case, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both sides; Whilst sorne hold, the want of Children, to be a Diminution, of our Happinesse; As if it should be an Estate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own Persons, and in our Descendants: But others, do account, the want of Children, as an Addition to Earthly Happinesse; In as much, as that Happinesse, may be said, to be compleat, over which Fortune hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leave Children, cannot be.

She had also many Outward Gifts of Nature. A tall Stature; A comely and fair Tale Making; An extraordinary Majesty of Aspect, joyned with a sweetnesse; A most Happy, and Constant Healthfnesse of Body. Unto which I may add, that in the full Possession, both of her Limins, and Spirit, untill her last Sickness, (Having received no Blow from Fortune, Nor Decay from Old Ages;) she obtained that, which Augustus Caesar, so importantly prayed for; An ease and undistempered Passage, out of this World. Which also is reported of Antoninus Pius, that Excellent Emperor; Whose Death, had the Resemblance, of some soft, and pleasing Slumber. So in Queen Elizabeths Disease, there was no ghastly, or fearfull Accident; No Idlenesse of Brain; Nothing unaccustomed to Man in generall. She was not transported, either with desire of Life, or Tedioufnesse of Sickness, or extremity of Pain; She had no grievou:
A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen Elizabeth.

But that fuppose, if vertues of such a Crown, and not wanting to refresh her Self, with Wine, or any Liberall Diet; she was stook with a Terpore, and Frigidity in her Nerves; notwithstanding, which is rare in such Diseases, she retained both her Speech, and Memory, and Motten though but slow and weak, even to the end. And in this Case, she continued, but a few days; so as it cannot be called, the Last Act of her Life, but the First Step to her Death. For as it is, a Miserable Condition, to lose the Faculties, of our Body, buried before us; and to survive long after them; so it is a Fare, and Natural, Conclusion of our Life, when the Senes, are, by little and little, laid asleep, that the Dissolution of the whole, should immediately follow.

I will add one Thing more, to make up, the full Measure, of her Felicity: which is, that she was not only most Happy, in her own Person, but in the Abilities, and vertues of her Servants, and Ministers. For she was served by such Persons, as I suppose, this Island never brought forth the like, before her Times. Now when God beareth a Love to Kings, no doubt, he raiseth up, the Spirit, of Wise Servants, as a concurrent Blessing.

There are two faire Issues, of her Happiness, born to her, since her Death; I conceive, not lesse Glorious, and Eminent, than those she enjoyed alive. The one of her Successor; The other of her Memory. For she hath gotten such a Successor, who, although for his Masculine Vertues, and Blessing of Peculiar, and Addition of Territories, he may be said, to exceed her Greatness; and somewhat to obscure it; notwithstanding, he is most zealous of her Name, and Glory; and doth even give, a Perpetuity to her Acts; Considering both in the Choice of the Persons, and in the Order, & Institutions of the Kingdom, he hath departed so little from her. So as, a Son could hardly succeed a Father, with lesse Noise, or Inovation. As for her Memory, it hath gotten such Life, in the Mouths, and Hearts, of Men, as that, Envy being put out by her Death, and her Fame lighted, I cannot say, whether the Felicity of her Life, or the Felicity of her Memory, be the greater. For if (perhaps) there fly abroad, any factional Flames, of Her, raised either by Discontented Persons, or such, as are averse in Religion; (which notwithstanding, are now scarce blew their Faces, and are every where cried down) The fame, are neither true, neither can they be long liv'd. And for this cause especially, have I made this Collection, (such as it is,) touching her Felicity, and the Marks of God's Favour towards Her. That no malicious Person, should dare to interpose a Curse, where God hath given a Blessing. Now if any Man, shall alledge that against me, which was once said to Cesar; We see what we may admire, but we would fain see what
A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen Elizabeth.

we can commend; Certainly, for my part, I hold true Adoration, to be the highest Degree of Commendation. And besides, such Felicities as we have recounted, could not befall any prince; but such an one, as was extraordinarily supported, and cherisht by God's Favour; And had much in her own Perfor;& Rare Virtues, to create, and work out, unto her self, such a Fortune. Notwithstanding, I have thought good, to insert something now, concerning her Moral Part; Yet only in those things, which have minutest occasion, to some Malicious Tongues, to traduce her. This Queen, as touching her Religion, was Pious; Moderate, Constant, and an Enemy to Novelty. First for her Piety; Though the same were most conspicuous, in her Acts, and the Form of her Government; yet it was Portrayed also, in the common Course of her Life, and her daily Comportment. Seldom would she be absent, from Hearing Divine Service, and other Duties of Religion, either in her Chappell, or in her Priory Closets. In the reading of the Scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers, especially of Saint Augustine, she was very Frequent: She composed certain Prayers, her self, upon emergent occasions. Whenevr the named God, though it were in common discourse, she would, for the most part, add, The Title of Maker; saying; God my Maker: And compose, both her Eyes, and Countenance, to a Submissif, and Reverence. This I have often (my self) observed, being in her presence. Now whereas some have divulged her unmeaning ife of Mortality, in that she would never endure any Mention, either of her Age, or Death, it is most false: For the would often, and that, many years, before her Death, with a great deal of Meekness, profess'd, that she found her self grown, an old Woman; And she would, sometimes, open her self, what the lik'd beft, for an Inscription upon her Tombe; saying; That she loved no pompous, or vain-glorious Titles, but would onely have, a Line, or two, for her Memory; wherein, her Name, and her Virginity; and the years of her Reigns; and her Establishing of Religion; and her Maintaining of Peace; should be, in the fewest words, comprehended. It is true, that whilst she was in her vigorous years, and able to bear Children, if at any time she were moved, to declare her Successour; she would make Answer; That she would never endure, to see her winding sheet, before her Eyes. And yet notwithstanding, some few years, before her death, one day, when she was in a deep Meditation, and, (as it may be guessed,) in that of her Mortality, One, that might be bold, said unto her; Madam, there are divers Offices, and great Places in the State, which you keep too long void: She arofe up, in some displeasure, and said; I am sure, my Office will not be long void.

As for her Moderateness in Religion, I shall seem to be at a stand, in regard of the Severe Laws, made against her Subjects, of the Roman Religion. Notwithstanding, that which I shall say, is no more, than what I know for certain, and diligently observ'd.
Moist certain it is, that it was the Firm Resolution, of this Princess, not to offer any Violence to Consciences: But then, on the other Side, not to suffer the State of her Kingdom, to be ruined, under pretence of Consciences, and Religion. Out of this Fountain, the concluded; First, That to allow Freedom, and Toleration, of two Religions, by publick Authority, in a Nation Fierce, and Warlike; And that would easily fall, from Diffention of Minds, to Siding and Blowes, would bring inevitable Ruin to this Kingdom. Again, in the Newness of her Reign, when there was a general Disturft, she sninged out some of the Bishops, of the most Turbulent, and Factious, Spirits, and committed them to free Custody; And this not without the warrant of Former Laws; As for the Reft, either of the Clergy, or Latiy, she did not ransom their Consciences, by any Severe Inquisition, but rather secured them, by a gracious Connivency. And this was the State of Things, at the first. Neither did she depart, from this Clemency, when the Excommunication of Pius Quintus, came Thundring against her; which might both justly have provoked her, and have ministr'd occasion, to new Courses; But howsoever, she followed her Royal Nature still. For, as a wise Lady, and of a high Courage, she was not a whit terrified, at the Roaring of a Bull; Being well assured, of her People's Love, and Fidelity, towards her; As also of the Disability, of the Popish Faction, within the Kingdom, to do her Hurt, if no Foreign Enemy joined with them. But then, about the third and twentieth year of her Reign, there followed a Mighty Change. And this Distinction of the Times, is not any Device of mine, but it is express'd in the publick Acts of that Time, and as it were, cut in Brass. For before that year, was there never any Capital or severe Punishment, inflicted upon any of her Subjects, as they had Relation to the Romish Religion, by the Laws formerly made. But just then, began that proud, and vail Intention of Spain, to conquer this Kingdom, by little and little, to shew it Self. Of this, the principal Part was, to stir up, by all means, a Party within the Kingdom, of such, as were ill affected to the State, and desirous of Innovation, that might adhere to the Foreigner, at his Landing. For this, they had no other Hopes, then the Difference in Religion. Wherefore, they fet it down, to pursue this Course, with all their power. And the Seminaries, at that time, budding, Priests were sent into England, to plant, and disperse, a Love, to the Romish Religion; To teach, and inculcate, the power, of the Popes Excommunication, in freeing Subjects from their Allegiance; And to awaken, and prepare, the minds of Men, to an Expectation, of a Change. About the same time, Ireland also was attempted by an Invasion; And the Queen's Name, and Government, traduced, by Sundry, and scandalous Libels: To be short, there was an usual Swelling in the State, the Forerunner of greater Troubles. Yet I will not affirm, that every Priest, which was sent over, was made of
of the Counsell, or Privy to the Enterprize; But that, some of them became the wicked Instruments only, of other Men Malicious. No: Withstanding, this is true, and witnessed, by the Confessions of many, that almost all the Priests, which were sent into this Kingdom, from that aforesaid year, unto the Thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; (At what time, that Design of the Pope, and Spain, was put into execution, by those memorable Preparations, of the Navy, and Land-Forces,) Had in their Instructions, besides other Parts of their Function, to disfill, and inform, into the People, these Particulars: It was impossible, things should continue, at this Day; They should see, ere long, a great change, in this State; That the Pope, and Catholick Princes, were careful for the English, if they would, not be wanting to themselves. Again, sundry of the Priests, did manifestly interpose themselves, into those Consultations, and Plots, which tended, to the undermining, and Ruining, of this Kingdom: And, (which especially moved her,) Letters were intercepted, out of divers parts, that discovered, the true Face of the Plot; In which was written, that they doubted not, to go beyond, the vigilance, of the Queen, and State, in the Matter of Catholicists: For the Queen would easily have an eye, least there should arise, any Fitzhead, in the Person of some Lord, or other Eminent Gentleman of quality, under whom the Catholicists might unite: But they had thought upon another course; As namely, by private Men, and those but of mean Rank, that should not confer, nor scarce know, of each others employ, to prepare, and mature, the Bilineffe, by the Secrecy of Confession. And these were their Engines then, which, (as hath appeared since, in a case not much unlike,) are usuall, and familiar, to that Order of Men. In this great Deluge of Danger, there was a Necessity imposed, upon Queen Elizabeth, to restrain, by some sharper Bands of Lawers, that part of her Subjects, which were alienated from her, and had drunk, too deep a Draught, of this Poyson, ever to recover; And further, which by their retired Living, and Exemption from publick Offices, were grown very Rich: And moreover, the Milchiff daily growing, when as the Cause thereof, was ascribed, to none other, then the Seminary Priests; Who had been nourished, in Foreign Parts, and received Exhibition, from the Bounty, and Almes, of Foreign Princes, professed Enemies to this State; And who had conversed in such places, where the Name of Queen Elizabeth, was never heard, but as of an Heretic, and Excommunicate, and Accursed Person; And who, though themselves, (sometimes,) had no hand in Treason, yet they were known, to be the intimate Friends, of them that had; And lastly, who by their Arts, and Poysons, had infected, and foured, the Maffe, and Lump, of the Catholicists, which, before, was more Sweet, and Harmless, with a new kind of Leaven, and desperate Maliciousness; There could no other Remedy be devis'd, but by forbidding such Persons, to enter into this Kingdom.
done, upon pain of their Lives: Which, at last, in the 27th, year of her Reign, was done accordingly. Nay, and when the event it self, had confirmed this to be true; (I mean, immediately after that the dreadfull Tempest, arose from Spain, threatening no lesse then utter defolation;) yet did it nothing moleifie, or turn, the edge, of these Mens, Mallice, and Fury; but rather whetted it; As if they had cast off, all Naturaall Asi&ation, to their Country. As for the Times succeeding, (I mean after the Thirtieth year of her Reign,) though indeed our Fear of Spain, which had been the Spur to this Rigour, had fairly breathed out, or was well abated; yet considering the Memory of Times past, had made so deep Imprison, in Mens Hearts, and Cegitations; And that it would have seemed, either Inconueniency, to repeal those former Laws, or Sloth, to neglect them; The very Constitution of Things, did suggest to the Queen, that it was not safe, to reduce them unto that State, wherein they had continued, untill the three & twentieth year of her Reign. Hereunto may be added, the Industry of some Persons, in improving the Revenues of the Exchequer; And the Zeal of some other Ministers of Justice, which did never think their Country safe, unleasle the Laws were rigorously executed; All which, did importune, and press the Execution, of the Laws. Notwithstanding the Queen, for a manifext Token, of her Royal Nature, did so dully, the edge of the Laws, that but a very few Priests, in respect of their Number, did suffer death. Now all this, which I have said, is not by way of Defence: For the Matter needes it not. For neither, could this Kingdom, have been safe without it; Neither were the Proceedings, any way, comparable, or of kinn, to those bloody, and unchristianly Massacres, in the Catholic Countries; Which proceeded, merelie, from Rancour, and Pride, and not from any necessity of State. Howsoever, I hope, I have made my first Assertion good; That she was Moderate in the Point of Religion; And that the Change, which happened, was not in her Nature, but upon the necessity of the Times.

Now for the Constancy, of Queen Elizabeth, in Religion, and the observance thereof, I know no better Argument then this; That although she found the Romish Religion, confirmed, in her Sisters days, by All of Parliament; And establisht by all strong, and potent, Meanes, that could be devisd; And to have taken, deep Root, in this Kingdom; And that all those, which had any Authority, or bare Office in the State, had subscrib'd to it; yet for that the law, it was not agreeable, to the Word of God, nor to the Primitivse Purity, nor to her own Conscience, the did, with a great deal of Courage, and with the assistance, of a very few Persons, quite expell, and abolish it. Neither, did she this, by precipitate, and Heady Courses, but Timing it wisely, and soberly. And this may well be conjectured, as from the Thing it self, so also by an Answer of hers, which she made upon occasion. For
within a very few days of her Commings to the Crown, when many Prisoners were released, out of Prison; (as the Custom is at the Inauguration of a Prince;) There came to her, one day, as she was going to Chappell, a certain Courtier, that had the Liberty of a Buffone; And either, out of his own Motion, or by the Instigation, of a wiser Man, presented her with a Petition; And before a great number of Courtiors said to her, with a loud voice, 'That there were yet four or five Prisoners, unjustly detained in Prison; He came, to be a Sufferer, to have them set at Liberty.' Those were, the four Evangelists, and the Apostle Saint Paul; who had been long shut up, in an unknown tongue, as it were in Prison, so as they could not converse, with the common People. The Queen answered very gravely: 'That it was best first, to enquire of them, whether they would be set at liberty, or not.' Thus she silenced an unseasonable Motion, with a doubtfull Answer. As referring the Matter wholly, in her own Power. Neither did she bring in this Alteration, tumultously, or by pieces, but in a grave, and mature, Manner, after a Conference betwixt both Sides, and the Calling, and Conclusion of a Parliament. And thus, within the Compass of one year, she did so establish, and settle, all Matters, belonging to the Church; as she departed not, one Hair of Breadth, from them, to the end of her Life. Nay, and her usuall Custom was, in the beginning of every Parliament, to forewarn the House, not to question, or innovate, any thing, already established, in the Discipline, or Rites of the Church. And thus much of her Religion.

Now if there be any Severer Nature, that shall tax her, for that she suffered herself, and was very willing, to be courted, wooed, and to have Sonnets made in her Commendation; And that she continued this, longer, then was decent for her years; Notwithstanding, if you will take this Matter at the best, it is not without singular Admiration; Being much like unto that, which we find in Fabulous Narrations, of a certain Queen, in the Fortunate Islands, and of her Court, and Factions, where Fair purpoze, and Love-making was allowed, but Laiciariednisse banished: But if you will take it at the worst, even, to it amounteth, to a more high Admiration; Considering that these Courtships, did not much eclipse her Fame, and not at all her Majesty; Neither, did they make her, lesse Apt for Government, or check, with the affaires, and business, of the Publick. For such passages as these, do often entertain the time, even with the greatest Princes. But to make an end of this Discourse. Certainly, this Princess was Good, and Morall: And such, she would be acknowledged: She Detested Vice; And directed, to purchase Fame, only by honourable Courties: And indeed, while I mention her Morall Parts, there comes a certain passage into my mind, which I will insert. Once, giving order, to write to her Embassador, about certain Instructions, to be delivered, apart, to the Queen Mother, of the House of Valois: And that her Secretary, had inserted a certain Clause, that the Emb.
A Collection, of the Felicitie, of Queen Elizabeth.

baffling should say, as it were, to endear her, to the Queen Mo-

ther; That they two, were the only pair, of Female Princes, from whom, 
for experience, and Arts of Government, there was no less expected,
then from the greatest Kings: She utterly disliked the Comparison,
and commanded it to be put out, saying; That she practised, other 
principles, and Arts of Government, then the Queen Mother did. Be-
side, she was not a little pleased, if any one should fortune to tell
her, that suppose, she had lived in a private Fortune, yet she could
not have escaped, without some Note of Excellency, and Singula-
ritv, in her Sex. So little did she desire, to borrow, or be beholding
to her Fortune, for her Praise. But if I should wade further,
into this Queenes Praisers, Merall, or Politick, either, I must slide
into certain Common places, and Heads of Virtue, which were not
worthy of so great a Princeesse; Or if I should desire, to give her
Virtue, the true Grace, and Lustrc, I must fall into a History of
her Life; Which requireth, both better Leisure, and a better Pen,
then mine is. Thus much in brief, according to my ability:
But to say the Truth; The only Commander, of this Ladies virtues, is
Time; Which, for asmany Ages, as it hath runn, hath not yet
shewed us, one of the Female Sex, equall to Her, in the Adminis-
tration of a Kingdom.
SEVERALL DISCOURSES
Written, in the Dayes
OF KING JAMES,
Whereof, some of them,
PRESENTED TO
His Majesty.

BEING,

A brief Discourse, of the Union, of England and Scotland.
Articles, and Considerations, touching the Union, asfofaid.
A Beginning of the History of Great Britain.
A Letter, and Discourse, to Sir Henry Savill, touching Helps, for the Intellectual Powers.
Certain Considerations, touching the better Pacification, and Edification, of the Church of England.
Certain Considerations, touching the Plantation, in Ireland.
Advice to the King, touching Suttons Estate.
A Proposition, to the King, touching the Compiling and Amendment, of the Laws, of England.
A Fragment, of an Essay, of Fame.

By the Right Honourable
FRANCIS BACON
Baron of Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban.

LONDON,
Printed by S. Griffin, for William Lee, and are to be sold at his
Shop in Fleetstreet, at the sign of the Turks-head, near the
Mitre Tavern, 1657.
SERMON
DISCOURS
VIVIFIED BY THE DEATH
OF
KING JAMES
PRESENTED TO
His Majesty
A BRIEFE
DISCOURSE,
Of the Happy
UNION,
OF THE
KINGDOMES,
OF
ENGLAND, and SCOTLAND;

Dedicated, in Private,
TO
HIS MAJESTY.

Do not find it strange, (excellent King,) that when Heraclitus, (he that was surnamed, the Obfcurc,) had set forth a certain Book, (which is not now extant,) many Men took it, for a Discourse of Nature; And many others took it, for a Treatise of Policy. For there is a great Affinity, and Consent, between the Rules of Nature, and the true Rules of Policy: The one being nothing else, but an Order, in the Government, of the World; And the other, an Order, in the Government, of an Estate. And therefore the Education, and Erudition, of the Kings of Persia, was in a Science, which was termed, by a Name, then, of great
great Reverence; but now degenerates, and taken in the ill part. For the Persian Magic, which was the secret Literature of their Kings, was an Application, of the Contemplations, and Observations of Nature, unto a fenee Politick; Taking the Fundamental Laws of Nature, and the Branches, and Passages of them, as an Original, or first Modell; whence to take, and describe, a Copy, and Imitation, for Government.

After this manner, the foresaid Infradours, set before their Kings, the Examples of the celestial Bodies; The Sun, the Moon, and the rest; which have great Glory, and veneration, but no Rest, or Intermisjon: Being in a perpetual Office of Motion, for the Cherishing, (in turn, and in Course,) of Inferior Bodies: Expressing, likewise, the true manner, of the Motions, of Government; which, though they ought to be, Swift, and Rapide, in respect of Dispatch, and Occasions; yet are they to be, Constant, and Regular, without Waving, or Confusion.

So did they represent unto them, how the Heavens, do not enrich themselves, by the Earth, and the Sea; Nor keep no dead Stock, nor untouched Treasures, of that they draw to them from below; But whatsoever Moiture, they do levy, and take, from both Elements, in Vapours, they do spend, and turn back again, in Showers, Only holding, and storing them up, for a time, to the End, to issue, and distribute them, in Season.

But, chiefly, they did express, and expound unto them, that Fundamental Law of Nature; whereby all things do subsist, and are preserved: which is, that every Thing in Nature, although it hath his private, and particular, Affection, and Appetite; And doth follow, and pursue the fame, in small Moments; And when it is free, and delivered, from more general, and common, Respects; yet, nevertheless, when there is Question, or Case, for Sustaining of the more General, they forsake their own Particulars, and attend, and conspire, to uphold the publick.

So we see, the Iron, in small Quantity, will ascend, and approach, to the Loadstone, upon a particular Sympathy: But if it be, any Quantity of moment, it leaveth his Appetite, of Amity to the Loadstone, and like a good Patriot, falleth to the Earth, which is the Place, and Region, of Mossy Bodies.

So again the Water, and other like Bodies, do fall, towards the Center of the Earth; which is, (as was said,) their Region, or Country: And yet we see, nothing more usuall, in all Water Works, and Engines, then that the Water, (rather then to suffer any Difraction, or Disunion, in Nature,) will ascend, Forsaking the Love, to his own Region, or Countrey, and applying itself, to the Body, next adjoyning.

But it were, too long a Digression, to proceed, to more Examples, of this Kind. Your Majesty, your self, did fall, upon a Passage, of this Nature, in your gracious Speech of Thanks unto your Counsell; when acknowledging, Princely, their Vigilances, and
well Deneyings, it pleased you to note, that it was a succedee, and Event, above the Course of Nature, to have so great a change, with so great a quiet. Forasmuch, as sudden Mutations, as well in state, as in Nature, are rarely, without violence, and perturbation. So as still I conclude, there is, (as was said,) a Congruity, between the Principles of Nature, and Policy. And left that Influence, may seem to oppose, to this Affectation, I may, even in that particular, with your Majesties favour, offer unto you, a Type, or Pattern in Nature, much resembling, this Event, in your State; Namely Earthquakes, which many of them, bring ever, much Terror, and wonder, but no Actual Hurt; The Earth trembling for a Moment, and suddenly stillishing, in perfect Quiet, as it was before.

This Knowledge then, of making, the Government of the World, a Mirror, for the Government of a State, being a Wildome almost lost (Whereof the Reason, I take to be, because of the Difficulty, for one Man, to embrace both Philosophies;) I have thought good, to make some proof, (as far as my weakness, and the Straights, of Time, will suffer,) to revive, in the Handling, of one particular, wherewith now I most humbly present your Majesty: For surely, as hath been said, it is a Form of Discourse, anciently used, towards Kings; And to what King, should it be proper, then to a King that is studious, to conjoin contemplative Vertue, and Active Vertue together?

Your Majesty, is the first King, that had the Honour, to be Lapis Anglicus, to unite, these two Mighty, and warlike, Nations, of England, and Scotland, under one Sovereignty, and Monarchy. It doth not appear, by the Records, and Memories, of any true History; Or scarcely, by the Fiction, and Pleasure, of any Fabulous Narration, or Tradition; That ever, of any Antiquity, this Island, of Great Britain, was united, under one King, before this day. And yet there be no Mountains, nor Seas, nor Hills; There be no Sea, or great Rivers; There is no Diversitv, of Tongue, or Language, that hath invited, or provoked, this ancient separation, or Divorce. The Lot of Spain was, to have the severall Kingdoms, of that Continent, (Portugall only except,) to be united, in an Age, not long past; And now, in our Age, that of Portugall also, which was the last that held out, to be incorporate, with the rest. The Lot of France, hath been, much about the same time, likewise, to have reannexed, unto that Crown, the severall Dutchies, and Portions, which were in former times, dismembered. The Lot of this Island, is the last, refered for your Majesties happy times, by the special Providence, and Favour, of God; who hath brought your Majesty, to this happy Conjunction, with great Consent of Hearts, and in the strength of your years, and in the Maturity of your Experience. It reflecteth, but that, (as I promised,) I fet before your Majesties Princely Consideration, the Grounds of Nature, touching the Union, and Cont-
mixture
A Discourse of the Union of England, and Scotland.

mixture, of Bodies; And the Correspondence, which they have, with the Grounds of Policy, in the Conjunction, of States, and Kingdoms.

First, therefore, that Position; that is unita fortiori; Being one of the common Notions of the Mind, needeth not much, to be induced, or illustrate.

We see the Sunne, when he entreth, and while he continueth, under the sign of Leo, causeth more vehement Hearts; then when he is in Cancer; what time, his Beams, are, nevertheless, more perpendicular. The Reason whereof, in great part, hath been truly ascribed, to the Conjunction, and Con-Radiation, in that place of Heaven, of the Sunne, with the four Stars, of the first Magnitude; Sirius, Canicula, Cor Leonis, and Canis Leonis.

So the Moon, likewise, by ancient Tradition, while she is in the fame Sign, of Leo, is said, to be at the Heart; which is not, for any Affinity, which that place of Heaven, can have, with that part, of Mans Body; But only, because the Moon is then, by reason of the Conjunction, and Nearness, with the Stars afore-mentioned, in greatest strength of Influence; And so, worketh upon that part, in Inferior Bodies, which is most Vital, and Principal.

So we see, Waters, and Liquours, in small Quantity, do, easily, putrefy, and corrupt; but in large Quantity, subvert long, by reason, of the Strength, they receive, by Union.

So in Earthquakes, the more general, do little hurt, by reason, of the united weight, which they offer to subvert; but narrow, and particular, Earthquakes, have, many times, overturned, whole Towns, and Cities.

So then, this Point, touching the Force of Union, is evident. And therefore, it is more fit, to speak, of the Manner of Union; wherein, again, it will not be pertinent, to handle one Kind of Union, which is Union by Victory, when one Body, doth, meerly, subdue another, and converteth the same, into his own Nature; Extinguishing, and Expelling, what part soever of it, it cannot overcome. As when the Fire, converteth the Wood, into Fire, purging away the Smoke, and the Ashes, as unapt Matter, to enflame: Or when the Food, of a Living Creature, doth convert, and assimilate, Food, and Nourishment, purging, and expelling, whatsoever it cannot convert For these Representations, do answer, in matter of Policy, to Union of Countries, by Conquest; where the Conquering State, doth extinguish, extirpate, and expulse, any part of the State Conquered, which it findeth to contrary, as it cannot alter, and convert it. And therefore, leaving violent Unions, we will consider, only, of Natural Unions.

The Difference is excellent, which the best Observers, in Nature, do take, between Composition, and Mixture; putting together, and mingling: The one, being but a Conjunction, of Bodies, in place, the other, in Quality, and Content: The one, the Mother of Sedition, and Alteration: The other, of Peace, and Continuance.
A Discourse, of the Union, of England, and Scotland.

Continuance: The one, rather a confusion, then an Union, the other, properly, an Union. Therefore, we see, those Bodies, which they call imperfect mixits, last nor, but are speedily dissolved. For take, for Example, Snow or Frost, which are Composition, of Air, and Water; And in them, you may behold, how mildly they fever, and dissolve, the Water, closing together, and excluding the Air.

So those three Bodies, which the Alchymists do so much celebrate, as the three Principle of Things; That is to say; Earth, Water, and Oyl (which it please them to term, Salt, Mercury, and Sulphur;) we see, if they be united, onely, by Composition, or putting together, how weakly, and rudely, they do incorporate: For Water, and Earth, maketh, but an imperfect frame: And if they be forced together, by Agitation, yet upon a little settling, the Earth refideth in the Bottome. So Water, and Oyl, though by Agitation, it be brought into an Ointment, yet after a little settling, the Oil will float on the Top: So as such imperfect mixtures, continue no longer, then they are forced; And still, in the end, the wortliest geteth above.

But otherwise it is, of perfect Mixtures. For we see, these three Bodies, of Earth, Water, and Oil, when they are joyned, in a Vegetable, or Mineral, they are so united, as without great suubility of Art, and Force of Extraction, they cannot be separated, and reduced, into the same simple Bodies, again. So as the Difference, between Composition, and Mixture, clearly set down, is this: That Composition, is the Joining, or putting together, of Bodies, without a new Form; And Mixture, is the Joining, or putting together, of Bodies, under a new Form. For the new Form, is Common Vinculum; And without that the old Forms, will be at Strife, and Discord.

Now to reflect, this Light of Nature, upon Matter, of Estate: There hath been, put in practice, in Government, these two several kinds, of Policy in Uniting, and Conjoining, of States, and Kingdoms: The one to retain the ancient Form, still fevered, and onely conjoin'd in Sovereignty: The other, to super induce a new Form, agreeable, and convenient, to the entire Estate. The former of these, hath been more usual, and is more Easie; but the latter is more Happy. For if a Man, do attentively revolve, Historier of all Nations, and judge truly thereupon, he will make this Conclusion: That there was never any State, that were good Mixture, but the Romans. Which, because it was the best State of the World, and is the best Example of this Point, we will chiefly insist thereupon.

In the Antiquities of Rome, Virgill bringeth in Jupiter, by way of Oracle, or Prediction, speaking of the Mixture, of the Trojans, and the Italians.
A Discourse of the Union, of England, and Scotland.

 usurpation of Patria, more and more, 
Dei est Nomen exi; Commixit incorporating, 
Subsident Teuc: a, Memes, &c.

Adscitium; faciantque omnes no} re Latinos.

Ille Genus Autonio misfum, quod linguines surget, 
Supra Homines, supra ur Deos, pietate vindicis.

Wherein, Jupiter, maketh a kind of Partition, or Distribution; That, Italy should give the Language, and the Laws; Troy should give a Mixture, of Mest, and some Religious Rites; And both People, should meet in one Name, of Latines.

Soon after the Foundation, of the City of Rome, the People of the Romans, and the Sabines, mingled, upon equal Terms. Wherein, the Interchange, went so even, that, (as Livy notes,) the one Nation gave the Name, to the Place; the other, to the People. For Rome continued the Name, but the people were called Quirites; which was the Sabine word, derived of Cures, the Country of Latins.

But that, which is chiefly to be noted, in the whole Continuance, of the Roman Government; they were so liberal, of their Naturalizations, as, in effect, they made perpetuall Mixtures. For the manner was, to grant the same, not only to particular persons, but to Families, and Lineages; And not only so, but to whole Cities, and Countries. So as, in the end, it came to that, that Rome was Communis Patria, as some of the Civilians call it.

So we read of Saint Paul, after he had been beaten with Rods, and thereupon charged the Officer, with the violation, of the Privilege, of a Citizen, of Rome; The Captain said to him; Art thou then a Roman? That Privilege hath cost me dear. To whom Saint Paul replied; But I was so born, And yet, in another place, Saint Paul, professeth himself, that he was a Jew, by Tribe: So as it is manifest, that some of his Ancestors, were naturalized; and so it was conveyed to him, and their other Descendants.

So we read, that it was one, of the first Despites, that was done, to Julius Cesar; That whereas he had obtained Naturalization, for a City in Gaule, one of the City was beaten with Rods, of the Conful Marcellus.

So we read, in Tacitus, that in the Emperor Claudius' time, the Nation of Gaule, (that part which is called Comata, the wilder part,) were Suitsors, to be made capable, of the honour, of being Senators, and Officers, of Rome. His words are these: Cum de supplendo Senatu, ab accipere, primores, quaeGa His were Carophy Romana pridem afferturi, jus adipsis-condorum in urbe Honorum, expetent; multus, cù super se, variusque Romor, & studis diversis, apud Principes, certabatur. And in the end, after long debate, it was ruled, they should be admitted.

So likewise, the Authority of Nicholas Machiavel, seemeth not to be contemned; who, enquiring the Causes, of the Growth,
of the Roman Empire, doth give Judgement; There was not one greater then this; That the State, did so easily compound, and incorporate with strangers.

It is true, that most Estates, and Kingdomes, have taken the other Course. Of which this effect hath followed; That the Addition, of further Empire, and Territory, hath been, rather, matter of Burthen, then matter of Strength, unto them: yea and further, it hath kept alive, the Seeds, and Roots, of Revolts, and Rebellions, for many Ages: As we may see, in a fresh, and notable Example; of the Kingdom of Aragon: Which, though it were united, to Castile, by Marriage, and not by Conquest; And so descended in Hereditary Union, by the space of more then an 100 years; yet because it was continued, in a divided Government, and not well Incorporated, and Cemented, with the other Crowns; Entred into a Rebellion, upon point of their Fueros, or Liberties, now of very late years.

Now to speak briefly, of the several parts, of that form, whereby States, and Kingdomes, are perfectly united; They are, (besides the Sovereignty it self,) four in Number; Union in Name; Union in Language; Union in Laws; Union in Employments.

For Name, though it seem, but a superficial, and Outward Matter, yet it carrieth much Impression, and Enchantment: The General, and common Name, of Grecia made the Greeks, always apt to unite, (though otherwise full of Divisions, amongst themselves,) against other Nations, whom they called Barbarous. The Helvetian Name, is no small Band, to knit together, their Leagues, and Confederacies, the fatter. The common Name of Spain; (no doubt,) hath been, a speciall means, of the better union, and Conglutation, of the severall Kingdomes, of Castile, Aragon, Granada, Navarie, Valentia, Catalonia, and the rest; Comprehending also, now lately Fingall.

For Language, it is not needful to insist upon it; because both your Majesties Kingdomes, are of one Language, though of severall Dialects; And the Difference, is so small, between them, as prominent, rather an inrushing, of one Language, then a continuance of two.

For Laws, which are the Principall Sinnewes of Government, they be of three Natures; Juris, which I will term Freedoms, or Abilities; Leger; and Mores.

For Abilities, and Freedoms, they were amongst the Romans, of four Kinds, or rather Degrees. Jus Connubii, Jus Civitatis; Jus Suffragii, and Jus Petitionis, or Honorum. Jus Connubii, is a thing in these times, out of use: For Marriage is open, between all Diversities, of Nations, Jus Civitatis, answerrth to that, we call Denization, or Naturalization. Jus Suffragii, answerrth to the Voice in Parliament. Jus Petitionis, answerrth to place in Counsell, or office. And the Romans, did, many times, sever these Freedoms, granting of
For those, we called Leger, it is a Matter of Curiosity, and Inconveniency, to seek either to extirpate all particular Customs, or to draw all Subjects, to one Place; or resort, of judicature, and Session. It sufficeth, there be an Uniformity, in the Principall, and Fundamentall Laws, both Ecclesiasticall, and Civill: For in this Point, the Rule holdeth, which was pronounced by an Ancient Father, touching the Diversity, of Rules; in the Church: For finding the Vesture, of the Queen, in the Psalter, (which did prefigure the Church,) was of divers Colours; And finding again, that Christ's Coat, was without a seam; he concludes well, in verse christas sit, sessura non sit.

For Manners, a Consent in them, is to be sought indifferently, but not to be enforced: For Nothing amongst People, breedeth so much pertinacity, in holding their Customs; as sudden, and violent, offer to remove them:

And as for Employments; it is no more, but in indifferent Hand, and Execution of, that Verse 7.

Tris, Tyrinque mibi nulla discrimine agetur.

There remaineth, only, to remember, out of the Grounds of Nature, the two Conditions, of Perfect mixture; Whereof the former is Time. For the Natural Philosophers say well, that Compositio is Opus Hominis; and Natura Opus Nature. For it is the Duty of Adam, to make a fit Application, of Bodies together: But the perfect Fermentation, and Incorporation, of them, must be left to Time, and Nature. And unnaturall Hastening thereof, doth disturb the work, and not dispatch it.

So we see, after the Craft, is put into the Stock, and bound, it must be left to Time, and Nature, to make that Continuum, which, at the first, was but Contiguum. And it is not any continuall preffing, or Thrusting together, that will prevent Nature's season, but rather hinder it. And so in Liquors, those Commixtures, which are, at the first, troubled, grow after, clear, and settled, by the benefit of Rest, and Time.

The Second Condition is; That the greater draw the leffe. So we see, when two Lights do meet, the greater, doth darken, and, dim the leffe. And when a smaller River, runneth into a greater, it loogeth both his Name, and Stream. And hereof, to conclude, we see an excellent Example, in the Kingdoms of Judah, and Israel. The Kingdom of Judah, contained Two Tribes; The Kingdom of Israel, contained Ten: King David, reigned, over Judah, for certain years; And after the Death of Ishboftab, the Son of Saul, obtained, likewise, the Kingdom of Israel. This Union continued in him, & likewise in his Son Solomon, by the space of 70 years, at least, between them both: But yet, because the Seat, of the Kingdom,
was kept still in Judah, and so the lesse sought to draw the greater; upon the first occasion offered, the Kingdomes brake again, and so continued ever after.

Thus having, in all Humbleness, made Oblation, to your Majesty, of these simple Fruits, of my Devotion, and Studies; I do wish, and do with it, not in the Nature, of an Impossibility, (to my Apprehensions) That this happy Union, of your Majesty's two Kingdomes, of England, and Scotland, may be in as good an Hour, and under the like Divine Providence, as that was, between the Romans, and the Sabines.
CERTAIN ARTICLES, OR, CONSIDERATIONS, TOUCHING THE UNION, OF THE KINGDOMES, OF ENGLAND, AND SCOTLAND;

Collected, and dispersed, for His MAJESTIES better Service.

OUR Majesties, being (I do not doubt,) directed, and conducted, by a better Oracle, than that, which was given for Light, to Aeneas, in his Peregrination; (Antiquam exquirite Matrem;) hath a Royall, and, indeed, an Heroicall, Desire, to reduce these two Kingdomes, of England, and Scotland, into the Unity, of their Ancient Mother Kingdome of Britaine. Wherein, as I would gladly applaud unto your Majestie, or sing aloud that Hymne, or Antheme; Sic itur ad Astra; So, in a more loft, and sub-missive voice, I must, neces...
Articles, touching the Union, of England, and Scotland,

necessarily, remember, unto your Majesty, that Warning, or Ca-
veat; Ardei, qua Pulchra; It is an Action, that requireth, yea,
and needeth much, not only of your Majesties Wisdom, but of
your Felicity. In this Argument, I presumed, at your Majesties first
Entrance; to write a few Lines, indeed Scholastically, and Specu-
latively; and not Actively, or Politickly, as I held it fit for me,
at that time; when neither your Majesty, was, in that your desire,
declared; Nor my self, in that Service, used, or trusted. But now
that both your Majesty, hath opened your desire, and purpose,
with much Admiration, even of those, who give it not, so full
an Approbation; And that my self, was, by the Commons,
graced, with the first Vote, of all the Commons, Selected, for
that Cause; Not in any Estimation of my Ability, (For therein
so wise an Assembly could not be so much deceived;) but in an ac-
knowledgement, of my Extrem Labours, and Integrity, in
that Business; I thought my self, every ways bound; Both in
Duty to your Majesty; And in trust, to that House of Parliament
And in Consent to the Matter itself; And in Conformity, to mine
own Travails, and Beginnings; Not to neglect, any pains, that
may tend, to the furtherance, of so excellent a work: Wherin
I will endeavour, that that, which I shall set down, be Nihil
minus quam verba: For Length, and Ornament, of Speech, are to be
used, for perfection of Multitudes, and not for Information of
Kings: especially, such a King, as is the only instance, that ever
I knew, to make a Man of Plato's Opinion, That all Knowledge
is but Remembrance; And that the Mind of Man, knoweth all
Things, and demandeth only, to have her own Notions, excited,
and awakened. Which your Majesty, rare, and indeed singular,
Gist, and faculty, of swift Apprehension, and infinite Expansi-
on, or Multiplication, of another Man's Knowledge, by your
own, as I have often observed, so I did extreamly admire in
Goodwin's Case, Being a matter full of Secrets, and Mysteries, of
our Laws, meerly new unto you, and quite out of the Path of your
Education, Reading, and Conference: Wherin, never-
theless, upon a Spark of Light given, your Majesty took in so
Dexterously, and Profoundly, as if you had been indeed Anima
Legis; Not only in Execution, but in understanding: The Remem-
brance whereof, as it will never be out of my mind, so it will al-
ways be a warning to me, to seek rather to excite your Judgement
briefly, then to enform it tediously; And it in a Matter,
of that Nature, how much more in this, wherein your princely
Constitutions have wrought themselves, and been converatant; And
wherein, the principal Light, proceeded from your self.

And, therefore, my Purpose is, onely to break, this Matter, of
the Union, into certain short Articles, and Questions; And to make,
a certain kind, of Anatomy, or Analysis, of the Parts, and Members
thereof; Not that I am of Opinion, that all the Questions, which
I now shall Open, were fit to be, in the Consultation, of the Com-
missioners.
Articles, touching the Union, of England, and Scotland.

Writers, propounded. For I hold nothing, to great an Enemy, to good Resolution, as the Making, of too many Questions, specially in Assemblies, which consist of many. For Princes, for avoiding of Distraction, must take many Things by way of Admiration; And if Questions, must be made of them, rather to suffer them, to arise from others, then to grace them, and authorize them, as propounded from themselves. But unto your Majesty's private Consideration, to whom it may better fort with me, rather to speak as a Remembrancer, then as a Councillor; I have thought good, to lay before you, all the Branches, Lineaments, and Degrees, of this Union; that upon the View, and Consideration, of them, and their Circumstances, your Majesty may the more clearly discern, and more readily call to mind, which of them is to be embraced, and which to be rejected; And of these, which are to be accepted, which of them is presently to be proceeded in, and which to be put over to further time; And again, which of them, shall require Authority of Parliament, and which are fitter, to be effected, by your Majesty's Royal Power, and Prerogative, or by other Pollicies, or Means; And lastly, which of them, is liker to Pass, with Difficulty, and Contradiction, and which, with more Facility, and Smoothness.

First therefore, to begin with that Question, that I suppose will be out of question.

Whether it be not meet, that the Statutes, which were made touching Scotland, or the Scottish Nation, while the Kingdomes stood fevered, be repealed?

It is true, there is a Diversity in these; For some of these Laws, consider Scotland as an Enemy Country; Other Laws consider it, as a Foreign Country only; As for Example, the Law of Rich. 2. Ann. 7. which Prohibiteth, all Armour, or Violence, to be carried to Scotland; And the Law of 7. of K. H. the 7. that Enafteth, all the Scottish Men, to depart the Realm, within a time prefixed; Both these Laws, and some others, refer Scotland, as a Country of Hostility: But the of Law of 22 of Ed. 4. that endeth Barmack, with the Liberty, of a Staple, where all Scottish Merchandizes, should resort, that should be uttered for England; And likewise all English Merchandizes, that should be uttered for Scotland; This Law beholdeth Scotland, only, as a Foreign Nation; And not so much neither; For there have been erected, Stapels, in Towns of England, for some Commodities, with an Exclusion, and Restriction, of other Parts, of England.

But this is a Matter of the least Difficulty; You may, for your Majesty, shall have a Calendar made, of the Laws, and a Brief of the Effect; And so you may judge of them: And the like, or Reciproque, is to be done by Scotland, for such Laws, as they have concerning England, and the English Nation.

The Second Question is, what Laws, Customs, Commissioner...
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... Officers, Garrisons, and the like, are to be put down, discontinued, or taken away, upon the Borders of both Realms.

This Point, because I am not acquainted, with the Orders of the Marches, I may say the like.

Here in fallth that Question, whether that the Tenants, who hold their Tenant Rights, in a greater Freedom, and Exemption, in Consideration of their Service, upon the Borders; And that the Countries themselves, which are, in the same respect, discharged of Subsidies, and Taxes, should not now be brought, to be, in one degree, with other Tenants, and Countries; Namely, because causis nullius efficiunt. Wherein, in my Opinion, some time would be given; quia adhibetur, quod Moss in Herbace, But some present Ordinance, would be made, to take effect, at a future time; considering, it is one of the greatest Points, and Marks, of the Division, of the Kingdoms. And because Reason doth dictate, that where the Principal Solution of Continuity was, there the Healing, and Consolidating Plaister, should be chiefly applied; There would be some further Device, for the utter, and perpetuall, Confounding, of those Imaginary Bounds, (as your Majesty termeth them;) And therefore, it would be considered, whether it were not convenient, to Plant, and Erect, at Carlisle, or Barwick, some Counsell, or Court of Justice, the Jurisdiction whereof, might extend, part into England, and part into Scotland, With a Commission, not to proceed precisely, or meerly, according to the Laws, and Customs, either of England, or Scotland; But mixtly, according to Instructions, by your Majesty, to be set down, after the Imitation, and Precedent, of the Counsell, of the Marches, here in England, Erected, upon the Union, or Wales.

The third Question is that, which many will make a great Question of, though, perhaps, your Majesty, will make no Question of it; And that is, Whether your Majesty, should not make, a stop, or stand here, and not to proceed, to any further Union; Contenting your Self, with the two former Articles, or Points.

For it will be said, That we are now well, (thanks be to God;) And your Majesty, and the State, of neither Kingdom, is to be repented of; And that it is true, which Hippocrates faith: That, Sana Corpora difficile medicationes sperat: It is better, to make Alterations, in sick Bodies, then in found. The Consideration of which Point, will rest upon these two Branches: What Inconveniences will ensue, with time, if the Realms stand, as they are, divided, which are yet not found, nor sprung up. For it may be, the Sweetness, of your Majesty's first Entrance, and the great Benefit, that both Nations have felt thereby, hath covered many Inconveniences; Which, nevertheless, be your Majesty's Government, never so gracious, and Politick, Continuance of Time, and the Accidents of Time, may breed, and discover, if the Kingdoms stand divided.
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The Second branch is, allow no manifest or important Peril, or Inconvenience, should ensue, of the Continuing of the Kingdomes Divided; yet on the other Side, whether that, upon the further Uniting of them, there be not like to follow, that Addition, and Encroache, of Wealth, and Reputation, as is worthy your Majesty's Vertues, and Fortune, to be the Author, and Founder of, for the Advancement, and Exaltation, of your Majesty's Royal Pasterity, in time to come.

But admitting, that your Majesty shall proceed, to this more perfect, and entire, Union; Wherein your Majesty may say, Majus Opus movero; To enter, into the Parts, and Degrees thereof, I think it, first, to set down, as in a brief Table, in what Points, the Nations stand now, at this present time, already united; And in what Points, yet still fevered, and divided, that your Majesty may the better see, what is done, and what is to be done; And how that which is to be done, is to be inferred, upon that which is done.

The Points, wherein the Nations stand already united, are:

1. In Soveraignity.
2. In the Relative thereof, which is Subjection.
3. In Religion.
4. In Continent.
5. In Language.

And now, lastly, by the Peace, by your Majesty concluded, with Spain in Leagues, and Confederacies; For now, both Nations, have the same Friends, and the same Enemies.

Yet notwithstanding, there is none of the six Points, wherein the Union is perfect, and Consummate; But every of them, hath some scruple, or rather Grain of separation, enwrapped, and included in them.

For the Soveraignity, the Union is absolute in your Majesty, and your Generation; But if it should so be, (which God, of his infinite Mercy, defend,) that your Illue should fail, then the De scent, of both Realmes, doth refer to the severall Limes, of the Severall Blades Royall.

For Subjection, I take the Law of England, to be clear, (what the Law of Scotland, is I know not;) That all Scotishmen, from the very Infant of your Majesty's Reign begun, are become Denizens; And the Post-Nati, are naturaliz'd Subjects, of England, for the time forwards: For, by our Laws, none can be an Alien, but he that is, of another Allegiance, then our Sovereign Lord the King; For there be but two Sorts of Aliens, whereof we find mention in our Laws, An Alien Amity, and an Alien Enemy: Whereof the former, is a Subject, of a State, in Amity with the
the King, And the latter, a Subject, of a State, in Hostility: But whether he be one, or other, it is an Essential Difference, unto the Definition of an Alien, if he be not of the King's Allegiance; As we see it evidently, in the precedent of Ireland, who since they were Subjects, to the Crown, of England, have ever been Inheritable, and capable, as Natural Subjects; And yet, not by any Statute, or Act of Parliament, but merely by the Common Law, and the Reason thereof. So as, there is no doubt, that every Subject of Scotland was, and is, in like Plight, and Degree, since your Majesty's Comming in, as if your Majesty, had granted, particularly, your Letters of Denization, or Naturalization, to every of them; And the Post-Nati, wholly Natural. But then, on the other Side, for the time Back-wards, and for those that were Ante-Nati, the Blood is not, by Law, naturalized; So as they cannot take it, by descent, from their Ancestors, without Act of Parliament. And therefore, in this Point, there is a Defect, in the Union of Subjection.

For Matter of Religion, the Union is perfect, in points of Doctrine; but in Matter of Discipline, and Government, it is imperfect.

For the Continent; It is true, there are no Natural Boundaries of Mountains, or Seas, or Navigable Rivers; But yet there are Badges, and Memorials, of Borders; Of which Point, I have spoken before.

For the Language; It is true, the Nations are minus Labii, and and have not the first Curse of Divinunion, which was Confusion of Tongues, whereby one understood not another. But yet the Dialect is differing, and it remaineth, a kind of Mark, of Distinction. But for that, Tempore permittendum, it is to be left to Time; For considering, that both Languages, do concur, in the principal Office, and Duty, of a Language, which is to make a Mans self understood; For the rest, it is rather to be accounted, (as was said) a Diversity of Dialect, then of Language: and as I said in my first Writing, it is like to bring forth, the enriching of one Language, by compounding, and taking in the proper, and significant Words, of either Tongue, rather then a Continuance, of two Languages.

For Leagues, and Confederacies; It is true, that neither Nation, is now in Hostility, with any State, whereby the other Nation, is in Amity: but yet fo, as the Leagues, and Treaties, have been concluded, with either Nation, respectively, and not with both, jointly; which may contain, some Diversity of Articles, of truthsness of Amity, with one, more then with the other.

But many of these Matters, may, perhaps, be of that kind, as may fall within that Rule; In usto varietas sit, fecunda non sit.

Now to descend to the particular Points, wherein the Realms, Stand, severed, and divided, over and besides, the for-
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The several Points, which I have noted, and placed, as defects, or Abatements, of the six Points of the Union; And therefore, shall not need to be repeated. The Points, I say yet remaining, I will divide into External, and into Internal.

The External Points, therefore, of the Separation, are four.

1. The several Crowns; I mean the Ceremoniall, and Materiall Crowns.
2. The second is, the several Names, Stiles, or Appellations.
3. The third is, the several Prints, or the Seals.
4. The fourth is, the several Stamps, or Marks of the Coins, or Monies.

It is true, that the Externall, are, in some respect, and parts, much mingled, and interlaced, with Confederations Internall; And that they may be as effectual, to the true Union, which must be the work of Time, as the Internall; Because, they are Operative, upon the Conceits, and Opinions, of the People: The Union of whose Hearts, and Affections, is the Life, and true End of this Work.

For the Ceremoniall Crowns, the Question will be, whether there shall be framed, one, new, Imperiall Crown, of Britain, to be used for the times to come?

Also, admitting that to be thought Convenient, whether in the Frame thereof, there shall not be some Reference, to the Crowns, of Ireland, and France.

Also, whether your Majesty, should repeat, or iterate, your own Coronation, and your Queens; or once ordain, that such new Crown, shall be used, by your posterity hereafter.

The Difficulties will be, in the Conceits, of some Inequality; whereby the Realm of Scotland, may be thought, to be made an Accession, unto the Realm of England. But that resteth in some Circumstances: for the Compounding, of the two Crowns, is equal; The Calling of the new Crown, the Crown of Britain is equal. Onely the Place of Coronation, if it shall be at Westminster, which is the Ancient, August, and Sacred place, for the Kings of England, may seem to make an Inequality: And again, if the Crown of Scotland, be discontinued, then that Ceremony, which I hear, is used in the Parliament, of Scotland, in the absence of the Kings, to have the Crowns carried in solemnity, must likewise cease.

For the Name, the main Question is, whether the Contradicted Name, of Britain, shall be, by your Majesty, used, or the Divided Names of England, and Scotland.

Admitting there shall be an Alteration, then the Case will require, these Inferiour Questions.

First, whether the Name of Britain, shall, not onely, be used, in your Majestie Stile, where the entire Stile is recited; And in all other Forms, the Divided Names to remain, both of the Realms, and of the People; Or otherwise, that the very Divided Names, of Realms, and People, shall, likwise, be changed,
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...or turned into special or subdivided Names, of the General Name; That is to say, for Example; whether your Majesty, in your Stile, shall denominate your self, King of Britain, France, and Ireland; &c. And yet, nevertheless, in any Commission, Writ, or otherwise, where your Majesty mentioneth, England, or Scotland, you shall retain the ancient Names, as Secundum Conjunctudinem Regni nostri Anglie; or whether, those Divided Names, shall be, forever, lost, and taken away, and turned, into the subdivisions, of South-Britain, and North-Britain; and the People to be South-Brittains, and North-Brittains; And so, in the Example aforesaid, the Tenour of the like clause, to run, Secundum Conjunctudinem Britanniae Australis.

Also, if the former of these, shall be thought convenient, whether it were not better, for your Majesty, to take, that Alteration of Stile, upon you, by Proclamation, as Edward the third did, the Stile of France, then to have it enacted by Parliament.

Also in the Alteration, of the Stile, whether it were not better, to transpose the Kingdom, of Ireland, and put it, immediately, after Britain, and so place the Islands together; And the Kingdom of France, being upon the Continent left: In regard, that these Islands, of the Western Ocean, seem, by Nature, and Providence, an entire Empire in themselves; And also, that there was never King of England, so entirely posseffed of Ireland, as your Majesty is: So as you--Stile, to run; King of Britain, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent, and of France, &c.

The Difficulties in this, have been, already, throughly beaten over, but they gather but to two Heads.

The one, Point of Honour, and Love, to the former Names.

The other, Doubt, left the Alteration, of the Name, may induce, and involve, an Alteration of the Laws, and Policies, of the Kingdom; Both which, if your Majesty shall assume, the Stile, by Proclamation, and not by Parliament, are in themselves satisfied: For then, the usual Names, must needs remain, in Writs, and Records; The Formes whereof, cannot be altered, but by Act of Parliament; And so the point of Honour satisfied.

And again, your Proclamation altereth no Law; And so, the Scruple, of a tacite, or implied, Alteration of Laws, likewise satisfied. But then, it may be considered, whether it were not a Form, of the greatest Honour, if the Parliament, though they did not enact it, yet should become Suiters, and Petitioners to your Majesty, to assume it.

For the Scales; That there should be but one Great Seal of Britain, and one Chanceller; And that their should only be a Seal in Scotland, for Process; and ordinary Justice; And that all Patents, of Grants, of Lands, or otherwise, as well in Scotland, as in England, should pifie under the Great Seal here, kept about your Person; It is an Alteration internal, whereof I do not now speak.
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But the question, in this Place, is; whether the Great Scales, of England and Scotland, should not be changed, into one, and the same Form, of Image, and Supercription, of Britain; which, Nevertheless, is requisite, should be, with some one plain, or manifest, Alteration, left there be a Buzz, and suspect, that Grants of Things in England, may be palled, by the Seal of Scotland, or conversely.

Also, whether this Alteration, of Form, may not be done, without All of Parliament, as the Great Scales, have used, to be heretofore changed, as to their Impressions.

For the Moneys, as to the Real, and Internal Consideration thereof, the question will be, whether your Majesty, should not continue two Mints; which, the Distance of Territory considered, I suppose, will be of Necessity.

Secondly, how the Standards, (if it be not already done, as I hear some doubt made of it, in popular Rumour.) may be reduced, into an Exact proportion, for the time to come; And likewise, the Computation, Tale, or Valuation, to be made exact, for the Moneys, already beaten.

That done, the last question is, (which is only proper to this place,) whether the Stamp, or the Image, and Supercription, of Britain, for the time forwards, should not be made, the self same, in both places, without any Difference at all. A Matter also, which may be done, as our Law is, by your Majesty's Prerogative, without All of Parliament.

These Points, are Points of Demonstration, Ad sacerdum populum; But so much the more, they go, to the Root, of your Majesty's Intentions, which is to imprint, and inculcate, into the Hearts, and Heads, of the People; that they are one People, and one Nation.

In this kind, also, I have heard it, pass abroad in Speech, of the Erection, of some new Order, of Knighthood, with a Reference to the Union, and an Oath appropriate thereunto; which is a Point, likewise, deserveth a Consideration. So much for the External Points.

The Internal Points, of Separation, are as followeth.

1. Several Parliaments.
2. Several Counsels of Estate.
4. Several Nobilities.
5. Several Laets.
7. Several Receipts, and Finances.
8. Several Admiralties, and Merchandizing.
9. Several Freedoms, and Liberties.
10. Several Taxes, and Imposts.
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As touching the several States Ecclesiasticall, and the several Mints, and Standards; and the several Articles, and Treaties, of Intercourse, with Forraim Nations, I touched them before.

In these Points, of the straight, and more inward, Union, there will interveyn, one principal Difficulty, and Impediment, growing from that Root, which Aristotle, in his Politicks, maketh, to be the Root, of all Division, and Diffention, in Common Wealths; And that is Equality, and Inequality. For the Realm of Scotland, is now, an Ancient, and Noble, Realm, substantive of itself. But when this Land, shall be made Britains, then Scotland, is no more to be considered, as Scotland, but as a part of Britains; No more then England, is to be considered, as England, but as a part, likewise, of Britains; And consequently, neither of these, are to be considered, as Things entire of themselves, but in the Proportion that they bear to the Whole. And therefore, let us imagine, (Nam id mente Possumus, quod ali nnon Possumus,) that Britains, had never been divided, but had ever been one Kingdom; Then that part, of Spain, or Territory, which is comprehended under the Name of Scotland, is, in quantity, (as I have heard it esteemed, how truly I know not;) Not part, a third part of Britains; And that part of Spain, or Territory, which is comprehended, under the Name of England, is two parts of Britains. Leaving to speak, of many Difference, of Wealth, or Population, and speaking only of Quantity. So then, if, for Example, Scotland, should bring to Parliament, as much Nobility as England, then, a Third part, should countervail two parts; Nam si Inequalibus equalis addas, omnium erunt Inequalia. And this, I protest before God, and your Majesties, I do speak, not as a Man born in England, but as a Man born in Britains. And therefore, to declare to the particulars.

For the Parliaments, the Consideration of that Point, will fall into four Questions.

1. The first, what proportion shall be kept, between the Votes of England, and the Votes of Scotland.

2. The Second, touching the Manner of Proposition, or Possession, of the Parliament, of Causes there to be handled; Which in England, is used to be done, immediately, by any Member, of the Parliament, or by the Prolocutor; And in Scotland, is used to be done, immediately, by the Lords, of the Articles; Whereof, the one Form, seemeth to have, more Liberty, and the other, more Gravity, and Maturity: And therefore, the Question will be, whether of these, shall yield to other; Or whether there should not be, a Mixture of both, by some Commissions, precedent, to every Parliament, in the Nature, of Lords, of the Articles; And yet not excluding, the Liberty, of
of propounding, in full Parliament, afterwards.

3. The Third, touching the Orders of Parliament, how they may be compounded, and the best, of either, taken.

4. The Fourth, how those, which by Inheritance, or otherwise, have Offices of Honour, and Ceremony, in both the Parliaments, as the Lord Steward, with us, &c. may be satisfied, and Duplicity accommodated.

For the Counsellors of Estate, while the Kingdoms stand divided, it should seem necessary, to continue several Counsellors; But, if your Majesty, should proceed to a strict Union, then, however your Majesty, may establish, some Provinciall Counsellors in Scotland, as there is here, of York, and in the Marches of Wales; Yet the Question will be, whether it will not be, more convenient, for your Majesty, to have but one Privy Counsellor, about your Person; Whereof, the Principal Officers, of the Crown of Scotland, to be, for Dignity sake, howsoever, their Abiding, and Remaining, may be; as your Majesty, shall employ their Service. But this Point, belongeth, merely, and wholly, to your Majesty, Royall Will, and Pleasure.

For the Officers, of the Crown, the Consideration thereof, will fall into these Questions.

First, in regard, of the Latitude, of your Kingdom, and the Distance of Place, whether it will not be Matter of Necessity, to continue the several Officers, because of the Impossibility, for the Service, to be performed, by one.

The Second, admitting, the Duplicity, of Officers, should be continued, yet, whether there should not be a Difference, that one should be the Principal Officer, and the other, to be, but Speciall, and Subaltern: As for example, one to be Chancellor of Britain, and the other, to be Chancellor, with some Special Addition; As here of the Dutchy, &c.

The Third, if no such Specialty, or Inferiority, be thought fit, then whether both Officers, should not have the Title, and the Name, of the whole Island, and Precincts: As the Lord Chancellor of England, to be, Lord Chancellor of Britain; And the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, to be, Lord Chancellor of Britain; But with several proviso’s, that they shall not, intrude them selves, but within their several precincts.

For the Nobilities, the Consideration thereof, will fall into these Questions.

The First, of their Votes, in Parliament, (which was touched before,) what proportion they shall bear, to the Nobility of England: Wherin, if the Proportion, which shall be thought fit, be not full, yet your Majesty may, out of your Prerogative, supply it: For although, you cannot make fewer, of Scotland, yet you may make more of England.

The Second is, touching the Place, and Precedence; wherein, to marshal them, according to the Precedence of England,
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in your Majesty's Stile; And according, to the Nobility, of England; That is, all English Barles first, and then ScottiHo, will be thought unequall, for Scotland. To marshall them, according to Antiquity, will be thought unequall for England. Because I hear, their Nobility, is, generally, more ancient: And therefore, the Question will be, whether the indifferentest way, were not, to take them enterchangeably; As for Example; First, the Ancient Earl of England; And then, the Ancient Earl of Scotland: And so, Alterris Vicibus.

For the Lawyers, to make an entire, and perfect Union, it is a Matter of great Difficulty, and Length; Both in the Collecting of them, and in the Passing of them. For first, as to the Collecting of them, must be made, by the Lawyers, of either Nation; a Digest, under Titles, of their several Laws, and Customs; Aswell Common Laws, as Statutes; That they may be Collated, and Compared; And that, the Diversities, may appear, and be differed of. And for the Passing of them, we see, by experience, that Patrius Mos, is dear to all men; And that Men are bred, and nourished up, in the Love of it; And therefore, how harsh, Change, and Innovations, are. And we see, likewise, what Disputation, and Argument, the Alteration, of some one Law, doth caufe, and bring forth; How much more, the Alteration, of the whole Corps, of the Law? Therefore, the first Question will be, whether it be not good, to proceed by parts, and to take that, that is most necessary, and leave the rest, to Time? The Parts therefore, or Subject, of Laws are, for this purpose, fitliest distributed, according to that ordinary Division, of Criminal, and Civil; And thole of Criminal Cases, into Capital, and Penal.

The Second Question, therefore, is; Allowing the Generall Union of Laws, to be too great a Work, to embrace, whether it were not convenient, that Cases Capital, were the same, in both Nations; If I say, the Cases; I do not speak, of the Proceedings, or Trials; That is to say, whether the same Offences, were not fit, to be made Treason, or Felony, in both places?

The Third Question is, whether Cases Penal, though not Capital, yet if they concern the Publick State, or otherwise, the Discipline of Manners, were not fit, likewise, to be brought into one Degree? As the Case, of Misprision of Treason; The Case of Premarries; The Case of Engagements; The Case of Incest; The Case of Simony; and the rest.

But the Question, that is more urgent, then any of these, is; Whether these Cases, at the least, be of an higher, or inferior, degree? Wherein the Fact committed, or Act done in Scotland, may prejudice, the State, and Subjects, of England, or Converter? Are not, to be reduced, into one, Uniformity, of Law, and Punishment? As for Example; A perjury, committed, in a Court of Justice, in Scotland, cannot be prejudicial, in England.
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Because Depositions, taken in Scotland, cannot be produced, and used here in England. But Adultery, of a Devout, in Scotland, I mean, with a false Date of England, may be used, and given in Evidence, in England. So likewise, the Depopulation, of a Town in Scotland, doth not, directly, prejudice, the State of England: But if an English Merchant, shall carry Silver, and Gold, into Scotland, (as he may,) and thence transport it, into foreign parts, this prejudiceth the State of England: And may be, an Evasion, to all the Laws of England, ordained in that Case: And therefore, had need to be bidden, with as severe a Law, in Scotland, as it is here in England.

Of this kind, there are many Laws:

The Law, of the 50. of Rich. the 2. of going over without licence, if there be not the like Law in Scotland, will be frustrated, and evaded: For any Subject of England, may go first into Scotland, and thence into foreign parts.

So the Laws, prohibiting Transportation of sundry Commodities, as Gold, and Silver, Ordinance, Artillery, Corn, &c. if there be not, a Correspondence of Laws, in Scotland, will, in like manner, be deluded, and frustrate: For any English Merchant, or Subject, may carry such Commodities, first into Scotland, as well, as he may carry them, from Port, to Port, in England. And out of Scotland, into Foreign Parts, without any Peril of Law.

So Libells, may be devised, and written, in Scotland, and published, and scattered in England.

Treasons, may be plotted in Scotland, and executed in England.

And so, in many other Cases, if there be not, the like Severity, of Law, in Scotland, to restrain offences, that there is in England; (whereof, we are here ignorant, whether there be, or no:) It will be a Gap, or Stop, even for English Subjects, to escape, and avoid, the Laws, of England.

But for Treasons, the best is, that by the Statute, of 26. K. Hen. the 8. h. Cap. 13. any Treason, committed in Scotland, may be proceeded with, in England, as well, as Treasons committed, in France, Rome, or elsewhere.

For Courts of Justice, Trials, Processess, and other Administration of Laws, to make any Alteration, in either Nation, it will be a Thing, so new, and unwonted, to either People; That it may be doubted, it will make, the Administration of Justice; (Which, of all other Things, ought to be known, and certain, as a beaten way;) To become intricate, and uncertain: And besides, I do not see, that the Severality, of Administration of Justice, though it be by Court Sovereign, of last Resort; (I mean, without Appeal, or Error;) Is any impediment at all, to the Unio
But it may be a good question, whether, as Commune Vinculum, of the justice, of both Nations, your Majesty, should not erect, some Court about your person, in the Nature, of the Grand Council, of France: To which Court, you might, by way of Evocation, draw Causes, from the ordinary judges, of both Nations; For so both the French King, from all the Courts, of Parliament, in France; Many of which, are more remote, from Paris, than any part of Scotland, is from London.

For Receits, and Finances, I see no Question will arise: In regard it will be Matter of Necessity, to establish in Scotland, a Receipt of Treasure, for Payments, and Erogations, to be made, in those parts: And for the Treasure of Spare, in either Receits, the Custodies thereof, may well be severally; considering, by your Majesties Commandement, they may be, at all times, removed, or disposed, according to your Majesties Occasions.

For the Patrimonies, of both Crowns, I see, no Question will arise; Except your Majesty would be pleased, to make one compounded Annexation, for an Inseparable Patrimony, to the Crown, out of the Lands, of both Nations; And so, the like, for the Principality of Britain, and for other Appennages, of the rest of your Children; Erecting, likewise, such Lutewies, and Honours, compounded, of the Possessions, of both Nations, as shall be thought fit.

For Admiralty, or Navy, I see, no great question, will arise: For I see no Inconvenience, for your Majesty, to continue Shipping, in Scotland. And for the jurisdictions, of the Admiralties, and the Profits, and Casualties, of them, they will be respective, unto the Coasts, over against which, the Seas lie, and are situated: As it is here, with the Admiralties, of England.

And for Merchandizing, it may be a Question, whether that the Companies, of the Merchant Adventurers, of the Turkish Merchants, and the Muscovy Merchants, (if they shall be continued,) should not be compounded, of Merchants, of both Nations, English, and Scottifi; For to leave Trade free, in the one Nation, and to have it restrained, in the other, may, percase, breed some Inconvenience.

For Freedoms, and Liberties, the Charters of both Nations, may be reviewed: And of such Liberties, as are agreeable, and convenient, for the Subjects, and People, of both Nations, one
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Great Charter, may be made, and confirmed, to the Subjects of Britain; And those Liberties, which are peculiar, or proper, to either Nation, to stand in State, as they do.

But for Imposts, and Customes, it will be a great Question, how to accommodate them, and reconcile them: For, if they be much easier in Scotland, then they be here in England, (which is a Thing, I know not,) then this Inconvenience will follow; That the Merchants of England, may unloade, in the Ports of Scotland, And this Kingdom, to be served, from thence, and your Majesties Customes abated.

And for the Question, whether the Scottish Merchants, should pay Customes in England, that relish, upon the Point, of Naturalization, which I touched before.

Thus have I made your Majesty, a brief, and naked, Memorial, of the Articles, and Points, of this great Cause; which may serve, onely, to excite, and stir up, your Majesties Royal Judgement, and the Judgement of Wiser Men, whom you will be pleased to call to it: Wherein, I will not presume, to persuade, or dissuade any thing; Nor to interpose mine own Opinion; But do expect light, from your Majesties Royal Directions; Unto the which, I shall ever submit my Judgment, and apply my Travails: And I most humbly pray your Majesty, in this which is done, to pardon my Errors, and to cover them, with my good Intention, and Meaning, and Desire I have, to do your Majesty Service; And to acquire the Truth, that was repofed in me; And chiefly, in your Majesties benign, and gracious Acceptation.

FINIS.
THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the issue, of King Henry the 8th, failed; being spent, in one generation, and three successions. For that king, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left, one by his six wives, three children; who reigning successively, and dying childless, made place, to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married, to James the 4th, King of Scotland. There succeeded therefore, to the kingdom of England; James the 6th, then king of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret, both by father, and mother; So that, by a rare event, in the pedigrees of kings, it seemed, as if the divine providence, to extinguish, and take away, all note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the royal blood of England, by both parents. This succession, drew towards it, the eyes of all men; being one of the most memorable accidents, that had happened, a long time, in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France, having been re-united, in the age before, in all the provinces thereof, formerly dismembered: And the kingdom of Spain, being of more fresh memory, united, and made entire, by the annexing of Portugal, in the person of Philip the second; There remained, but this third, and last union, for the counterpoising of the power, of these three great
The Beginning of the History, of Great Britain.

And the disposing, of the Affairs, of Europe, thereby, to a more assured, and universal, Peace, and Concord. And this Event, did hold Mens Observations, and Discourses, the more; Because, the Realm, of Great Britain, divided from the Rest of the World, was never before united, in itself, under one King; Notwithstanding the People be of one Language, and not separate, by Mountains, or great Waters: And, notwithstanding also, that the uniting of them, had been, in former times, industriously attempted, both by War, and Treaty. Therefore, it seemed, a manifest work of Providence, and Case of Reformation, for these times; Insomuch, as the vulgar conceived, that now there was an End given, and a Consummation, to superstitious Prophecies; (The Beliefs of Fools, but the Talk, sometimes, of Wise Men;) And to an ancient tacite Expectation, which had by Tradition, been infused, and inveterated, into Mens Minds. But, as the best Divination, and Predictions, are the Politick, and probable, Foresight, and Conjectures, of wise Men; So, in this Matter, the Providence, of King Hen. the 7th, was in all Mens Mouths; Who, being one, of the Deepest, and most prudent Princes, of the World, upon the Deliberation, concerning the Marriage, of his Eldest Daughter, into Scotland, had, by some Speech, uttered by him, shewed himself sensible, and almost Prescient, of this Event. v. Bacon's H. P. 202.

Neither did there want, a Concurrence, of divers Rare, external Circumstances, (besides the Vertue, and Conditions, of the Person,) which gave great Reputation, to this Succession. A King, in the Strength of his Years, supported with great Alliances abroad, established with Royall Issue at home, at Peace with all the World, practised, in the Regiment, of such a Kingdom, as ought rather enable a King, by variety of Accidents, then corrupt him, with Affluence, or vain glory; And One, that besides his universal Capacity, and Judgement, was notably exercised, and practised, in Matters of Religion, and the Church; Which, in these times, by the confused use, of both Swords, are become so intermingled, withConsiderations of Estate, as most of the Counsails, of Sovereign Princes, or Republiques, depend upon them: But nothing, did more fill, Forreign Nations, with Admiration, and Expectation, of his Succession, then the wonderful, and (by them,) unexpected, Consent, of all States, and Subjects, of England, for the receiving of the King, without the least Jeruop, Pause, or Question. For it had been generally dispersed, by the Fugitives, beyond the Seas, (who partly, to apply themselves, to the Ambition, of Forreiners;) And partly, to give Estimation, and value, to their own Employments; used to represent, the state of England, in a false light; That after Queen Elizabeth's Decease, there must follow, in England, nothing but Confusions, Interrogues, and perturbations of State; likely, for to exceed, the Ancient Calamities, of the Civil Wars, between the Houses of Lancaster, and York: By how much
much more, the Dillentions, were like to be more Mortall, and Bloudy, when Forraign Competition, should be added, to Domesticall: And Divisions for Religion, to Matter of Title, to the Crown. And in speciall, Parsons the ſeuen, under a disguised Name, had, not long before, published, an expresse Treatise; Wherein, whether his Malice, made him believe his own Fancies; Or whether, he thought it the fittest way, to move Sedition; Like evil Spirits, which seem, to foretell, the Tempest, they mean to move; He laboured to display, and give colour, to all the vain Pretences, and Dreams, of Succession, which he could imagine; And thereby, had posſessed Many abroad, that knew not the Affairs here, with those his Vanities. Neither wanted there, here, within this Realm, divers Perſons, both Wife, and well affected, who, though they doubted not, of the undisputed Right; yet, setting before themselves, the waves of peoples Hearts; (Guided, no leſſe, by sudden, and temporary, Winds, then by the naturall Course, and Motion, of the Waters;) Were, not without fear, what mought be the Event? For Queen Elizabeth, being a Prince, of extreme Caution; and yet One, that loved Admiration, above Safety; And knowing, The Declaration of a Succession, mought, in point of Safety, be disputable; But in point of Admiration, and Respect, assuredly to her Disadvantage; Had, from the beginning, let it down, for a Maxime, of Estate, to impose a Silence, touching Succession. Neither was it only Reserved, as a Secret of Estate, but Restrained, by severe Lawes; That no Man, should presume, to give Opinion, or maintain Argument, touching the fame; So, though the Evidence of Right, drew all the Subjects of the Land, to think one Thing; yet the Fear of Danger of Law, made no Man privy, to others Thought. And therefore, it rejoived all Men, to fee a fair Morning of a Kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured, of former Apprehensions; As a Man, that awaketh, out of a Fearfull Dream. But so it was, that not only the Consent, but the Applaffe, and Joy, was infinite, and not to be expreſsed, throughout the Realm of England, upon this Succession: Whereof, the Consent, (no doubt,) may be truly ascribed, to the Clearnesse of the Right; But the generall Joy, Alacrity, and Gratulation, were the Effects, of differing Causes. For Queen Elizabeth, although she had the use, of many, both Vertues, and Demonſtrations, that mought draw, and knit unto her, the Hearts of her People; Yet nevertheless, carrying a Hand, Reſtrained in Gift, and Reſtrained, in Points of Prerogative, could not answer the Votes, either of Servants, or Subjects, to a full Contentment; especially in her latter Dayes, when the Continuance of her Reign, (which extended to Five and Forty years,) mought discover, in People, their Natural Desire, and Inclination, towards Change; So that a new Court, and a new Reign, were not, to many, unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially, those of Setled Estate, and Fortunes, that the Fears, and Incertainties were Over-
blown, and that the dye was cast: Others that had made their way, with the King, or offered their Service, in the Time of the former Queen, thought now the Time was come, for which they had prepared: And generally, all such, as had any dependance upon the late Earl of Essex; (Who had mingled, the Secrecy, of his own Ends, with the Popular pretence, of advancing the Kings Titles;) Made account, their Cause was amended. Again, such as mought misdoubt, they had given the King, any occasion of Distaff, did continue, by their Forwardness, and Confidence, to shew, it was but their Offices, to the Former Government; And that, those Affections, ended with the Time. The Papists, nourished their hopes, by collating, the Case, of the Papists in England, and under Queen Elizabeth, and the Case, of the Papists, in Scotland, under the King: Interpreting, that the Condition, of them, in Scotland, was the lefle Grievous; And divining, of the Kings Government here accordingly: Besides, the Comfort, they minifreted themselves, from the Memory, of the Queen his Mother. The Ministers, and those which flood, for the Trufhteely, thought their Cause, had more Sympathy, with the Hierarchy of Scotland, than the Hierarchy of England; And fo, took themselves, to be, a Degree nearer their Desires. Thus had every Condition of Persons, some Contemplation of Benefit, which they promised themselves: Over-reaching, perhaps, according to the Nature of Hope; But yet, not without, some probable Ground, of Conjecture. At which Time also, there came forth, in Print, the Kings Book, entitled Basilia Regia: Containing, Matter of Injunction, to the Prince, his Son, touching the Office of a King; Which Book, falling into every Mans Hand, filled the whole Realm, as with a good Perfume, or Incense, before the Kings coming in: For being excellently written, and having nothing of Affection, it did not only satisfie better, than particular Reports, touching the Kings Disposition; But far exceeded, any formall, or curious, Edift, or Declaration, which could have been devifed, of that Nature, wherewith Princes, in the beginning of their Raignes, do use, to grace themselves, or at least, expressie themselves gracious, in the Eyes of their People. And this was, for the generall, the State, and Constitution, of Mens Minds, upon this Change: The Actions themselves, pasied in this Manner, &c.

The Rest is wanting.
A
LETTER,
AND
DISCOURSE,
TO
Sir HENRY SAVILL,
TOUCHING
HELPS,
FOR THE
INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

SIR,

Owing back from your Invitation at Eton, where I had refreshed my Self, with Company, which I loved; I fell, into a Consideration, of that Part, of Policy, whereof Philosophy speaketh too much, and Laws too little; And that is, of Education of Youth. Whereupon, fixing my mind, a while, I found strait wayes, and noted, even in the Discourse of Philosophers, which are so large in this Argument, a strange Silence, concerning one principal Part, of that Subject: For as touching, the Framing, and Seasoning, of Youth, to Morall Virtue (As Tolerance of Labours, Continency from Pleasures, Obedience, Honour, and the like; They handle it; But touching the
A Letter, and Discourse, to Sir Henry Savill,

the improvement, and helping, of the Intellectual powers: As of
Conceit, Memory, and judgment; they say nothing. Whether it
were, that they thought it, to be a matter, wherein nature only
prevailed; or that they intended it, as referred, to the several,
and proper, arts, which teach, the use, of reason, and speech. But
for the former of these two reasons, howsoever, it pleaseth them,
to distinguish, of habits, and powers; the experience is manifest
enough, that the motions, and faculties, of the wit, and memory,
may be, not only governed, and guided, but also confirmed, and
enlarged, by custom, and exercise, duly applied: As if a man
exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark, but
also draw a stronger bow. And as for the latter, of comprehen-
sing, these precepts, within the arts, of logic, & rhetoric; if
be rightly considered, their office is distinct, altogether, from
this point: For it is no part, of the doctrine, of the use, or hand-
ling, of an instrument, to teach, how to wrest, or grind, the instru-
ment, to give it a sharp edge; or how to quench it, or otherwise,
whereby to give it a stronger temper. Wherefore, finding this
part of knowledge, not broken, I have, but tranquillized agent,
entire into it, and saluted you with it; dedicating it, after the an-
cient manner, first as to a dear friend; and then as to an apt
peron; for as much, as you have, both place, to practice it, and
judgment, and legure, to look deeper into it, then I have done.
Herein you must call to mind, a true oak tree. Though the argu-
ment, be not of great height, and dignity, nevertheless, it is of
great, and universal use: And yet, I do not see, why, to confi-
der it rightly; but should not be a learning of height, which
teacheth to raise, the highest, and worthiest, part of the mind.
But howsoever that be, if the world take any light, and use, by
this writing, I will, the gratulation be, to the good friendship,
and acquaintance, between us two. And so I commend you to
God's divine protection.

A DISCOURSE, touching HELPS, for the
INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

I did ever hold it, for an insolent, and unlucky saying; Faber
quisque Fortunae sue; except it be uttered, onely, as an horta-
tive, or spur, to correct sloth. For otherwise, if it be believed,
as it foundeth; And that a man, entrench into an high imagina-
tion, that he can compass, and fathom, all accidents; and ascri-
beth, all successes, to his drifts, and reaches; And the contrary,
to his Erroors, and Sleepings: It is commonly seen, that the E-
vening Fortune, of that Man, is not so prosperous, as of him, that 
without slacking, of his Industry, attributeth much to Felicity, 
and Providence above him. But if the Sentence were turned to 
this; Faber quisque Ingenii sui, it were somewhat more True, and 
much more Profitable: Because it would teach Men, to bend 
themselves, to Reform, those Imperfections, in themselves, which 
now they seek but to Cover: And to attain, those Vertue, and 
Good Parts, which now they seek, but to have, only, in them, 
and Demonstration. Yet notwithstanding, every Man attempt-
eth to be, of the first Trade, of Capenters; And few bind them-
selves to the Second: whereas, nevertheless, the Rising in For-
tune, seldom, amendeth the Mind; But, on the other side, the 
Removing of the Stonds, and Impediments, of the Mind, doth 
often, clear, the paffage, and Current, to a Mans Fortune. 
But certain it is, whether it be believed, or no, that, as the most 
excellent of Metalls, Gold, is, of all other, the most Pliant, and 
most Enduring to be wrought; So, of all Living, and Breathing 
Substances, the Perfectest, (Man,) is the most susceptible of Help, 
Improvement, Improvement, and Alteration; And not only in his Body, 
but in his Mind, and Spirit; And there again, not only, in his 
Appetite, and Affection, but in his Powers of Wit, and Reason.

For as to the Body of Man, we find many, and strange, Experi-
ences, how Nature is overwrought by Custom, even in Actions, 
that seem of most difficulty, and least possible. As first in Volu-
untary Motion; Which though it be termed Voluntary, yet the high-
est Degrees of it, are not Voluntary; For it is, in my Power, and 
Will, to Run; But to Run faster, then according to my Light-
nesse, or Disposition of Body, is not in my Power, nor Will. We see 
the Industry, and Præfice, of Tumblers, and Funambule's, what 
Effects, of great Wonder, it bringeth, the Body of Man, unto. So 
for Suffering of Pain, and Dolour, which is thought to contrary 
to the Nature of Man, there is much Example of Taneances, in first 
Orders, of Superfition, what they do endure; Such as may well 
verifie, the Report, of the Spartan Boys, which were wont, to be 
scourged, upon the Altar so bitterly, as sometimes they dyed of 
it; And yet were never heard to complain. And to praise to those 
Faculties, which are reckoned more Involuntary; As Long Fastig, 
and Abstinence, and the contrary Extremes, (Voracity;) The 
Leaving, and Forbearing, the Use, of Drink, for altogether; The 
Enduring vehement Cold, and the like; There have not wanted, 
neither do want, divers Examples, of strange Victories, over the 
Body, in every of these. Nay in Respiration, the proof hath been 
of some, who by continuall use of Diving, and Working, under 
the Water, have brought themselves, to be able, to hold their 
Breath, an incredible time; And others, that have been able, 
without Suffocation, to endure, the Strifling Breath, of an Oven,

G g 2 or
or Furnace, so heated; as though, it did not seald, nor burn; yet it was, many Degrees, too hot, for any Man, not made to it, to Breath, or take in. And some Impositions, and Counterfeits, likewise, have been able to wreak, and cast their Bodies, into strange Forms, and Motions: Yea, and others, to bring themselves, into Travesties, and Astounding. All which Examples, do demonstrate, how variably, and how to High, Points, and Degrees, the Body of Man, may be, (as it were,) moulded, and wrought. And if any Man conceive, that it is some secret propriety of Nature, that hath been in these Persons, which have attained to those Points; and that it is not open, for every Man, to do the like, though he had been put to it: For which Cause, such Things, come but very rarely to pass; it is true, no doubt, but some Persons, are after then others; but so, as the more aptnestle, cantheth Perfection, but the lefle Aptnessle, doth not disable. So that, for Example, the more apt Child, that is taken, to be made a Funambulo, will prove more excellent in his Feates; but the lefle apt will be Grgarius Funambulo also. And there is small Question, but that these Abilities, would have been more common; and others, of like sort, not attempted, would, likewise, have been brought, upon the Stage, but for two Reasons: The one, because of Mens Diffidence, in prejudging them, as Impossibilities; for it holdeth, in those things, which the Poet faith; refunt, qua posse videtur: For no Man shall know, how much may be done, except he believe, much may be done. The other Reasons, because they be, but Practifes, base, and inglorious; and of no great use; and therefore sequestred from Reward of Value; and on the other side, painfull; so as the Recompence, ballanceeth not with the Travail, and Suffering. And as to the Will of Man, it is that, which is most Maniable, and obedient; as that, which admiuteth most Medicines, to cure, and alter it. The most sovereign of all, is Religion, which is able to change, and transform it, in the deepest, and most inward inclinations, and Motions: And next to that is Opinion, and Apprehension: Whether it be induced by Tradition, and Institution; or wrought in, by Disputation, and Persuasion: And the Third is Example, which transformeth the Will of Man, into the Similitude of that, which is most obversant, and familiar towards it. And the Fourth is, when one Affection, is healed, and corrected, by another: As when Cowardise, is remedied by Shame, and Dishonour; or Sluggishness, and Backwardness, by indignation, and Emulation; and so of the like. And lastly, when all these Means, or any of them, have new framed, or formed, Humane Will; then doth Custom, and Habit, Corroborate, and confirm, all the rest. Therefore, it is no marvel, though this Faculty, of the Mind, (of Will, and Election;) which inclineth Affection, and Appetite, being but the Inceptions, and Rudiments, of Will; may be so well governed, and managed: Because, it admiuteth accesse, to
touching Helps, for the Intellectual Powers.

so divers Remedies, to be applied to it, and to work upon it. The Effects whereof are so many, and so known, as require no Enumeration; But generally, they do ill use, as Medicines do, into two Kinds, of Cures; whereof the one, is a just, or true, Cure; And the other, is called Palliation. For, either the Labour, and Intention is, to reform the Affections, really, and truly; Restraining them, if they be too violent; And ruling them, if they be too Soft, and Weak; Or else, it is to cover them; Or, if occasion be, to pretend them, and represent them. Of the former Sort whereof, the Examples, are plentifully, in the Schooler, of Philosophers, and in all other Institutions, of Moral Vertue; And of the other Sort, the Examples, are more plentifully, in the Courts of Princes, and in all Politick, Traffique: Where it is ordinary to find, not only profound Diffimulations, and Suffocating the Affections, that no Note, or Mark, appear of them, outwardly; But also, lively Simulations, and Affections, carrying the Tokens of Passions, which are not; As risus jactus, and Lacrymae Costae, and the like.

Of helps, of the Intellectual Powers.

The Intellectual Powers have fewer means, to work upon them, than the Will, or Body of Man; But the one, that prevaileth, that is Exercise, worketh more forcibly in them, than in the Rest.

The Ancient Habite, of the Philosophers; Si quis quaerat, in uramque partem, de omni Scibili.

The Exercise, of Schoolers, making Verses extempore; Stans pеdе inerno.

The Exercise, of Lawyers, in Memory Narrative.

The Exercise, of Sophists, and Judicature, with manifest Effect.

Artificial Memory greatly holpen by Exercise.

The Exercise, of Buffons, to draw all things, to Conceits Ridiculous.

The Means that help the Understanding, and Faculties thereof, are.

(Not Example, as in the Will, by Conversation; And here, the Conceit of Imitation, already digested; with the Confutation, Obiter, sit videbitur, of Tullius Opinion, advising a Man, to take some one to imitate. Similitude of Face analysed.)
A Discourse, to Sir Henry Savill,


Que, if not here, of Imitation.

Collections preparative. Aristoteles Similitude of a Shoemakers Shop, full of Shoes, of all Sorts: Democritus Exercitum Concioneum, Tullius precept, of Thebes of all forts, preparative.

The Relying upon Exercise, with the Difference, of Using, and tempering, the Instrument; And the Similitude, of prescribing, against the Laver of Nature and of Estate.

5. Points.

That Exercises are to be framed, to the Life: That is to say, to work Ability, in that kind, whereof a Man, in the Course of Action, shall have most Use.

The indirect, and Oblique Exercises, which do, per partes, and per consequentiam, enable these Faculties; which perhaps, direct Exercise, at first, would but distort. And these, have chiefly place, where the Faculty is weak, not per se, but per Accidents. As if Want of Memory, grow through Lightness of Wit, and want of Stayed Attention; Then the Mathematices, or the Law, helpeth: Because, they are Things, wherein if the Mind once roam, it cannot recover.

Of the Advantages of Exercise; As to dance with heavy Shoes; To march with heavy Armour, and Carriage; And the contrary Advantage, (in Natures, very dull, and unapt,) of working Alertness, by framing an Exercise, with some Delight; or Affection.

Veri pueris plant Crumula blandi
Doorores, Elementa velint ut discre prima.

Of the Cautions of Exercise; As to beware, left by evill doing, (as all Beginners do weakly,) a Man grow not, and be involvate, in an ill Habit; And to take, not the Advantage of Custom in perfection, but in confirming ill. Stubbering on the Lute.

The Marshalling, and Sequence of Sciences, and practices: Logick, and Rhetorick, should be used, to be read, after Poets, History, and Philosophy. First, Exercise, to do things well, and clean; after, promptly, and readily.

The Exercises, in the Universities, and Schools, are of Memory, and Invention; Either to speak by Heart, that which is set down verbatim; Or to speak Extempore. Whereas, there is little use, in Action, of either of both: But most things, which we utter, are neither verbally premeditated, nor weily Extempore. Therefore

Exercise.
Exercice, would be framed to take a little Breathing, and to consider of Heads; And then to fit, and form, the Speech, Ex tempore. This would be done, in two manners; Both with writing, and Tables; And without. For, in most Actions, it is permitted, and passable, to use the Note; Whereunto, if a Man be not accustomed, it will put him out.

There is no use, of a Narrative Memory, in Academias, viz. with Circumstances of Times, Persons, and Places, and with Names; And it is one Art, to discourse, and another to Relate, and Describe: And herein Use, and Action, is most conversant.

Also, to Summe up, and Contraet, is a Thing, in Action, of very generall Use.
CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, Touching the Better, PACIFICATION, AND EDIFICATION, OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Dedicated, to His most Excellent MAJESTY.

The Unity of your Church, (excellent Sovereign,) is a Thing, no lesse precious, than the Union of your Kingdoms; Being both Works, wherein your Happiness, may contend, with your Worthiness: Having therefore presumed, not without your Majesties gracious Acceptation, to say somewhat of the one; I am, the more encouraged, not to be silent, in the other: The rather, because it is an Argument, that I have travelled in heretofore: But Salomon, commendeth a Word spoken in Season,
Confiderations, touching the Edification, and Pacification.

Seasons: And as our Saviour, (speaking of the Discerning of Seasons,) faith: When you see a cloud rising in the West, you say it will be a shower: So your Majesty Rising to this Monarchy, in the West parts, of the World, doth promise, a sweet, and fruitful Shower, of many Blessings, upon this Church, and Common-wealth; A Shower of that Influence, as the very first Deaws, and Drops thereof have, already, layed the Stormes, and Winds, throughout Christendom: Reducing, the very Face, of Europe, to a more peaceable, and A

miable, Countenance. But to the Purpose.

It is very true, that these Ecclesiastical Matters, are Things, not properly appertaining, to my Profession; which, I was not, so inconsiderate, but to object to my Self: But finding, that it is, many times, seen, that a Man, that standeth off, and somewhat removed, from a Plot of Ground, doth better survey it, and discover it, then those which are upon it; I thought it not impossible, but that I, as a Looker on, might cast mine Eyes, upon some Things, which the Authorites themselves, (especially, some being intrusted, some led and addicted, some declared and engaged,) did not, or would not see. And that, knowing in my Conscience, (whereto God beareth witness,) that the Things which I shall speak, spring out of no Vein of Popularity, Oftentation, Desire of Novelty, Partiality to either Side, Disposition to intermeddle, or any the like Leaven; I may conceive hope, that what I want, in depth of Judgement, may be countervailed, in Simplicity, and Sincerity; of Affection. But of all Things, this did most animate me: That I found, in these Opinions, of mine, (which I have long held, and embraced, as may appear by that, which I have, many years since, written of them,) according to the proportion, nevertheless, of my weakness, a Consent, and Conformity, with that, which your Majesty hath published, of your own,most Christian, most Wise, and Moderate Sense, in these Causes: wherein you have well expressed, to the World, that there is infused, in your Sacred Breast, from God, that High principle, and Position of Government; that you ever hold the whole, mere dear, then any Part.

For who seeth not, that Many are affected, and give Opinion, in these Matters, as if they had not, so much a define, to purge the Evil, from the Good, as to countenance, and protect, the Evil, by the Good? Others speak, as if their Scope, were only, to set forth, what is Good, and not to seek, what is Possible; which is to Wise, and not to Propound. Others proceed, as if they had rather, a Mind of Removing, then of Reining: But howsoever, either Side, as Men, (though excellent Men) shall run into Extremities; yet your Majesty, as a most Wise, just, and Christian Moderator, is disposed, to find out, the Golden Mean, in the Establishment, of that which is Sound: And, in the Reparation, of that, which is Corrupt, and decayed. To your Princely Judgment, then, I do, in all Humbleness, submit, whatsoever I shall propound:
of the Church of England.

propound; offering the same, but as a Mote, into the Treasury, of your Wisdom: For, as the Astronomers, do well observe; That when three of the Superior Lights, do meet in conjunction, it bringeth forth, some admirable Effects: So, there being joyned, in your Majesty, the Light of Nature, the Light of Learning, and above all, the Light of God's Holy Spirit; It cannot be, but your Government, must be as a Happy Constellation, over the states of your Kingdom. Neither is there wanting, to your Majesty, that Fourth Light; which though it be, but a borrowed Light, yet is, of singular Efficacy, and Moment, added to the rest; which is, the Light, of a most wise, and well compounded, Council; To whole Honourable, and Grave, Witsom, I do likewise submit, whatsoever I shall speak: Hoping, that I shall not need, to make Protestation, of my Mind, and Opinion; That untill your Majesty, doth otherwise determine, and order, all Actual, and Full Obedience, is to be given, to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as it now standeth; And when your Majesty, hath determined, and ordered, that every good subject ought to rest satisfied, and apply his Obedience, to your Majesties Laws, Ordinances, and Royall Commandments: Nor, of the Dislike, I have, of all Immodest Bitternese, peremptory presumption; Popular handling; And other Courses, tending rather to Rumour, and Impression, in the vulgar Sort, then to likely-hood of Effect, joyned with Observation of Duty.

But before, I enter, into the Points controverted, I think good to remove, (if it may be,) two Opinions, which do directly confront, and oppose, to Reformation: The one, bringing it to a Nullity; And the other, to an Impossibility. The First is, That it is against good Policy, to innovate any Thing, in Church Matters; The others, That all Reformation, must be, after one Platform.

For the First of these, it is excellently said, by the Prophet; State super viae antiquae, & videte, quae ambulaverat, & veniat ambulare in eis. So as, he doth not say; State super viae antiquae, & ambulare in eis. For it true, that with all I life, and Moderate, Persons, Cajuses, and Usage, obtaineth that Reverence, as it is sufficient Matter, to move them, to take a View, and to discover, and the Guide, and to conduct them: A just Ground, I say, it is, of Deliberation, but not of Direction. But, on the other side, who knoweth not, that Time, is truly compared, to a Stream, that carryeth down, fresh, and pure Waters, into that salt Sea of Corruption, which environeth all Human Actions? And therefore, if Man shall not, by his Industry, Virtue, and Policy, as it were, with the Oar, row against the Stream, and inclination of Time; All Institutions, and Ordinances, be they never so pure, will corrupt, and degenerate. But not, to handle this matter, Common-place like, I would only ask, why the Civill State, should be purged, and restored, by Good, and Wholesome, Laws, made every Third, or Fourth, yeare, in Parliament assembled: Devising Remedies, as fast as Time, breedeth Mischief; And contrariwise, the
Considerations, touching the Edification, and Pacification, the Ecclesiastical State, should still continue, upon the Dregs of Time, and receive, no Alteration now, for this Five and Forty years, and more? If any Man, shall object, that if the like Inter-million, had been used, in Civil Canons also, the Error had not been great; Surely the Wisedome of the Kingdom, hath been otherwise, in Experience, for Three Hundred years space, at the least. But, if it be said to me, that there is a Difference, between Civil Canons, and Ecclesiastical, they may as well tell me, that Churches, and Chapells, need no Reparations, though Castles, and Houses, do; Whereas commonly, to speak truth, Dilapidations, of the Inward, and Spiritual, Edifications, of the Church, of God, are, in all times, as great, as the Outward, and Materiall. Sure I am, that the very word, and Stile, of Reformation, used by our Saviour; Ab initio non fictitio, was applied, to Church Matters; And those, of the highest Nature, concerning the Law Morall.

Nevertheless, He were both unthankfull, and unwise, that would deny, but that the Church, of England, during the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous Memory, did flourish. If I should compare it, with Foreign Churches, I would rather, the Comparision should be, in the Vertues, then, as some make it, in the Defects; Rather, I say, as between the Vine, and the Olive, which should be most fruitful, And not, as between the Briar, & the Thistle, which should be most unprofitable. For that Reverence, should be used, to the Church, which the good Sons of Noah, used, to their Fathers Nakedness; That is, as it were, to go backwords, and to help, the Defects thereof, and yet to dissemble them. And it is to be acknowledged, that fearlessly any Church; since the Primitive Church, yielded, in like Number of Years, and Latitude of Country, a greater Number, of Excellent Preachers, Famous Writers, and Grave Governors; But for the Discipline, and Orders, of the Church, as many, & the chiefest of them, are Holy, and Good; So yet, if Saint John, were to indite an Epistle, to the Church of England, as he did, to them of Asia, it would, sure, have the Chaste; habeo adversus te pacem. And no more, for this Point; Saving that, as an Appendix thereunto, it is not anill, to touch that Objection, which is made to the Time, and not to the Matter; Pretending, that if Reformation, were necessary, yet it were not now seasonable, at your Majesties First Entrance: Yet Hippocrates faith; si quid moveas, a principio move: And the wifedom, of all Examples, do shew, that the wifest Princes, as they have ever been, the most sparing, in Removing, or Alteration, of Servants, and Officers, upon their Coming in; So, for Removing of Abuses, and Exorbitancies; And for Reforming of Laws, and the Policy of their States, they have, chiefly, sought to ennoble, and command, their Beginnings therewith; Knowing, that the first Impression, with People, continueth long; And when Mens Minds, are most in Expectation, and Suspence, then, are they best wrought, and manageth: And therefore it seemeth to me, that as the Spring of Nature, (I mean, the
of the Church of England.

the Spring of the year, is the beft Time, for purging, and Medicining, the Natural Body; So the Spring of Kingdoms, is the moft proper Season, for the purging, and Rectifying, of Politick Bodies.

There remaineth yet, an objection, rather of Sufpiration, then of Reaſon; And yet such, as I think, make them a great Imprefion, in the minds, of very wise, and well affected, Perfon, which is; That is, if way be given, to Mutation, though it be intaking away A-bufe, yet it may ftain Men, with fweetneſs of change, as it will undermine, the Stability, even of that, which is found, and good. This, fully, had been a good, and true, allegation, in the Ancient Contentions, and Divisions, between the People, and the Senate, of Rome: where things were carried, at the Appetites of Multitudes; which can never keep, within the Compaffe, of any Moderation: But these Things, being with us, to have an orderly paffage, under a King, who hath a Royall power, and approved judgement; And knoweth, as well the Measure of Things, as the Nature of them; It is, surely, a needleſſe, Fear. For they need not doubt, but your Majefy, with the advice of your Council, will discern, what Things are intermingled, like the Tares, among the wheat; which have their Roots, enwrapped, and entangled, as the one, cannot be pulled up, without endangering the other; And what, are mingled, but as the Chaff, and the Corn, which need but a Fanne, to fift, and feparate them. So much therefore, for the firft point, of no Reformation, to be admitted, at all.

For the Second point, that there should, be but one form, of Discipline, in all Churches; And that, impofed, by neceffity, of a Commandement, and prefcrip, out of the world of God; It is a Matter, Volumes have been compiled of, and therefore cannot receive a brief Exemplification. I, for my part, do confefs, that in Revolving the Scriptures, I could never find, any fuch Thing; But that God, had left, the like Liberty, to the Church Government, as he had done to the Civill Government; To be varied, according to Time, and Place, and Accidents; which, nevertheless, his high, and Divine, Providence, doth order, and dispose. For all Civill Governments, are restrained, from God, unto the general Grounds, of Justice, and Manners; But the Policies, and Forms, of them, are left Free; So that Monarchies, and Kingdoms; Senates, and Seignories, Popular States, and Communalties are lawfull; And where they are planted, ought to be maintained inviolate.

So likewise, in Church Matters, the Substance of Doctrine, is Immutable; And fo are, the generall Rules, of Government; But for Rites, and Ceremonies; And for the particular Hierarchies, Policies, and Disciplines, of Churches, they be left at large. And therefore, it is good, we return, unto the ancient Bounds of Unity, in the Church of God; which was, One Faith, One Baptifme; And not, one Hierarchy, one Discipline: And that we observe the
Considerations, touching the Edification, and Pacification, of Christians, as it is penned by our Saviour, which is, in substance of Doctrine, this: He that is not with me, is against me: But in Things indifferent, and but of circumstance, this: He that is not against me, is with us. In these things, so as the general Rules be observed; That Christ's Flock be fed; That there be, a Succession, in Bishops, and Ministers, which are the Prophets of the new Testament; That there be a due and reverent use of the power, of the Keys; That those that preach the Gospel, live of the Gospel: That all things tend to edification; That all things be done, in order, and with decency; And the like. The rest, is left, to the Holy wildome, and Spiritual Discretion, of the Master Builders, and inferior Builders, in Christ's Church. As it is excellently alluded, by that Father, that noted: That Christ's Garment, was without Seam, and yet, the Churches Garment, was of divers Colours: And thereupon, settieth down for a Rule: In vete varietas fit, sejusa non sit.

In which Variety, nevertheless, it is safe, and wise, Course, to follow good Examples, and Presidents; But then, by the Rule of Imitation, and Example, to consider, not onely, which are Best, but which are the Likelyest; as namely, the Government, of the Church, in the purest Times, of the first Good Emperors, that embraced the Faith. For the Times of Persecution, before Temporal Princes, received our Faith. As they were, excellent Times, for Doctrine, and Manners; so they be unproper, and unlike Examples, of outward Government, and Policie. And so much, for this Point: Now to the particular Points, of Controversie, or rather of Reformation.

Circumstances, in the Government, of Bishops.

First therefore for the Government of Bishops, I for my part, not prejudging, the Presidents of other Reformed Churches, do hold it warranted, by the Word of God, and by the Practice, of the Ancient Church, in the better Times; And much more convenient, for Kingdoms, then Parity of Ministers, and Government by Synods. But then further, it is to be considered, that the Church, is not now to plant, or Build; But onely, to be proйned, from Corruption; And to be repaired, and restored, in some decays.

For it is worth the Noting, that the Scripture saith, Translatto Sacerdotio, proecessit, ut & Legis fiat Translatio. It is not possible, in respect of the great, and neer Sympathy, between the State Civil, and the State Ecclesiasticall, to make so main an alteration, in the Church, but it would have a perilous operation, upon the Kingdoms: And therefore, it is fit, that Controversie, be in Peace, and Silence.

But there be two Circumstances, in the Administration of Bishops.
of the Church of England.

Wherein, I confess, I could never be satisfied: The one, the sole Exercise, of their Authority; The other, the Deputation, of their Authority.

For the First, the Bishop giveth Orders alone; Excommunicateth alone; Judges alone. This seemeth to be a Thing, almost, without Example, in good Government; and therefore, not unlikely, to have crept in, in the degenerate, and corrupt, Times. We see, the greatest Kings, and Monarchs, have their Councils: There is no Temporal Court, in England, of the Higher sort, where the Authority, doth rest in one Person: The Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, are Benches, of a certain Number, of Judges. The Chancellour of England, hath an Assistance, of twelve Masters, of the Chancery. The Master of the Wards, hath a Council, of the Court: So hath, the Chancellour of the Duchy. In the Exchequer Chamber, the Lord Treasurer, is joyned, with the Chancellour, and the Barons. The Masters of the Requests, are ever, more than One. The Justices of Assize, are two. The Lords Presidents, in the North, and in Wales, have Councils of divers: The Star-Chamber, is an Assembly, of the King's Privy Council, aspersed, with the Lords, Spiritual, and Temporal: So as in Courts, the principal Person, hath ever, either Colleagues, or Assizes.

The like, is to be found, in other, well governed, Common-Wealths, abroad, where the Jurisdiction is yet more dispersed: As in the Court of Parliament of France; And in other Places. No man will deny, but the Acts, that palle the Bishops Jurisdiction, are of as great Importance, as thole, that palle, the Civil Courts; For Men, Souls, are more precious, than their Bodies, or Goods; And so are their Good Names. Bishops, have their Infirmities, have no Exception, from that general Malecition, which is pronounced against all Men Living, Vc Soli, nam fi ecciderit, &c. Nay, we see, that the first Warrant, in Spiritual Causes, is directed to a Number; Die Ecclesi, which is not fo, in Temporal Matters: And we see, that in generall Causes, of Church Government, there are, as well Assemblies, of all the Clergy, in Councils, as of all the States in Parliament: Whence should this sole exercise, of Jurisdiction come? Surely, I do suppose, and I think, upon good Grounds, That Ab Initio non suti sita: And that the Deans, and Chapters, were Councils, about the Sees, and Chairs, of Bishops, at the first; And were, unto them a Presbytery, or Conclave; And intermed- led, not onely, in the Disposing, of their Revenues, and Endowments; but much more, in Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical. But, it is probable, that the Deans, and Chapters, stuck close to the Bishops, in Matters of Profit, and the World, and would not loose their Hold; But in Matters of Jurisdiction, (which they accounted but Trouble, and Attendance,) they suffered the Bishops to encroach, and usurp; And so the one continueth, and the other islost. And we see, that the Bishop of Rome, (Fas enim & ab Hocse
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Hoste doceri; And, no question, in that Church, the first Institutions, were excellent,) performeth, all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as in Consistory.

And whereas confesseth this Consistory, but of the Parish Priest, of Rome, which term themselves Cardinals, à Cardinibus Attulis; Because, the Bishop, pretendeth to be universal, over the whole World. And hereof again, we see many shadows, yet remaining: As that the Dean, and Chapter, performeth, chooseth the Bishop, which is the Higheft Point, of Jurisdiction. And that, the Bishop, when he giveth Orders, if there be any Ministers, casually present, calleth them, to joyn with him, in Imposition of Hands, and some other Particulars. And therefore it feemeth to me, a Thing Reasonable, and Religious, and according to the first Institution, that Bishops, in the greatest Caufes, and those which require a Spiritual Discerning; Namely in Ordaining, Suspending, or Depriving Ministers; In Excommunication, (being restored, to the true, and proper LIFE;) As shall be afterwards touched;) In sentencing, the Validity, of Marriages, and Legitimations; In judging Causes Criminal, as Symony, Incest, Blasphemy, and the like; Should not proceed alone, and unadvised. Which Point, (as I understand it,) is a Reformation; that may be planted, jure Stirpitu, without any Perturbation, at all: And is a Matter, which will give strength to the Bishops; Countenance to the inferior Degrees of Frelates, or Ministers; And the better Iufle, or proceeding, to those Caufes, that shall paff.

And, as I with, this strength, given to the Bishops, by Council, to it is not unworthy, your Majesty's Consideration, whether you shall not think fit, to give strength, to the general Council, of your Clergy, (the Convocation House;) which was then restrained, when the State of the Clergy, was thought, a Suspected Part, to the Kingdom, in regard, of their late Homage, to the Bishop of Rome; Which State, now, will give place to none, in their Loyalty, and Devotion, to your Majesty.

For the Second Point, which is, the Deputation of their Authority; I see, no perfect, and sure Ground, for that neither; Being somewhat different, from the Examples, and Rules, of Government. The Bishop, exerciseth his Jurisdiction, by his Chancellor, and Commissary, official, &c. We see, in all Laws, in the world, Offices of Confidence, and skill, cannot be put over, nor exerciseth by Deputy; Except it be, especially, contained, in the Original Grant; And in that case, it is dutiful. And for Experience, there was never, any Chancellor of England, made a Deputy. There was never any Judge, in any Court, made a Deputy. The Bishop, is a Judge, and of a high Nature, whence commeth it, that he should depuse? Considering, that all Trust, and Confidence, (as was said,) is personal, and Inherent; And cannot, nor ought not, be transposed? Surely, in this again, Ab Initio non fuit sic; But it is probable, that Bishops, when they gave themselves, too much, to the

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Glory of the World, and became Grandees in Kingdoms, and great Counsellors to Princes, then did they delegate, their proper Jurisdictions, as Things, of too inferior a Nature, for their Greatness; And then, after the Sunnitude, and Imitation, of Kings, and Counts Palatine, they would have their Chancellors, and Judges.

But that Example, of Kings, and Potentates, giveth no good Defence. For the Reasons, why Kings, administer, by their Judges, although themselves are Supreme Judges, are two. The one, because the Offices of Kings are, for the most part, of Inheritance; And it is a Rule, in all Laws, that Offices of Inheritance, are rather Matters, that Ground in Interest, then in Confidence; For as much, as they may fall upon Women, upon Infants, upon Lunatics, and Idiots, persons incapable, to Execute judicature, in Person; And therefore, such Offices, by all Laws, might, ever, be exercised, and administered, by Delegation. The Second Reason is, because of the Amplitude of their Jurisdictions; Which is a great, as either their Birth-right, from their Ancestors, or their Sword-right from God, maketh it. And therefore, if Moses, that was Governor, over no great People, and those collected together, in a camp; And not scattered, in Provinces, and Cities; Himself an extraordinary spirit; Was, nevertheless, not able, to suffice, and hold out, in Person, to judge the People; But did, by the advice of Jethro, approved from God, Substitute Elders, and Judges, how much more, other Kings, and Princes?

There is a Third Reason, likewise, though not much to the present purpose; And that is, That Kings, either in respect of the Commonwealth, or of the Greatness of their own Patrimonies, are, usually, Parties in Suits; And then, their Judges, stand indifferent, between Them, and the Subject. But in the Case of Bishops, none of these Reasons hold. For first, their Office is Elective, and for Life, and not Patrimonial, or Hereditary: An Office, meerly of Confidence, Science, and Qualification; And for the Second Reason, it is true, that their Jurisdiction, is Ample, and Spacious; And that their Time, is to be divided, between the Labours; As well, in the Word, and Doctrine, as in Government, and Jurisdiction. But yet, I do not see, (supposing, the Bishops Courts, to be used, incorruptly, and without any indirect course hold, to multiply Causes for gain of Fees;) But that the Bishop, might very well, for Causes of Moment, supply, his Judicall Function, in his own Person. For we see, before our Eyes, that one Chancellor of England dispatcheth, the Suits in Equity, of the whole Kingdom; which is not so much, by reason, of the Excellency, of that Rare Honourable Person, which now holdeth the place; But it was ever so, though, more, or less, burdensome, to the Suiter, as the Chancellor, was more, or less, able, to give dispatch. And if Hold be taken, of that which was said before, that the Bishops Labour in the Word, must take up, a principall Part of his Time; so, I may say again, that Matters of State, have, ever, taken up, most of the
Chancellors' Time: Having been, for the most part, Persons, upon whom the Kings of this Realm have most relied, for Matters of Council. And therefore, there is no Doubt, but the Bishop, who's Circuit is least ample, and the Causes, in Nature, not to multiplying with the Help of References, and Certificates, to and from, lit Persons, for the better Ripening of Causes, in their mean proceedings. And such ordinary Helps, incident to Jurisdiction, May, very well, suffice his Office. But yet, there is another Help. For the Causes, that come before him, are these: Tithes, Legacies, Administrations, and other Testamentary Causes; Causes Matrimonial, Accusations against Ministers, tending to their Suspension, Deprivation, or Degradation; Simony; Incontinency; Hereby, Blasphemy; Breach of the Sabbath; And other, like Causes, of Scandal. The last two of these, in mine Opinion, differ from the Rest: That is, Tithes, and Testaments; For those, are Matters of profit, and, in their nature, Temporall: Though, by a Favour, and Connivance, of the Temporal Jurisdiction, they have been allowed, and permitted, to the Courts Ecclesiasticall: The one, to the end, the Clergy, might sue for that, that was their Supplication, before their own Judges; And the other, in a kind of Piety, and Religion, which was thought incident, to the performance, of Dead Men's Will. And surely, for these two, the Bishop, in mine opinion, may, with less danger, discharge himself, upon his Ordinary Judges. And I think, likewise, it will fall out, that those Suites, are in the greatest number. But for the rest, which require a Spiritual Science, and Discretion, in respect of their Nature, or of the Scandal, it were reason, in mine Opinion, there were no Audience given, but by the Bishop Himself: He being also assisted, as was touched before: But it were necessary also, he were attended, by his Chancellor, or some others, his Officers, being learned in the Civil Laws; for his better Instruction, in Points, of Formality, or the Causes, of the Court: which if it were done, then were there lese use, of the Official Court; Whereof, there is now, so much Complaint. And Causes, of the Nature aforesaid, being only drawn, to the Audience, of the Bishop, it would repulse, frivolous, and Prowling Suites; And give, a Grave, and Incurrupt, Proceeding, to such Causes, as shall be fit, for the Court.

There is a Third point also, not of Jurisdiction, but of Form of Proceeding, which may deserve Reformations. The rather, because it is contrary, to the Laws, and Customs, of this Land, and State; which, though they do not rule tho' Proceedings, yet may they be advised with, for better Directions: And that is, the Oath, Ex Officio: Whereby Men, are enforced, to accuse themselves: And that, that is more, are sworn unto Blanks, and not unto Accusations, and Charges declared. By the Law of England, no man is bound, to accuse himsclf. In the Higheft Cases, of Treason, Torture is used, for Discovery, and not for Evidence. In Capital Matters, no Delinquents, Anfwcr, upon Oath, is required; No, not permitted.
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mitted. In Criminal Matters, not Capital, handled in the Star-Chamber; And in Causes of Conscience, handled in the Chancery, for the most part, grounded, upon Truth, and Secrecy, the Oath of the Party, is required. But how? Where there is an Accusation, and an Accuser, which we call, Bills of Complaint; (From which the Complainant cannot vary; And, out of the Compound, of the which, the Defendant may not be examined,) Exhibited unto the Court, and, by Process, notified, unto the Defendant. But to examine a Man, upon Oath, out of the Information of Fame; Or out, of Accusations, secret, and undeclared; Though it have, some Countenance, from the Civil Law; yet it is, so opposite, Ex Diametro, to the Sense, and Course, of the Common-Law, as it may well receive, some Limitation.

Concerning the Liturgy, the Ceremonies, and Subscription.

For the Liturgy, great Respect, and Heed, would be taken, least, by inweighing against the Dumb Ministry, due Reverence, be not withdrawn, from the Liturgy. For though the Gift of Preaching, be far above that of Reading; Yet, the Action of the Liturgy, is as High, and Holy, as that of the Sermon. It is said; Domus mea Domus Orationis Vocabitur: The House of Prayer, Not the House of Preaching: And whereas the Apostle faith; How shall Men call him, on whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe, unless they hear? And how shall they hear, without a Preacher? It appeareth, that as Preaching is the more Original, so Prayer is the more Final; As the Difference is, between the Seed, and the Fruit; For the Keeping of Gods Law, is the Fruit, of the Teaching, of the Law; And Prayer, or Invocation, or Divine Services, or Liturgy; (For these, be but Varieties, of Terms;) Is the Immediate Hallowing, of the Name of God; And the principal work, of the first Table; And, of the great Commandment, of the Love, of God. It is true, that the Preaching, of the Holy Word, of God, is the Sowing of the Seed; It is the Lifting up, of the Brazen Serpent; The Ministry of Faith; And the Ordinary Means, of Salvation; But yet, it is good, to take Example, how that the best Actions, of the Worship of God, may be extolled, excessively, and superstitionly. As the Extolling, of the Sacrament, bred the Superstition of the Mass; The Extolling of the Liturgy, and Prayers, bred the Superstition, of the Monastic Orders, and Oraisons; And so, no doubt, Preaching likewise, may be magnified, and extolled, superstitionly; As if, all the whole Body, of Gods Worship, should be turned into an Ear. So as none, (as I suppose,) of sound Judgement, will derogate from
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the Liturgy, if the Form thereof, be, in all parts, agreeable, to the Word of God; The Example of the Primitive Church; And that holy Decency, which Saint Paul commendeth. And therefore, first, that there be a set Form of Prayer: And that, it beno't left, either to an Extemporal Form, or to an Arbitrary Form. Secondly, that it confift, as well of Laudes, Hymnes, and Thanksgivings, as of Petitions, Prayers, and Supplications. Thirdly, that the Form thereof be quickned, with some shortnede, and Diversities, of Prayers, and Hymnes, and with some Interchanges, of the Voice of the People, as well as of the Minister. Fourthly, that it admit some Distinction, of Times, and Commentatorions, of gods principal Benefits, as well General, as particular. Fifthly, that Prayers, likewise, be appropriated, to severall Necessities, and Occasions, of the Church. Sixthly, that there be a Form, likewise, of Words, and Liturgy, in the Administration of the Sacraments, and in the Denouncing of the Confes. of the Church, and other Holy Actions, and Solemnities: These things, I think, will not be much controverted.

But for the Particular Exceptions, to the Liturgy, in form, as it now standeth; I think, divers, of them, allowing they were Just, yet seem they not to be Weighty; Otherwise, then that nothing ought to be accounted Light, in Matters of Religion, and Piety: As the Heathen himself could say; Eathanvuln sepe leditur Pietas. That the word, (Priests,) should not be continued, especially with Offence, the word, (Minister,) being already made familiar. This may be said, that it is a good Rule in Translation, never to confound that in one word, in the Translation, which is precisely distinguished, in two words in the Original, for doubt of Equivocation, and Translating. And therefore, seeing the word Ἰνακομίως, & ἐνίθες, be alwaies distinguished, in the Original; And the one used for a Sacrifice, the other for a Minister; The word, Priests, being made common to both, (whatsoever the Derivation be,) yet, in use, it confoundeth the Minister, with the Sacrificer. And for an Example, of this kind; I did ever allow, the Discretion, and Tenderness, of the Rheumfits Translation, in this Point; That finding, in the Original, the word ἀπό, and never ἐν, do ever translate Charity, and never Love; Because of the Incertainty, and Equivocation, of the word, with Impure Love.

Touching the Absolution, it is not unworthy Consideration, whether it may not be thought, unproper, and unnecessary? For there are, but two sorts, of Absolution; Both Suppos'd, an obligation, precedent: The one, upon an Excommunication, which is Religious, and Primitive; The other, upon Confession, and Penance, which is Superstition, or, at least, Pervers; And both Particular, neither General. Therefore, since the one is taken away, and the other hath his proper place, what doth a general Absolution, wherein, there is neither Penance, nor Excommunication, precedent? For the Church, never holeth, but where the Church hath bound.
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bound. And surely, I may think, This, at the first, was allowed, in a kinsie, of Spiritual Discretion; Because the Church thought, the people, could not be suddenly weaned, from their Concern of Akinling; To which they had been, so long accustomed.

For Confirmation, to my understanding, the State of the Question is, whether it be not, a matter mistaken, and altered by Time; And whether, that be not now made, a Subsequent to Baptism, which was, indeed, an Inducement, to the Communion. For whereas in the Primitive Church, Children were examined of their Faith before they were admitted to the Communion, Time may seem to have turned it, to refer, as if it had been, to receive, a Confirmation, of their Baptism.

For Private Baptism, by Women, or Lay Persons, the best Divines, do utterly condemn it; and I hear it not generally defended; And I have often marvailed, that where the Book, in the Preeace, to Publick Baptism, doth acknowledge, that Baptism, in the Pratise, of the Primitive Church, was Anniverfary, and burst at certain Times; which sheweth, that the Primitive Church, did not attribute, so much, to the Ceremony, as they would break an outward, and generall, Order for it; The Book, should afterwards, allow of Private Baptism; As if the Ceremony, were of that Necessity, as the very Institution, which committed Baptism, only to the Ministers, should be broken, in regard, of the supposed Necessity. And therefore this Point, of all others, I think, was, but a Concessum proper Divitiiam Cordis.

For the Form, of Celebrating Matrimony, the Ring seemeth to many, even of vulgar Sense, and Understanding, a Ceremony not Grave; Especially, to be made, (as the words make it,) the essential Part, of the Action? Besides, some other of the words, are noted, in Speech, to be, not so Decent, and Fit.

For Musick in Churches: That there should be Singing of Psalms, and Spiritual Songs, is not denied: So the Question is, de Modo: Wherein, if a Man, will look attentively, into the Order, and Observation, of it, it is calle to discern, between the Wisdoms, of the Institution, and the Exercise of the late Times. For first, there are no Songs, or Verfes, sung, by the Quire, which are not supposed, by continual Use, to be to familiar with the People, as they have them without Book; Whereby, the Sound, hurteth not the Understanding; And thofe, which cannot read, upon the Book, are yet Pertakers of the Sense, and may follow it with their mind. So again, after the Reading of the Word, it was thought fit, there should be, some paufe, for Holy Meditation, before they proceeded, to the Reft, of the Service: Which Paufe, was thought fit, to be filled, rather with some grave Sounds, then with a still Silence; Which was the Reason, of the Playing upon the Organs, after the Scriptures read. All which was Decent, and tending to Edification. But then, the Curiosity of Division, and Reports, and other Figures of Musick, have no Affinity, with
Considerations, touching the Edification, and Pacification, with the Reasonable Service of God, but were added, in the more pompos Times.

For the Capp, and surpliss, since they be Things, in their Nature, indifferent; And yet, by some, held superstitious; And that the Question is, between Science, and Conscience; It seemeth to fall, within the Compas, of the Apsiders Rule; Which is, That the Stronger, do defend, and yield, to the Weaker. Only, the Difference is, that it will be materially said, that the Rule holdeth, between Privat Man, and Privat Man, But not between the Conscience, if a Private Man, and the Order, of a Church. But yet since the Question, at this time, is of a Toleration; Not by Conivience, which may encourage Disobedience; But by Law, which may give Liberty; It is good, again, to be advised, whether it shall not, within the Equity, of the Former Rule: The rather, because the Silencing of Ministers, by this Occasion, is, in this scarcity of good Preacher, a punishment, that lighteth upon the People, as well as upon the Party. And for the Subscription, it seemeth to me, in the Nature of a Confession; And therefore, more proper, to bind, in the Unity of Faith; And to be urged, rather, for Articles of Doctrine, then for Rites, and Ceremonies, and Points of outward Government. For howsoever, Politick Considerations, and Reasons of State, may require Uniformity, yet Christian, and Divine Grounds, look, chiefly, upon Unity.

Touching a Preaching Ministry.

To speak of a Learned Ministry; It is true, that the Worthiness, of the Pastours, & Ministers, is, of all other points of Religion, the most Summary; I do not say, the Greatest, but the most Iffedual, towards the rest: But herein to my Understanding, while Men, go on, in Zeal, to haften this work, they are not aware, of as great, or greater Inconvenience, then that, which they seek to remove. For while, they inweigh, against a Dumb Ministry, they make, too easy, and too promisious, an Allowance of such, as they account Preachers; Having not Respect enough, to their Learnings, in other Arts, which are Handmaides, to Divinity; Not Respect enough, to Tears, except it be, in Case, of Extraordinary Gifts; Not Respect enough, to the Gift itself, which, many Times, is none at all. For God forbid, that every Man, that can take unto himself Boldness, to speak an Hour together, in a Church upon a Text, should be admitted for a Preacher, though he mean never so well. I know, there is a great Latitude, in Gifts; And a great Variety in Auditories, and Congregations; But yet so, as there is, Aliquid Infimum, below which, you ought not to descend. For you must
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must, rather, leave the Arke, to shake, as it shall please God, then put, unworthy Hands, to hold it up: And when we are, in God's Temple, we are warned, rather, to put our Hands, upon our Mouth, then to offer, the Sacrifice, of Fools. And surely, it may be justly thought, that amongst many Causes of Atheism, which are miserably met in our Age; As Schisms, and Controversies; Profane Scoffings, in Holy Matters; and others; It is not the least, that divers do adventure, to handle the Word of God, which are unfit, and unworthy. And herein, I would have, no man, mistake me, as if I did extoll, curious, and affected, Preaching; which is, as much, on the other side, to be disliked: And breedeth Atheism, and Scandal, as well as the others; (For who, would not be offended, at one, that cometh into the Pulpit, as if he came upon the Stage, to play Parts, or Prizes?) Neither, on the other side, as if I would discourage any, who hath any tolerable Gift.

But upon this Point, I ground three Considerations: First, whether it were not requisite, to renew, that good Exercise, which was practised, in this Church, some years; And afterwards, put down, by order, indeed, from the Church; In regard, of some Abuse thereof; Inconvenient, for those Times; And yet, against the Advice, and Opinion, of one, of the Greatest, and Gravest, Practisers, of this Land; And was commonly called Prophecying.

Which was this; That the Ministers, within a Precinct, did meet, upon a week day, in some principal Town; where there was, some ancient, Grand Minister, that was President; And an Auditor, admitted, of Gentlemen, or other Persons of Leisure. Then every Minister, successively, beginning with the youngest, did handle one, and the same part, of Scripture, spending, severally, some Quarter of an Hour, or better, And, in the whole, some two Hours: And so, the Exercise, being begun, and concluded, with Prayer; And the President, giving a Text, for the next meeting; the Assembly was dissolved. And this was, as I take it, a Forthnight's Exercise: which in my Opinion, was the best way, to frame, and train, up Preachers, to handle the Word of God, as it ought to be handled, that hath been practised. For we see, Orators, have their Declamations; Lawyers, have their Motets; Logicians, their Sophisms; And every Practitioner of Science, hath an Exercise of Erudition, and initiation, before Men come to the Life; Onely Preaching, which is the worthiest; And where-in it is most danger to be amiss: Wanteth an Introduction, and is vented, and rushed upon, at the first: But unto this Exercise of the Prophecy, I would wish, these two Additions: The one, that after this Exercise, which is, in some sort, Publick, there were, immediately, a Private Meeting, of the same Ministers; Where they might, brotherly admonish, the one, the other; And specially the elder, the younger, of any Thing, that had passed, in the Exercise, in Matter, or Manner, unsound, and uncomely; And, in a word, might, mutually, use such Advice,
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Instruction, Comfort, or Encouragement, as Occasion might minister; For publick Repræhenston were to be debarred. The other Addition, that I mean, is, That the same Exercise, were used in the Universities, for young Divines, before they presumed to Preach, as well, as in the Country, for Ministers. For they have, in some Colledges, an Exercise, called a Common Place; Which can, in no Degree, be so profitable, being but the Speech, of one Man, at one time. And if it be feared, that it may be Occasion, to what Men's Speeches, for Controversies, it is easily remedied, by some strict Prohibition, that Matters of Controversie, tending, any way, to the violating, or Disquieting, the Peace of the Church, be not handled or entred into; Which Prohibition, in regard, there is ever to be, a Grave person, President, or Moderator, cannot be frustrate. The second Consideration is, whether it were not convenient, there should be a more exact Probation, and Examination, of Ministers; Namely, that the Bishops, do not ordain alone, but by Advice; And then, that Ancient, Holy Orders of the Church might be revived: By the which, the Bishop did ordain Ministers, but at four set times, of the year; which were called, Annatar Temporae, which are, now, called Ember-weeks; It being thought fit, to accompany, so High an Action, with general Fasting, and Prayer, and Sermons, and all Holy Exercises; And the Names, likewise, of those, that were to be ordained, were published, some days, before their Ordination; To the end, Exceptions might be taken, if just Cause were. The Third Consideration, is, that if the Cape of the Church of England be, that where a Computation is taken, of all the Parochian Churches, (allowing the Union of such, as were too small, and adjacent;) And again, a Computation, to be taken, of the persons, who are worthy to be Pas leurs; And, upon the said Account, if it fall out, that there are many more Churches, than Pas leurs; Then of Necessity, Recourse must be had, to one of these Remedies; Either, that Pluralties must be allowed; (Specially, if you can by permutation, make the Benefices more compatible;) Or that there be Allowed Preachers, to have a more general Charge, to supply, and serve, by turn, Parishes unfurnished: For that some Churches, should be provided, of Pas leurs, able to teach; and others wholly Defitute, seemeth, to me, to be against the Communion of Saints, and Christians; And against the Practice, of the Primitive Church.
Touching the Abuse, of Excommunication.

Excommunication, is the greatest judgement, upon Earth; Being that, which is ratified in Heaven: And being, a Preliminary, or Preliminary judgement, of the great judgement, of Christ, in the End of the World. And therefore, for this, to be used unreverently, and to be made, an Ordinary Process, to lackey up and down, for Fees, how can it be, without Derogation, to God's Honour, and making the power of the Keys, contemptible? I know, very well, the Defence thereof, which hath no great Force; That it issueth forth, not for the Thing itsel, but for the Contumacy. I do not deny, but this judgement is, (as I said before,) of the Nature, of God's judgements, of the which, it is a Model. For, as the judgement of God, taketh hold, upon the least sin, of the Impenitent; And taketh no hold, of the greatest Sin of the Convert, or Penitent: So Excommunication, may, in case, issue, upon the smallest Offence; And, in Case, not issue, upon the greatest: But is this Contumacy, such a Contumacy, as Excommunication is now used for? For the Contumacy, must be such, as the Party, (as far, as the Eye, and Wisdom, of the Church, can discern,) standeth in State, of Reprobation, and Damnation: As one, that for that time, seemeth given over, to Final Impenitency. Upon this Observation, I ground two Considerations: The one, that this Censure, be restored, to the true Dignity, and Use, thereof; which is, that it proceed not, but in Causes, of great weight; And that it be decreed, not by any Deputy, or Substitute, of the Bishop, but by the Bishop, in Person; And not by him alone, but by the Bishop Assisted.

The other Consideration is, That in lieu thereof, there be given, to the Ecclesiastical Court, some ordinary Process, with such Force, and Coercion, as appertaineth; That to the Dignity, of so high a Sentence, being, retained, and the Necessity, of an Act Process supplied, the Church, may be, indeed, restored, to the Ancient Vigour, and Splendour. To this purpose, joyn'd with some other Holy, and Good, purposes, was there a Bill, drawn in Parliament, in the Three and Twentieth Year, of the Reign, of the Queen deceas'd; (which was the Gravest Parliament, that I have known;) And the Bill, recommended, by the gravest, Councillors of State, in Parliament; Though afterwards, it was stayed, by the Queen, speciall Commandement, the Nature of those Things considered.
NON-RESIDENTS,

Toucing,

PLURALITIES.

For Non-Residence, except it be, in Case of necessary Absence, it seemeth, an Abuse, drawn out of Covetousnesse, and Sloth: For that Men, should Live of the Flock, that they do not Feed; Or of the Altar, at which they do not Serve; Is a Thing, that can hardly receive, just Defence. And to Exercise, the Office, of a Pastor, in Matter of the Word, and Doctrine, by Deputies; Is a Thing not warranted, as hath been touched before. The Questions upon this Point, do arise, upon the Cases of Exception, and Execution: Which shall be thought Reasonable, and Sufficient; And which not. For the Case of Chaplains, let me speak that with your Majesties pardon, and with Reverence, towards the other Peers, and Grave Persons, whose Chaplains, by Statutes, are privileged: I should think, that the Attendance, which Chaplains give, to your Majesties Court, and in the Houses, & Families, of their Lords, were a fair Reason, why they should have no Benefice, then why, they should be qualified, to have Two: For, as it standeth, with Christian Policy, that such Attendance, be, in no wife, neglected; Because that good, which ensueth thereof, to the Church of God, may exceed, or counterbalance, that, which may follow of their Labours, in any, though never so large, a Congregation; So it were reasonable, that their Maintenance should Honourably, and Liberally, proceed thence, whence their Labours be employed. Neither, are there wanting, in the Church, Dignities, and Preferments, not joined, with any exact Care of Souls; By which, and by the Hope of which, such Attendants in Ordinary, (who ought to be, as for the most part they are, of the best Gifts, and Sort,) may be, further, encouraged, and rewarded. And as for Extraordinary Attendants, they may, very well, retain the Grace, and Countenance, of their places, and Duties, at times incident thereunto, without Discontinuance, or Non-Residence, in their Pastoral Charges. Next, for the Case, of intending, Studies in the Universities, it will, more easily, receive an Answer; For Studies, do but serve, and tend, to the Practice, of those Studies; And therefore, for that, which is most Principally, and Finall, to be left undone, for the Attending, of that, which is Subservient, and Subordinate, seemeth to be, against proportion, of Reason. Neither do I see, but that, they proceed right well, in all Knowledge, which do couple Study, with their Practice; And do not first Study altogether, and then Practice altogether; And therefore, they may, very well, Study, at their Benefices. Thirdly, for the Case, of Extraordinary Service of the Church, 

Considerations, touching the Edification, and Pacification,
Church: As if some Pastor, be sent, to a Generall Council; Or here, to a Convocation: And likewise, for the Case of Neceffity, as in the particular, of Infirmitie of Body, and the like; No man will contradift, but there may be, some Subftitution, for such a Time. But the Generall Case, of Neceffity, is the Case of Pluralities; the Want of Pasteurs, and Infufficiency, of Livings, considered, Pastors, that a Man, doth, faithfully, and incellantly, divide, his Labours, between two Curers: Which kinde of Neceffity, I come now, to speak of, in the Handling, of Pluralities.

For Pluralities, in Case, the Number, of Able Ministers, were sufficient, and the Palex of Benefices were sufficient, then Pluralities, were, in no fort, tolerable. But we muft take heed, we defire not Contraries. For to defire, that every Parifh, should be furnished, with a sufficient Preacher; And to defire, that Pluralities, be, forthwith, taken away, is to defire Things contrary; Considering, De Fazio, there are not, Sufficient Preachers, for every Parifh: Whereof adde likewise, that there is not, Sufficient Living, and Maintenance, in many Parifhes, to maintain a Preacher; And it maketh, the Imppoffibility, yet much the greater. The Remedies, in Herum Natura, are but Three; Union, Permutation, and Supply. Union, of fuch Benefices, as have the Living, too small, and the Parifhs not too great, and are Adjacent. Permutation, to make Benefices more compatible, though men be over ruled, to some loffe, in changing a Better, for a Nearer. Supply, by Stipendary Preachers, to be rewarded, with some Liberall Stipends, to supply, as they may, fuch places, which are unfurnished, of fufficient Pasteurs. As Queen Elizabeth, amongst other, her Gracious Acts, did ered, certain of them, in Lancashire; Towards which Penfions, I fee no reafon, but Reading Ministers, if they have rich Benefices, should be charged.

Touching the Provision, for fufficient Maintenance, in the Church.

Touching Church Maintenance, it is well to be weighed, what is, Jure Divino, and what, Jure Positivo. It is a Constitution, of the Divine Law, from which humane Lawes, cannot derogate; That thofe, which feed the flock, should live of the flock; That thofe, that serve, at the Altar, should live of the Altar; That thofe, which dispence spiritual things, should Reap Temporal Things; Of which, it is also an Appendix, that the Proportion, of this Maintenance, be not small, or neceffitous, but Plentiful, and Liberall. So then, that all the Places, and Offices, of the Church, be provided, of fuch a Donation, that they may be maintained, according to their feuerall Degrees.
Considerations, touching the Edification, and Pacification

Degrees, is a Constitution, permanent, and perpetual: But for particularity, of the Endowments, whether it should consist of Tithes, or Lands, or Penfions, or Mixt, might make a Question, of Convenience, but no Question, of precise Necessity. Again, that the Case, of the Church, do faith, is such, that there is want, in the Church, of Patrimony, is confessed. For the Principall Places, namely, the Bishop's Living, are, in some particulars, not sufficient; And therefore, enforced, to be supplied, by Tolleration of Commendams. Things, of themselves, unfit, and ever held of no good Report. And as for the Benefices, and Pastor's Places, it is manifest, that very many of them, are very weak, and penurious. On the other side, that there was a Time, when the Church, was rather burthened, with Superfluity, then with Lack, that is like wise apparent; But it is long since; So as the Fault, was in others, the Want redoundeth unto us. Again, that it were to be wished, that Improprations, were returned to the Church, as the most Proper, and Natural, Endowments thereof, is a Thing like wise, wherein Mens Judgements, will not much vary. Nevertheless, that it is an Impossibility, to proceed now, either to their Resumption, or Redemption, is as plain on the other side. For Men are set in them, by the Highest Assurance, of the Kingdom, which is, All of Parliament; And the value of them, amounteth, much above ten Subsidies: And the Restitution must, of Necessity, passe their Hands, in whose Hands they now are, in possession, or Interest.

But of these things, which are manifestly true, to infer, and ground, some Conclusions. First, in mine own Opinion, and Sense, I must confess, (let me speak it with Reverence,) that all the Parliaments, since 27th. and 31st. of H. 8. (who gave away Improprations, from the Church,) seem to me, to stand, in a fort, obnoxious, and obliged, to God, in Conscience, to do somewhat for the Church; To reduce the Patrimonies thereof, to a Competency. For since, they have debarr'd, Christ's Wife, of a great part, of her Dowry, it were Reason, they made her, a competent Jointure. Next to say, that Improprations, should be onely charged; That carrieth, neither Possibility, nor Reason. Not Possibility, for the Reasons touched before: Not Reason, because, if it be conceived, that if any other Person be charged, it should be a Re-charge, or Double-charge, in as much, as he payeth Tithes, already, that is a Thing mistaken. For it must be remembred, that as the Realm, gave Tithes, to the Church; So the Realm, since again, hath given Tithes, away from the Church, unto the King: As they may give their 8th Sheaf, or Ninth Sheaf. And therefore, the first Gift, being evacuated, it cannot go, in decazeance, or discharge, of that perpetuall Bond, wherewith Men are bound, to maintain God's Ministers. And so, we see, in Example, that divers Godly, and well Disposed, People, do not Improprations, are content, to encrease, their Preachers Livings; which, though in Law, it be but a Benevolence, yet, before God, it is a Conscience. Further, that Improprations:
of the Church of England.

ations, should not be, somewhat, more deeply, charged, then other Reverences, of like value, me thinks, cannot well be denied; Both, in regard, of the Ancient claim of the Church; And the Intention, of the first Giver; And again, because they have passed, in odulation, between Man and Man, somewhat, at the lesse rate, in regard, of the said pretence, or Claim, of the Church, in Conscience, before God. But of this Point, touching Church-Maintenance, I do not think fit, to enter into further Particularity, but reserve the same, to a fitter Time.

Thus have I, in all Humbleness; and Sincerity of Heart, to the best of my understanding, given your Majesty, Tribute, of my Cares; and Cogitations, in this Holy Businesse; So highly tending to Gods Glory, your Majesties Honour, and the Peace, and Welfare, of your States. Infomuch, as I am persuaded, that the Papis themselves, should not need, so much, the Severity of Penal Lawes, if the Sword of the Spirit, were better edged, by strengthening the Authority, and suppressing the Abuses, in the Church.

To conclude, renewing my most Humble Submission, of all that I have said, to your Majesties, most High Wisdoms; And again, most humbly, craving pardon, for any Errors, committed in this Writing, which, the same weakness, of Judgement, that suffered me to commit them, would not suffer me to discover them; I end, with my Devout, and Fervent, Prayer to God; That, as he hath, made your Majesty, the Corner-stone, in joyning, your two Kingdoms; So, you may be also, as a Corner-stone, to unite, and knit together, these Differences, in the Church, of God; To whose Heavenly Grace, and never erring, Direction, I commend your Majesties Sacred Person, and all your Doings.
CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, TOUCHING THE PLANTATION IN IRELAND.

PRESENTED TO His Majesty, 1606.

T' seemeth God hath reserved, to your Majesties Times, two Works; which amongst the Works of Kings, have the suprem Preheminence; The Union, and Plantation, of Kingdoms. For although it be a great Fortune, for a King, to deliver, or recover, his Kingdom, from long continued Calamities; yet, in the Judgement of those, that have distinguished, of the Degrees, of Sovereign Honour; To be a Founder, of Estates, or Kingdoms, excelleth all the rest. For, as in Arts, and Sciences, to be the first Inventer, is more, then to Illustrate, or Amplifie: And as, in the Works of God, the Creation is greater, then the Preservation; And as, in the Works of Nature, the Birth, and Nativitie, is more then the
the Continuance: So in Kingdoms, the first Foundation, or Plantation, is of more Noble Dignity, and Merit, than all that followeth. Of which Foundations, there being but two Kinds: The first that maketh One of More; And the Second, that maketh One of None; The Latter, resembling, the Creation of the World, which was, De Nihilo ad Quod; And the Former, the Edification of the Church, which was de Multiplici ad Simplex, vel a human: It hath pleased the Divine Providence, in singular Favour to your Majesty, to put, both these Kinds of Foundations, or Regenerations, into your Hand; The one, in the Union, of the Island, of Britain; The other, in the Plantation, of Great and Noble Parts, of the Island, of Ireland: Which Enterprizes, being once happily accomplished, Then that, which was uttered, by One of the Best Orators, in one of the Worst versets, O fortunat am nat am me Consul Romam: May be, far more truly, and properly, applied to your Majesties Act: Nam te Rege Britanniam; Nam tibi Hiberniam. For He spake, unproperly, of Deliverance, and Prefervation; But, in these Acts of yours, it may be verified, more naturally. For indeed, Unions, and Plantations, are the very Nativities, or Birth-Dayes of Kingdoms. Wherein, likewise, your Majesties hath yet a Fortune extraordinary, and Differing, from former Examples, in the same Kind. For most Part of Unions, and Plantations, of Kingdoms, have been founded, in the effusion of Blood; But your Majesty shall build, in Solo pura, et in Arcâ purâ, that shall need no Sacrifices Expiatory, for Blood; And therefore, (no doubt,) under a Higher, and more Assured, Blessing. Wherefore, as I adventured, when I was less known, and less particularly bound, to your Majesty, then since, by your undeserved Favour, I have been, to write somewhat touching the Union, which your Majesty was pleased to accept; And which since, I have, to my power, seconded by my Travels; Not onely, in Discourse, but in Action: So I am, thereby, encouraged, to do the like, touching this Matter of Plantation; Hoping, that your Majesty will, through the weakness of my Ability, discern the Strength of my Affection; And the Honesty, and fervent, Desire I have, to see your Majesties Person, Name, and Times, Blessed, and Exalted, above those, of your Royal Progenitors. And I was, the rather, invited this to do, by the Remembrance, that when the Lord chief Justice, deceased, Popham, serv'd in the place, wherein I now serve; And afterwards, in the Attorney's Place, he laboured greatly, in the last Project, touching the Plantation of Munster. Which nevertheless, as it seemed, hath given more light, by the Errors thereof, what to Avoid; Then, by the Direction of the same, what to Follow. First therefore, I will speak somewhat, of the Excellency of the Work; And then, of the Means to compasse, and effect it. For the Excellency of the Work, I will divide it, into four Noble, and Worthy, Consequences, that shall follow thereupon. The First of the four, is Honour; whereof I have spoken enough alread}
dy, were it not, that the Harp of Ireland, puts me in mind, of that Glorious Emblem, or Allegory, wherein the wisdom of Antiquity, did figure, and shadow out, works of this Nature. For the Poets signified, that Orpheus by the vertue, and sweetness, of his Harp, did call, and assemble, the Beasts, and Birds, of their Nature, wild, and savage, to stand about him, as in a theater; Forgetting their Affections, of Fierceness, of Lust, and of Prey; and listening to the Tunes, and Harmonies, of the Harp: and soon after, called likewise the Stones, and the Woods, to remove, and stand in order about him: which Fable, was anciently interpreted, of the Reducing, and Plantation, of Kingdoms; when People of Barbarous Manners, are brought, to give over, and discontinue, their Customs, of Revenge, and Blood, and of dissolute Life, and of Theft, and of Rape; And to give Ear, to the wisdom of Laws, and Governments, whereupon, immediately followeth, the Calling of Stones, for Building, and Habitation; and of Trees, for the seats of Houses, Orchards, and Enclosures, and the like.

This Work, therefore, of all other, most Memorable, and Honourable, your Majesty hath now in Hand; specially, if your Majesty joyn, the Harp of David, in calling out, the Evill Spirit, of Superstition; with the Harp of Orpheus, in casting out Desolation, and Barbarism.

The second Consequence, of this Enterprise, is the Avoiding, of an Inconvenience, which commonly attendeth upon Happy Times, and is an evill effect, of a good Cause. The Revolution of this present Age, seemeth to encline to Peace, almost generally in these Parts; And your Majesty, most Christian, and vertuous, affections, do promise the same, more specially, to these your Kingdoms. An effect of Peace, in Fruitfull Kingdoms, (where the stock of People, receiving no Consumption, nor Diminution, by warre, doth continually multiply; and increaseth;) must, in the end, be a Surcharge, or Overflow of People, more then the Territories can well maintain; Which, many times, insinuating a general Necessity, and want of Means, into all estates; Doth turn, Externall Peace, into Internall Troubles, and Seditions. Now what an excellent Division, of this Inconvenience, is ministered, by God's Providence, to your Majesty, in this Plantation of Ireland? wherein, so many Families, may receive, Subsistances, and Fortunes; And the Discharge of them, also, out of England, and Scotland; may prevent many Seeds of Future perturbations? So that it is, as if a Man were troubled, for the Avoidance of water, from the place, where he hath built his House; And afterwards, should advise with himself, to cast those waters, and to turn them, into Fair Pools, or Streams, for pleasure, provision, or use. So shall your Majesty, in this Work, have a double Commodity; In the Avoidance of People here, and in Making use of them there.
The third Consequence is the great Safety, that is like to grow, to your Majesty's State, in generall, by this Act; In discounting all Hostile Attempts of Foreigners; which the Weakness of that Kingdom, hath heretofore invited: Wherein, I shall not need, to fetch Reasons, afar off, either for the generall, or particular. For the generall, because nothing is more evident, then that, which one of the Romans, said of Peloponnesis: Teuthido intratoyomen inta eft. The Tortoise is safe within her shell: But, if she put forth, any part of her Body, then it endangereth, not only the part that is to put forth, but all the Rest. And so, we see in Armour, if any part be left naked, it puts in hazard the whole Person. And, in the Natural Body of Man, if there be any weak, or Affected part, it is enough, to draw Rheums, or Maligne Humours unto it, to the Interruption, of the Health, of the whole Body.

And for the Particular, the Example is too Fresh, that the indisposition of that Kingdom, hath been a continuall Attractive, of Troubles, and Infections, upon this Estate; and though your Majesty's Greatness, doth, in some sort, discharge this Fear, yet with your encrease of Power, it cannot be, but Every is like-wise encreased.

The fourth, and last Consequence, is the great Profit, and Strength, which is like to redound, to your Crown, by the working, upon this unpollished Part thereof: Whereof, your Majesty, (being in the strength of your years,) are like, by the good pleasure of Almighty God, to receive, more then the First Fruits; And your Posterity, a growing, and Springing Veine of Riches, and Power. For this Island, being another Britain, As Britain was said, to be another World; Is endowed, with so many Diversities of Nature, (considering the Fruitfulness of the Soil, the Ponds, the Rivers, the Fisheries, the Quarries, the Woods, and other Materials; And specially, the Race, and Generation of Men, valiant, hard, and active;) As it is not easie, nor not upon the Continent, to find, such Confluence of Commodities, if the Hand of Man, did joyn with the Hand of Nature. So then for the Excellence, of the work, in point of Honour, Policy, Safety, and Utility, here I cease. For the Means, to effect this Work; I know your Majesty shall not want, the Information of Persons expert, and industrious, which have served you there, and know the Region: Nor the Advice, of a Grave, and Prudent Counsell, here; which know the Pulses, of the Hearts, of People, and the ways, and Passages, of conducting great Actions: Besides that, which is above all; which is, that Fountain, of Wisdom, and Universal-ity, which is in your self; yet notwithstanding, in a thing, of so publick a Nature, it is not amiss, for your Majesty, to hear variety of Opinion. For as Democritus faith well; The good Fortune, of a Prince, or State, doth sometimes, put a good Motion, into a Faulty Mouth. I do think therefore, the Means, of accomplishing this Work
Considerations, touching the Plantation, in Ireland.

Work consisteth of two principal Parts. The first, the Invitation, and Encouragement, of Undertakers: The second, the Order, and Policy of the Project, itself. For as in all Engines of the Hand, there is somewhat, that giveth the Motion and Force; and the rest, serveth to guide, and govern, the same: So it is in these Enterprizes, or Engines, of Estate. As for the former of these, there is no doubt, but next unto the Providence, and Finger of God, which writeth these Vertuous, and Excellent, Desires, in the Tables, of your Majesties Heart, your Authority, and Affection, is Primus Motor, in this Cause: And therefore, the more strongly, and fully, your Majesty shall declare your self in it, the more shall you quicken, and animate, the whole proceeding. For this is is an Action, which as the warhinecle of it, doth bear it, so the Nature of it requirerh it, to be carried in some Height of Reputation; And fit, in mine Opinion, for Pulpits, and Parliaments, and all places, to ring, and resound of it. For that, which may seem Vanity, in some Things; (I mean, Matter of Fames) is of great efficaciy, in this Case.

But now, let me defend, to the inferior Sphears, and speake, what Cooperation, in the Subject, or undertakers, may be rais'd, and kindled, and by what Means. Therefore, to take plain Grounds, which are the furest; All Men are drawn into Actions, by three Things, Pleasure, Honour, and Profit. But before I pursue the three Motives, it is fit, in this place, to enterlaze, a word, or two, of the Quality, of the Undertakers; wherein my Opinion simply is; that if your Majesty shall make these Portions of Land, which are to be Planted, as Rewards, or as Suits, or as Fortunes, for those, that are in want; And are likely to seek after them; That they will not be able, to go through, with the Charge, of good Substantiall Plantations; But will Deficere, in Opere medlo; And then, this Work will succeed, as Tacitus faith; Acribus initii, Fine inercrofo. So that, this must rather be an Adventure, r such as are full; Then a setting up, of those, that are low of Means; For those Men, are fit, indeed, to perform these Undertakings; Which were fit, to purchase dry Reversions, after Lives, or years; Or such, as were fit, to put our Money, upon long Returns.

I do not say, but that I think, the Undertakers themselves, will be glad to have some Captains, or Men of Service, intermixed among them, for their safety; But I speak, of the Generality of Undertakers; which, I wish, were Men of Estate, and Plenty.

Now therefore, if followeth well to speake, of the aforesaid three Motives: For it will appear the more, how necessary it is, to allure, by all means, Undertakers: Since those Men, will be least fit, which are like to be, most in Appetite, of themselves; And those most fit, which are like, least to desirfe it.

First therefore, for Pleasure, in this Region, or Tract of Soil, there is no Warm Winters, nor Orange Trees, nor strange Beasts, or Birds, or other Points of Curiosity, or Pleasure, as there are in the Indies,
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and the like; Soas, there can be found, no Foundation, made upon Matter of Pleasure, otherwise, then that the very Desire of Novelty, and Experiment, in some stirring Natures, may work somewhat; And therefore, it is the other two Points, of Honour, and Profit, whereupon we are wholly to rest.

For Honour, or Countenance, if I shall mention to your Majesty, whether, in wisdome, you shall think convenient, the better to express your Affection to the Enterprise, and for a Pledge there of, to add the Earlome of Ulster, to the Princes Titles; I shall, but learn it, out of the practice, of King Edward the First; Who first used the like course, as a mean, the better to restrain, the Country of Wales: And, I take it, the Prince of Spain, hath the Addition, of a Province, in the Kingdome of Naples; And other Presidents, I think, there are, and it is like, to put more life, and Encouragement, into the Undertakers.

Alfo, considering the large Territories, which are to be Planted, it is not unlike, your Majesty will think, of raising some Nobility there; which, if it be done meerly, upon new Titles, of Dignity, having no manner of Reference to the Old; And if it be done alfo, without putting, to many Portions, into one Hand; And laftly, if it be done, without any great Franchifes or Command: I do not fee, any Perill, can ensue thereof: As, on the other fide, it may draw some Persons, of great Estate, and Means, into the Action, to the great Furtherance, and Supply, of the charges thereof.

And laftly, for Knighthood, to such Persons, as have not attained it; Or otherwise, Knighthood, with some new Difference, and Precedence; It may, no doubt, work with Many. And if any Man think, that these Things, which I propound, are A-liquid mixis, for the Proportion, of this Action; I confefs, plainly, that if your Majesty, will have it, really, and effectually, performed; My Opinion is, you cannot beftow too much Sunlight upon it. For Lune Radiis non maturas effet Eurus. Thus much for Honour.

For Profit, it will consist in Three parts:
First, the Ease of Rates, that your Majesty, shall be pleased, to give, the Undertakers of the Land, they shall receive.
Secondly, the Liberties, which you may be pleased, to confer upon them. When I speak of Liberties, I mean not, Liberties of Jurisdiction; As Counties Palatine, or the like; Which it seemeth, hath been the Error, of the ancient Donations, and Plantations, in that Country; But I mean, only Liberties, tending to Commodity: As Liberty, to transport, any of the Commodities, growing upon the Country, new Planted; Liberty to Import, from hence, all Things, appertaining to their neceffary use, Custom free; Liberty, to take Timber, or other Materials, in your Majesty's Woods, there, and the like.

The Third is, Ease of Charge; That the whole Maffe, of Charge,
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Charges, doth not rest, upon the Private Purse, of the Undertakers.

For the Two Former of these, I will pass them over; because, in that Project, which with good diligence, and providence, hath been presented to your Majesty, by your Ministers of that Kingdom, they are, in my Opinion, well handled.

For the Third, I will never despise, but that the Parliament, of England, if it may perceive, that this Action, is not a Plagi, but a Solid, and settled pursuit, will give aid, to a Work, to Religious, to Politique, and so Profitable. And the Distribution of Charge, (if it be observed,) filleth, naturally, into Three Kindes of Charge; And every, of those Charges, respectively, ought to have, his proper Fountain, and Issue. For as, there proceedeth, from your Majesties Royall Bounty, and Munificence, the Gift of the Land, And the other Materials; Together with the Endowment of Liberties; And as the Charge, which is Private; As Building of Houses, Stecking of Grounds, Virtuall, and the like, is to rest upon the Particular Undertakers; So whithsoever is Publicke; As Building of Churches, Walling of Towns, Town-Houses, Bridges, Canopies, or High-ways, and the like; Ought not, so properly, to lye upon particular Persons, but to come, from the Publicke Estate, of this Kingdom; To which, this Work, is like to return, so great an Addition, of Glory, Strength, and Commodity.

For the Project itself, I shall need to speak the Ieffe, in regard, it is so considerately digested already, for the County of Tyrone; And Therefore, my Labour shall be, but in those Things, wherein, I shall either Adde to, or Diffent from, that which is set down; Which will include, Five Points, or Articles. First, they mention a Commission, for this Plantation; Which, of all Things, is most necessary, both to Direct, and Appraise, Controversies, and the like.

To this I add Two Propositions. The one, that which perhaps, is meant, though not expressed; That the Commissioners, should, for certain times, reside, and abide, in some Habitable Town, of Ireland, near in Distance, to the Country, where the Plantation shall be; To the end; Both that they may be more at Hand, for the Execution of the Parts, of their Commission; And withall, it is like, by drawing of Concourse of People, and Trades Men, to such Towns, it will be some Help, and Commodity, to the Undertakers; for Things, they shall find in need of. And likewise, it will be a more safe place of Receit, and Store, wherein to Unlade, and Deposit, such Provisions, as are after to be employed.

The Second is, that your Majesty, would make a Correspondency, between the Commission there, and a Council of Plantation, here. Wherein I warrant, my self, by the President, of the like Council of Plantation; for Virginia; An enterprise, in my Opinion, differing as much from this, as Amadis de Gaule, differs from Cæsar.
Considerations touching the Plantation, in Ireland.

Caesar's Commentaries. But when I speak of a Council of Plantation, I mean, some Persons, chosen by way of Reference; Upon whom the Labour may rest; To prepare, and report, Things, to the Council of Estate, here, that concern that Business. For although, your Majesty, have a grave, and sufficient, Council in Ireland: From whom, and upon whom, the Commissioners, are to have Assistance, and Dependance; yet that supplies not the Purpose, whereof I speak. For considering, that upon the Advertisements, as well of the Commissioners, as of the Council of Ireland, it self: There will be many Occasions, to crave Directions, from your Majesty, and your Privy Council here, which are busied with a world of Affairs; It cannot but give greater Expedition, and some better Perfection, unto some Directions, and Resolutions; If the Matters, may be considered of aforehand, by such, as may have a continuall Care, of the Cause. And it will be, likewise, a Comfort, and Satisfaction, to some Principal Undertakers, if they may be admitted of that Council.

Secondly, there is a Clause, wherein the Undertakers, are restrained, that they shall execute the Plantation, in Persons, from which I must differ, if I will confer, with the Grounds, I have already taken. For it is not probable, that Men, of great Means, and Plentiful Estates, will induce the Travails, Difcalements, and Adventures, of going thither in Persons; But rather, I suppose, Many will undertake Portions, as an Advancement, for their Younger Children, or Kinsfolk; Or for the Sweetnesse, of the Expectation, of a great Bargaine, in the end, when it is overcome. And therefore, it is like, they will employ Sons, Kinsfolk, Servants, or Tenants; And yet be glad, to have the Estate, in themselves. And, it may be, some again, will join their Forces, together; And make, as it were, a Partnership, or Joint-Adventure; And yet man forth, some one Person, by content, for the Executing of the Plantation.

Thirdly, there is a Main Point, wherein, I fear, the Project, made, hath two much of the Line, and Compass; And will not be, so naturally, and easily, to Execute; Nor yet, to Politick, and Convenient: And that is, that the Buildings, should be, Sparingly, upon every Portion; And the Castle, or Principal House, should draw the Tenements, and Farmer about it, as it were into Villages, Hamlets, or Endships; And that there should be, only, Four Corporate Towns, for the Artificers, and Traders-Men.

My Opinion is, that the Building, be altogether in Towns, to be compounded, as well of Husbandries, as of Arts. My Reasons are.

First, when Men come into a Country, vast, and Void of all Things necessary, for the use of Mans Life; If they set up together, in a Place, one of them, will the better supply, the wants of another: Work folks, of all sorts, will be the more continually on work, without Losse of Time; When, if Work faile in one Place,
Considerations, touching the Plantation, in Ireland.

Place, they may have it fast by; the Wages will be made, more paltille, for Carriages, to those Seats, or Towns, then they can be, to a Number of dispersed, Solitary, Places; And infinite other helps, and Easements, scarcely to be comprehended, in Cogitation, will ensue, in Vicinity, and Society of People; Whereas, if they build scattered, (as is projected,) Every Man, must have a Corn-Copia, in himself, for all Things he must use; Which cannot but breed, much Difficulty, and no less Waste.

Secondly, it will draw out, of the inhabited Country, of Ireland, Provisions, and Villages, and many necessaries; because they shall be sure of Utterance; Whereas, in the Dispersed Habitations, every Man must reckon, only, upon that, that he brings with him. As they do, in Provisions, of Ships.

Thirdly, the Charge of Rents, as they call them, to be made, about every Castle, or House, may be spared, when the Habitations, shall be congregated, only, into Towns.

And lastly, it will be a Means, to secure the Country, against future Perils, in case of any Revolt, and Defection. For, by a slight Fortification, of no great Charge, the danger of any Attempts, of Kernels, and Sword-Men, may be prevented: The Omission of which Point, in the last Plantation, of Munster, made the Work of years, to be but the Spoyl of Days. And if any Man think, it will draw People, too far off, from the Grounds, they are to labour; it is to be understood, that the Number, of the Towns, be increased accordingly; And likewise, the Situation of them, be, as in the Center, in respect of the Portions aSigned to them. For in the Champion Countries of England, where the Habitation, use to be in Towns, and not dispersed, it is no new Thing, to go two Miles off, to Plow, part of their Grounds: And two Miles Compass, will take up a good Deal of Country.

The fourth Point, is a Point, wherein, I shall differ, from the Project, rather in Quantity, and Proportion, than in Matter. There is allowed to the Undertaker, within the five years of Restraint, to alien a third part, in Fee Farm; And to Demise, another for forty years; which, I fear, will mangle the Portions; And, will be, but a shift, to make money, of two parts: Whereas, I am of Opinion, the more, the first Undertaker, is forced to keep, in his own Hands, the more the Work is like to prosper. For First, the Person liable, to the State here, to perform the Plantation, is the Immediate Undertaker. Secondly, the more, his Profit dependeth, upon the Annual, and Springing, Commodity; The more Sweetness, he will find, in putting forward, Manure, and Husbandry, of the Ground; And therefore, is like to take more Care of it. Thirdly, since the Natives are excluded, I do not see; that any Persons, are like to be drawn over, of that Condition, as are like to give Fines, and undertake the Charge of Building: For I am persuaded, that the People transported, will consist of Gentleman, and their Servants; And of Labourers, and Hindes; And not of Yeomen, of any Wealth.
Considerations, touching the Plantations, in Ireland.

And therefore, the Charge of Building, as well of the Tenements, and Farmers, as of the Capital Houses, themselves, is like to rest, upon the Principal Undertakers, which will be recompenced, in the end, to the full, and with much advantage, if they make no long Estates, or Leases.

And therefore this Article, to receive some Qualification.

Fifthly, I should think it requisite, that Men of Experience, in that Kingdom, should enter, into some particular Consideration, of the Charges, and Provisions, of all kinds, that will be incident to the Plantations; To the end, that thereupon, some Advice, may be taken, for the Furnishing, and Accommodating them, most conveniently; Aiding private Industry, with publick Care, and Order.

Thus I have expressed to your Majesty, those simple, and weak, Cogitations, which I have had in my Self, touching this Cause; Wherein, I most humbly desire your pardon, and gracious acceptance, of my good Affection, and Intention. For I hold it for a Rule, that there belongeth to great Monarchs, from Faithfull Servants, not only the Tribute of Duty, but the Oblations of cheerfulness of Heart. And so I pray the Almighty, to blest this great Action, with your Majesties Care; And your Care, with Happy Success.
May it please Your MAJESTY;

Find it, a Positive Precept, of the Old Law; That there should be no Sacrifice without Salt. The Morall whereof, (besides the Ceremony, ) may be; That God is not pleased, with the Body of a good Intention; Except it be seasoned, with that Spirituall Wisdom, and Judgement, as it be not easily Subject, to be corrupted, and perverted. For Salt, in the Scripture, is a Figure, both of Wisdom, and Lasting. This commeth into my Mind, upon this Act of Mr. Sutton; Which seemeth to me, as a Sacrifice without Salt; Having the Materials, of a Good Intention, but not powdred, with any such Ordinances, and Institutions, as may preserve the same from turning Corrupt; Or, at least, from becoming UnSAVOURY, and of little Use. For though, the Choice of the Feoffees, be of the best; yet neither can they always live; Mm And
And the very Nature, of the Work it self, in the vast, and unfin.
Proprons thereof, being apt to provoke a Mis-implancement, It is no Diligence of theirs, (except there be a Digression from that Model,) that can excuse it, from running the same way, that Gifts of like Condition, have heretofore been done. For to design the Charter-house, a Building fit for a Prince, Habitation, for an Hospital, is all one, as if one should give in Almes, a Rich Embroidered Cloke, to a Beggar. And certainly, a Man may see, manifesto and Oculis Corruit, that if such an Edifice, with Six Thousand pounds Revenue, be erected into one Hospital: It will, in small time, degenerate, to be made a preferment, of some great Person, to be Master, and he to take all the sweet, and the Poor, to be stinted, and take but the Crumbs: As it comes to passe, in divers Hospitals, of this Realm; Which have but the Names of Hospitals, and are but wealthy Benefices, in respect of the Mastership; But the Poor, which is the Proper quid, little relieved. And the like, hath been the Fortune, of much of the Almes, of the Roman Religion, in the Great Foundations; which being begun in Vain-Glory, and Oftentation, have had their Judgement, upon them, to end in Corruption, and Abuse. This Meditation, hath made me presume, to write these few Lines to your Majesty; Being no better then good Wiser, which your Majesties great Wisdom, may make some thing, or Nothing, of.

Wherein, I desire, to be thus understood: That if this Foundation, (such as it is,) be perfect, and Good in Law; Then I am too well acquainted, with your Majesties Disposition, to advise, any Course of power, or Profit, that is not grounded upon a Right: Nay further, if the Defects be such, as a Court of Equity may Remedy, and Cure; Then I will, that as Saint Peters shadow, did cure Disease; So the very shadow, of a Good Intention, may cure Defects of that Nature. But if there be a Right, and Birth-right, planted in the Heir; And not Remediable by Courts of Equity; And that Right, be submitted to your Majesty; Whereby it is both, in your power, and Grace, what to do; Then I do will, that this rude Maffe, and Chaos, of a Good Deed, were divided, rather to a Solid Merit, and E rumor Charity, then to a Blaze of Glory, that will but crackle, a little, in Talk, and quickly extinguish.

And this may be done, observing the Species, of Mr. Suttons Intent, though varying in Individuo. For it appears, that he had, in Notion, a Triple Good; An Hospital; And a School; And Maintaining of a Preacher; Which Individually refer to these Three General Heads. Reliefs of Poor; Advancement of Learning; And Propagation of Religion. Now then, if I shall let before your Majesty, in every of these Three Kindes, what it is, that is most wanting in your Kingdom; And what is like, to be the most Fruitful, & Effectual use, of such a Beneficence, and least like to be perverted: That I think, shall be no ill Scope of my Labour, how meanly soever performed; For out of Variety, represented, Election may be best grounded.

Con-
Concerning the Relief of the Poor; I hold some Number, of Hospitals, with Competent Endowments, will do for more good, than one Hospital, of an Exorbitant Greatness. For though the one Course, will be the more Scene, yet the other will be the more Felt. For if your Majesty erect many, besides the observing the Ordinary Maxims, Bonum quo communiue, eo melius, choice may be made, of those Townes, and Places, where there is most Need: And to the Remedy, may be Distributed, as the Distresses is Dispersed. Again, Greatness of Relief, accumulate in one place, doth rather invite a Swarm, and Surcharge, of Poor, then relieve those, that are, naturally, bred in that place: Like to ill tempred Medicines, that draw more Humour to the Part, then they Evacuate from it. But chiefly, I rely, upon the Reason, that I touched in the Beginning; That in these Great Hospitals, the Revenues, will draw the Use, and not the Use, the Revenues; And as, through the Maje of the Wealth, they will twistly tumble down, to a Disemployment. And if any Man say, that in the Two Hospitals in London, there is a President of Greatness, concurring with Good Employment; Let him consider, that those Hospitals, have Annual Governors; That they are under the Superior Care, and Policy, of such a State, as the City of London; And chiefly, that their Revenues, consist not upon Certainties, but upon Casualties, and Free Gifts; Which Gifts would be with-held, if they appeared once to be perverted: So as, it keepeth them, in a continuall Good Behaviour, and Awe, to employ them right: None of which Points, do match, with the present Case.

The next Consideration may be, whether this intended Hospital, as it hath a more ample Endowment, then other Hospitals have, should not likewise work, upon a better Subject, then other Poor: As that it should be converted, to the Relief of Aged Soldiers, Decay'd Merchants, Householders Aged, and Destination Church-men, and the like; Whose Condition, being of a better sort, then loose People, & Beggars, deserve, both a more Liberal Stipend, & Allowance; and some proper place of Relief, not intermingled, or coupled, with the Best Sort of Poor: Which Project, though Specious, yet, in my Judgement, will not answer the Designation, in the Event, in these our Times. For certainly, few Men in any Vocation, which have been some Body, and beare a Mind, somewhat according to the Conscience, and Remembrance, of that they have been, will ever defend, to that Condition, as to profess, to live upon Alms, and to become, a Corporation, of Declared Beggers; But rather will choose, to live Obscenely, and as it were, to hide themselves, with some private Friends: So that the End, of such an Institution, will be, that it will make the Place, a Receptacle of the Worst; Idle, and most diffolute Persons, of every Profession; And to become a Cell of Lovers, and Cast Serving Men, and Drunkards, with Scandal, rather than Fruit, to the Common Wealth. And of this kind, I can find but one Example with us; Which is,
the Almes Knights of Windsor; Which particular, would give a
Man, small encouragement, to follow that President,
Therefore, the best Effect of Hospitals, is, to make the King-
dome, if it were possible, capable of that Law: That there be no
Beggar in Israel. For it is that kind of People, that is a burthen,
An Eye fore, a scandal, and a Seed, of Perill, and Tumult,in
the State. But chiefly, it were to be wished, that such a Bene-
ficence, toward the Relief of the poor, were so bestowed; As not
only, the Poor, and Naked, Poore, should be sustained; But
also, that the Poore Persons, which hath hard means to live, upon
whom the Poore are now charged, should be in some fort eased.
For that were a Work, generally acceptable, to the Kingdome, if
the Publick Hand, of Alms, might spare, the Private Hand, of Tax.
And therefore, of all other Employments, of that kind, I com-
mend most, Houses of Relief, and Correction; which are Mift Hospi-
talls, where the Impotent Person, is relieved, and the Sturdy Beg-
gar, buckled to work; And the unable Person also, not maint-
tained to be Idle, (which is ever joyned with Drunkenness, and
Impurity,) But is sorted, with such work, as he can managé, and
perform; And where these, are not distinguished, as in other
Hospitals; Whereof some, are for Aged, and Impotent, and some
for Children; And some, for Correction of Vagabonds; But are
generall, and promiscuous. So that, they may take, off Poore,
of every fort, from the Countrée, as the Countrée breeds them.
And thus, the Poore themselves, shall find the Provision, and other
People, the Sweetness, of the Abatement, of the Tax. Now if it be
objected, that Houses of Correction, in all places, have not done
the good expected; (as it cannot be denied, but in most places,
they have done much Good;) It must be remembered, that there is
a great Difference, between that, which is done, by the Distraed
Government, of Justices of Peace; And that, which may be done
by a slated Ordinance, subject to a Regular Visitation, as this may be;
And besides, the Want hath been, commonly, in Houses of Corre-
tion, of a competent, and Certain, Stock, for the Materials of
the Labour, which, in this case, may be likewise supplied.

Concerning the Advancement of Learning, I do subscribe to
the Opinion, of one, of the Wifest, and Greatest, Men, of your
Kingdome. That for Grammar Schools, there are already too
many; and therefore, no Providence, to add, where there is Ex-
cess. For the great Number of Schools, which are in your High-
neffe Realm, doth cause a Want, and doth cause likewise an Over-
flow; Both of them, Inconvenient, and one of them Dange-
rous. For by Means thereof, they find Want in the Countrée, and
Towns, both of Servants for Husbandry, and Apprentices for Trade;
And, on the other side, there being more Scholler bred, then
the State, can prefer, and Employ; And the Active part, of
that life, not bearing a proportion, to the Preparation; It must
needs fall out, that many Persons, will be bred, unfit, for other

* Vocations;
Advise to the King, touching Mr. Sutton's Estate.

Vacations: And unprofitable for that in which they are brought up; Which fills the Realm, full of Indigent, Idle, and Wanton People, which are but Astra, Rerum non numnum.

Therefore, in this Point, I maintain, Mr. Sutton's Intention, were exalted a Degree; That that, which he meant, for Teachers of Children, your Majesty should make for Teachers of Men, where- in, it hath been, my ancient Opinion, and Observation; That in the Universities of this Realm, (which I take to be, of the best endowed Universities of Europe,) there is Nothing more wanting, towards the flourishing State of Learning, then the Honourable, and plenteous, Salaries, of Readers, in Arts, and Professions. In which Point, as your Majesty's Bounty, already, hath made a Beginning; So this Occasion, is offered of God, to make a Proceeding. Surely, Readers in the Chair, are, as the Parents in Sciences, and deserve, to enjoy a Condition, not inferior to their Children, that embrace the Practicall Part. Else no Man, will fit longer, in the Chair, then it shall be can walk, to a better preferment: And it will come to pass, as Virgil faith,

Et Patrum invalidi referent se imbris Nati.

For, if the Principall Readers, through the Meaness of their Entertainments, be but Men, of superficial Learning; And that, they shall take their place, but in pages; It will make the Mass of Science, want the chief, and solid Dimension, which is Depth; and to become, but Pretty, and, compendious, Habits of Practice. Therefore, I could wish, that in both the Universities, the Lectures, as well of the three Professions, Divinity, Law, and Physick, as of the three Heads of Science, Philosophy, Arts of Speech, and the Mathematicks, were rais'd in their Tenisons, unto a 100 l. per Annum, a piece; Which though it be not near so great, as they are, in some other Places, where the Gratefulness of the Reward, doth whittle for the Ablest Men, out of all Forman part, to supply the Chair; yet it may be a Portion, to content a Worthy, and Able Man; If he be, likewise, Contemplative in Nature, As those spirits are, that are Fittest for Lectures. Thus may Learning, in your Kingdom, be advanced, to a further Height; Learning, (I say,) which, under your Majesty, the most Learned of Kings, may claim some Degree, of Elevation.

Concerning Propagation of Religion, I shall in few words, for before your Majesty, three Propositions; None of them, Devises, of mine own, otherwise, then that I ever approved them: Two of which, have been in Agitation, of Speech, and The third acted.

The first is, a Colledge for Controversies; Thereby, we shall not still proceed Single, but shall, as it were, double our Files; Which, certainly, will be found, in the Encounter.

The second is, a Receipt, (I like not the word Seminary, in respect, of the vain Toves, and implicit Obedience, and other Things
Things tending to the perturbation of States, involved in that Term; for Converts to the Reformed Religion, either of Youth, or otherwise; For, I doubt not, but there are in Spain, Italy, and other Countries, of the Papists, many, whose Hearts are touched, with a sense of those Corruptions, and an acknowledgment of a better Way; which Grace is, many times, smothered, and choaked, through a worldly Consideration of Necessity, and want; Men not knowing, where to have succour, and refuge. This likewise, I hold a Work of great Piety, and a Work, of great Consequence; That we, also, may be Wise, in our Generation; And that, the Watchful, and Silent Night, may be used, as well for sowing of good Seed, as of Tares.

The third is, the Imitation of a Memorable, and Religious Act, of Queen Elizabeth; Who finding, a part of Lancashire, to be extremely backward, in Religion; And the Benefices, swallowed up, in Improprations, did, by Decree, in the Dutchy, erect four stipends, of 100l. per Annum, a piece, for Preachers, well chosen, to help the Harvest; which have done, a great deal of Good, in the Parts, where they have laboured. Neither do there want, other Corners, in the Realm, that would require, for a time, the like Extraordinary Help.

Thus have I, briefly, delivered, unto your Majesty, mine Opinion, touching the Employment, of this Charity: whereby, that Mass of wealth, which was in the Owner, little better, then a Stack, or Heap, of Muck, may be spread, over your Kingdom, to many fruitfull purposes; your Majesty planting, and watering, and God giving the Increase.
A

PROPOSITION,

to

His Majesty,

by

Sir FRANCIS BACON, Knight,

his

MAIESTIES

ATTORNEY GENERAL;

and

One of His Privy Council; Touching the Compiling, And Amendment, Of the LAWES, of ENGLAND.

YOUR MAJESTY,

Of Your Favour, Having Made me Privy Councillor: And Continuing me, in the Place, of your Attorney General, (which is more then was these hundred years before,) I do not understand it to be, that by putting off, the dealing, in Causes, between party and party, I should keep Holy-day the more: But that, I should dedicate my time, to your Service, with less distraction. Wherefore, in this plentiful Acception of Time, which
A Proposition, touching the Compiling; And Amendment,

which I have now gained, I take it, to be my duty; Not only
to speed your Commandments, and the Business, of my place; But
to meditate, and to excogitate, of my self, wherein I May best,
by my Travels, derive your Vertues, to the Good of your People;
And return, their Thanks, and Increase of Love, to you again.
And after I had thought, of many things, I could find, in my
Judgement, none more proper, for your Majesty, as a Master;
Nor for me, as a Workman, then the Reducing, and Recompiling,

Your Majesty is a King, blessed with Posterity; And these Kings,
fort feft, with Acts of Perpetuity; When they do not leave them,
instead of Children; but tranfmit, both Line, and Merit, to Future
Generations.

You are a great Master, in Justice, and Judgment: And it were pitty
that the fruit of that Vertue, should dye with you. Your Majesty, also Raigneth, in Learned Times;
The more, in regard, Of your own perfections, and patronage
of Learning; And it hath been the miftap, of Works, of this Na-
ture, that the leafe Learned Time, hath wrought upon the more
Learned; Which now will not be fo. As for my self, the Law
is my profession, to which I am a debtor. Some little helps I
May have, of other Learning, which may give Form to matter;
And your Majesty hath set me, in an Eminent place, whereby, in
a Work, which must be the Word of many, I may the better have
Coadjutors. Therefore, not to hold your Majesty, with any long
preface, in that, which I conceive to be, nothing less then Words;
I will proceed to the Matter: Which matter, it self, neverthe
leffe, requireth, somewhat briefly to be said, both of the Dignity,
and likewife of the Safety, and Convenience, of this Work; And
then to go to the main; That is to say, to shew, how the work
is to be done: Which incidently, also, will best Demonstrate, that
it is no vaft, nor Speculative, Thing; But a Real, and feizable,
Callification, that followed Alexander's Court, and was grown, in
some difpleasure, with him; Because he could not well brook
the Persian Adoration; At a Supper, (which, with the Cæcians,
was, ever, a great part, Talk,) was defired, because he was an Elo-
quent Man, to speak of some Theam; which he did; And chose, for
his Theam, The praeife, of the Macedonian Nation; which, though
it were, but a filling Thing, to praise men, to their Faces; yet he
did it, with such Advantage of Truth; and avoydace of Flatter-
y, and with such life; As the Hearers were ravished with it,
that they plucked the Roses off from their Garlands, and threw
them upon him: As the Manner of Applauses, then, was: Alex-
ander was not pleased with it, and, by way of Discountenance,
said, It was ease, to be a good Orator, in a pleasing Theam. But, (faith
he to Calliskenes,) turn your File, and tell us now of our Paulus, that
we may, have the præife, and not you onely the præife. Which he pre-
ently did, with such a force, and so piquantly, that Alexander
said; The Goodness of his Theam had made him Eloquent before: But
now
now it was the Muses of his heart, that had inspired him:

1. Sir, I shall no more, into either of those two Extremes, Concerning the Laws of England: They command themselves, best to them, that understand them: And your Majesties Chief Justice of your Bench, hath, in his Writings, magnified them, not with our Cause: Certainly, they are Wise, they are Just, and Moderate, Laws: They give to God; They give to Caesar; They give to the Subjects; that which appertaineth. It is true, They are as mixt, as our Language, compounded of Brittish, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, Customes. And as our Language, is so much the Richer, so the Laws, are the more compleat: Neither doth this attribute least to them, then thosc, that would have them, to have stood out the same; in all Mutations; For no Tree, is so good, first set, as by Transplanting.

2. As for the Second Extremne; I have nothing to do with it, by way, of Taxing the Laws. I speak, only, by way of Perfitting them: Which is easiest in the best things: For that, which is farr amiffle, hardly receiveth Amendment; But that, which hath already; To that, more may be Given. Besides, what I shall propound, is not, to the Matter of the Laws, but to the Manner, of their Registery, Expreflion, and Tradition: So that, it giveth them rather Light, than any new Nature. This being so, for the Dignity, of the Work, I know, scarcely, where to find the like; For, surely, that Scale, and those Degrees of Sovereign Honour, are true, and rightly marshalled. First, the Founders of Fifters; Then the Law givers; Then the Deliverers, and Saviours, after long Calamities; Then the Fathers of their Countries; Which are Just, and Prudent, Princes; And Lastly, Conquerors, which Honour, is not to be received, amongst the rest: Except it be, where there is an addition of more Country, and Territory, to a better Government, then that was of the Conquered. Of these in my Judgement, your Majesty, may, with more truth, then flattery, be intituled, to the first; because of your Uniting of Britain, & Planting Ireland; Both which favour of the Founder. That, whb I now propound to you, may adopt you, also, into the Second: Lawgivers, have been called, Principes Perpetui; Because, as Bishop Gardiner said, in a bad Sense, that he would be Bishop, an hundred years, after his death, in respect of the Long Leaves he made: So Lawgivers, are still Kings, and Rulers, after their Decay, in their Laws. But this Work, shining so in it self, needes no Taper. For the safety, and convenience, thereof; It is good to consider, and to answer those Objections, or Scruples, which may arise, or be made, against this Work.

Obj. 1. That it is a Thing needless; And that the Law, as it now is, is in good Estate; Comparable to any Foreign Law; And that, it is not possible, for the Wit of Man, in respect of the Frailty thereof, to provide, against the Incertainties, and Evasions, or Omissions, of Law.
A Proposition, touching the Compiling, and Amendment,

Resp. For the Comparison, with Forraine Lawes, it is in vaine, to speak of it; For men will never agree about it. Our Lawyers, will maintain, for our Municipal Lawes; Civilians, Scholars, Travellers, will be of the other Opinion.

But Certain it is, that our Lawes, as they now stand, are subject to great Incertainties, and variety of Opinion, Delayes, and Evasions; Whereof ensueth.

1. That the Multiplicity, and length of Suits, is great.
2. That the Contentious Person, is armed, and the Honest Subject, Wearied, and Oppressed.
3. That the Judge, is more Absolute; Who, in doubtfull Cases, hath a greater stroak, and Liberty.
4. That the Chancery Courts, are more filled, the Remedy of Law, being often obscure, and doubtfull.
5. That the ignorant Lawyer, throweth his Ignorance of Law, in that, doubts are so frequent, and many.
6. That Mens Affairance, of their Lands, and Estates, by Patents, Deedes, Wills, are often subject to question, and hollow; And many the like Inconveniences.

It is a good Rule, and Direction, (For that all Lawes, Secondum Magis & Minus, do participate of Incertainties,) That followeth: Mark, whether the Doubts, that arise, are, only, in Cases of Ordinary Experience; Or, which happen not every day? If in the first, Only, impute it to frailty, of Mans foresight, that cannot reach, by Law, to all Cases: But if in the Latter, be assured, there is a fault in the Law. Of this, I say no more, but, that, (To give every Man his Due,) Had it not been, for St. Edward Cooke Reports, (which, though they may have Errors, and some peremptory, and Extrajudicial Resolutions, more then are warranted: Yet they containe, infinite good Decisions, and Rulings over, of Cases.)

The Law, by this Time, had been, almost, like a Ship, without ballast; For that the Cases, of Modern Experience, are fled from thofe, that are adjudged, and ruled, in Former time. But the Necessity, of this Work, is yet greater, in the Statute Law. For First, there are a number, of Ensnaring, Penal Lawes, which lay upon the Subject; And if, in bad times, they should be awaked, and put in Execution, would grind them to powder.

There is a learned Civilian, that expoundeth, the Curse of the Prophet: Plut. Super eos Lacuors, of Multitude, of Penal Lawes: Which are worfe, than showers of Hayle, or Tempest, upon Cattle, for they fall upon Men.

There are some Penal Lawes, fit to be retained, but their Penalty too great, And it is ever a Rule, that any over great Penalty, (besides the Acrivity of it,) deads the Execution of the Law.

There is a further Inconvenience, of Penal Lawes, Obsolete, and out of Use: For that it brings a Gangrene, Neglect, and Habit, Dijobedience,

bedience, upon other wholesome Laws, that are fit to be continued, in Practice, and Execution: So that our Laws, endure the Torment of Mzensins.

The living die in the Arms of the dead.

Lastly, there is, such an Accumulation, of Statutes, concerning one matter; And they so crose, and intricate, as the Certainty of Law, is lost in the Breeze. As your Majesty, had Experience, last day, upon the Point: Whether the Incendiary of New-market, should have the benefit, of his Clergy.

Obj. 1. That it is a great Innovation; And Innovations, are dangerous, beyond foresight.

Resp. All Purgings, and Medianers, either in the Givole, or Natural Body, are Innovations. So as that Argument, is a Common place, against all Noble Reformations. But the truth is, that this work, ought not to be termed, or held, for any Innovation, in the suspected sense. For thofe are the Innovations, which are quarrelled, and spoken against, that concern the Conferences, Estates, and Fortunes, of particular persons: But this of General Ordinance, pricketh not particulars, but paflieth Sine Strepitn. Besides, it is on the favourable part: For it easeth, it prefleth not: And laftly, it is, rather, matter, of Order, and explanation, then of Alteration. Neither is this, without President, in former Governments.

The Romans, by their Decemvirs, did make their Twelve Tables; But that was, indeed, a new Enabling, or Constituting, of Laws, Not a Registring, or Recompling: And they were made, out of the Laws, of the Graecians, not out of their own Customs.

In Athens, they had Sexvirs, which were standing Commissioners, to watch, and to discern, what Law, waxed unproper, for the Time; And what new Law, did, in any branch, cross, a former Law, and fo, Ex officio, propounded their Repeals.

King Lewis, the 11th, of France, had it in his intention, to have made, one perfeite, and uniform Law, out of the Civil Law Roman, and the Provincial Customs, of France.

Justinian, the Emperor, by Commissions, directed, to divers persons, Learned in the Laws, reduced the Roman Laws, from Vastness of Volume, and a Labyrinth of incertainties, Unto that course, of the Civil Law, which is now in use. I find, here at home, of late years, That King Henry the 8th, in the Twenty seventh of his Reign, was authorized, by Parliament to nominate Thirty two Commissioners, part Ecclesiasticall, part Temporal, to purge the Canon Law, and to make it agreeable, to the Law of God, and the Law, of the Realm; And the fame was revived, in the Fourth year, of Edward the 6th, though neither took effect.

For the Laws of Lycurgus, Solon, Ninos, and others, of ancient time, they are not the worfe, because Grammar Scholars, speak of them. But things too ancient, wax Children, with us again.

N n 2
A Proposition, touching the Compiling:

Edgar, the Saxon King, collected the Laws of this Kingdom, and gave them the Strength, of a Faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed.

The Statutes, of King Edward, the First, were fundamental; But I doubt, I err, in producing so many Examples; For, as Cicero faith to Caesar, so may I say, to your Majesty:

Nil Vulgare te Dignum Videri possit.

Obj. 3. In this purging, of the course, of the Common Lawes, and Statutes, much good may be taken away.

Resp. In all Purging, some good Humours, may pass away; But that, is largely recompensed, by Lightning, the Body, of much bad.

Obj. 4. Labour were better bestowed, in bringing the Common Lawes, of England, to a Text Law, as the Statutes are; And setting, both of them down, in Method, and by Titles.

Resp. It is too long a Business, to debate, whether Lex Scripta, aut non Scripta, A Text Law, or Customs well registered, with received, and approved Grounds, and Maximes, and Acts, and Resolutions Judicall, from Time to Time, duly entred, and reported; Be the better Form, of Declaring, and Authorizing, Lawes: It was the principall Reason, or Oracle, of Lycurgus; That none, of his Lawes, should be written. Customs, are Lawes written, in Living Tables: And some Traditions, the Church doth not disauthorize. In all Sciences, they are the foundest, that keep close to Particulars; And sure I am, there are more Doubts, that rise upon our Statutes, which are a Text Law, then upon the Common Lawes, which is no Text Law. But, howsoever that Question be determined, I dare not advice to cast the Law, into a new Mould. The work, which I propose, tendeth to proyning, and Grafting, the Law; And not, to Flow up and Planting it again: for such a Remove, I should hold, indeed, for a perillous Innovation.

Obj. 5. It will turn the Judges, Counsellors of Law, and Students of Law, to schoole again; And make them, to seek, what they shall hold, and advise for Law; And, it will impose, a new charge, upon all Lawyers, to furnish themselves, with new Books of Law.

Resp. For the Former of thofe, touching the new Labour; It is true, it would follow, if the Law, were new moulded, into a Text Law; For then, Men must be new to begin: And that, is one of the Reasons, for which, I difallow that Course.

But in the way, that I shall now propound, the entire Body, and Substance of Law, shall remain; Onely discharged, of Idle, and Unprofitable, or Hurtful, Matter: and Illustrated, by Order, and other Helps, towards the better Understanding of it, and Judgement thereupon.
The Work it Self; And the Way to Reduce, And Recompile, the Lawes of England.

This Work, is to be done, (to use some few words, which is the Language of Action, and Effect,) in this manner. It consisteth of two parts: The Digest, or Recompiling, of the Common Lawes: And that of the Statutes.

In the first of these, Three Things are to be done.

2. The Reducing, or Perfecting, of the Course, or Corpus, of the Common Lawes.
3. The Composing of certain Introductive, and Auxiliary Books, touching the Study, of the Lawes.

For the first of these. All Ancient Records, in your Tower, or else where, Containing Acts of Parliament, Lords Patents, Commissions, and Judgements, and the like, are to be Searched, Perused, and Weighted. And out of these, are to be selected, those that are of most Worth, and Weight; And in order of Time, not of Titles, (for the more Conformity, with the Tear-Bookes,) to be Set Down, and Registered; Rarely, in See Verba; But summed with Judgement, not omitting any materiall part; These are to be used, for Reverend Presidents, but not for Binding Authorities.

For the Second which is the Maine; There is to be made, a perfect Course, of the Law, in Serrae Temporae, or Tear-Bookes, (As we call them,) from Edward the First, to this Day; In the Compiling, of this Course, of Law, or Tear-Bookes, The points following, are to be observ'd.

First, all Cases, which are, at this Day, clearly, no Law; but constantly ruled, to the contrary, are to be left out: They do but fill the Volumes, and sean the Wits of Students, in a contrary Sense of Law. And so likewise, all Cases, wherein that is solemnly, and long debated, whereof there is now no Question at all, are to be entred, as Judgements only, and Resolutions: But without the Arguments, which are now become but frivolous: Yet for the Observation, of the deeper sort of Lawyers, that they may see, how the Law hath altered, out of which they may pick sometimes good Use; I do advise, That upon the first in time, of those Obsolete Cases, there were a Memorandum set; That, at that time, the Law
A Proposition, touching the Compiling, and Amendment,

Law, was thus taken, untill such a time, &c.

Secondly, Homonymie, (as Justinian calleth them;) That is Cases merely of Iteration, and Repetition, are to be purged away; and the Cases of Identity, which are best Reported, and Argued, to be retained, instead of the Rest; The Judgments, nevertheless, to be set down, every one, in time, as they are; But with a Quotation, or Reference, to the Case, where the Point, is argued at large; but if the Case, confift, part of Repetition, part of new Matter, The Repetition, is, only, to be omitted.

Thirdly, as to the Antinomie, Cases Judged to the Contrary, It were too great a trust, to refer; to the Judgement, of the Compilers, of this work; to decide the Law either way; except there be, a currant stream, of Judgements, of later times: and then, I reckon the Contrary Cases, amongst Cases Obsolete; of which I have spoken before: Nevertheless, this diligence would be used, that such Cases of Contradiction, be specially noted, and collected; to the end, those Doubts, that have been so long Militant, May either, by asylum, All the Judges, in the Exchequer Chamber, or by Parliament, be put into certainty. For to do it, by bringing them in question, under fained parties, is to be disliked. Nil habeat Forum ex scenæ.

Fourthly, All idle Queries, which are but Seminaries, of Doubts, and Incertainties, are to be left out, and omitted, and no Queries set down, but of great Doubts, well debated, and left undecided, for difficulty: But no doubting, or upstarting, Queries: Which, though they be touched in Argument, for Explanation; yet were better to die, than to be put into the Book.

Lastly, Cases Reported, with too great prolixity, would be drawn, into a more Compendious Report; Not in the Nature of an Abridgment, but Tantologies, and Impertinences, to be cut off: As for Misprinting, and Insensible Reporting, which, many times, confound the Students, that will be, Obiter, amended; But more principally, if there be any thing in the Report, which is not well warranted, by the Record, that is also to be rectified; The Course being thus Compiled, Then it refeth, but for your Assis-

fix, to appoint some grave, and found, Lawyers, with some honourable stipend, to be Reporters, for the Time to come: And then, this is settled, for all times.

For the Auxiliary Books, that Conduce, to the Study, and Science, of the Law, they are three: Institutions; A Treatise, de Regulis juris; And a better Book, De verborum significationibus, or Terms of the Law. For the Institutions, I know well there be Books of Introductions, (wherewith Students begin) of good worth,
worth; Specially Littleton, and Fitzherbert; Natural Brevium; But they are, no ways, of the Nature, of an Institutions; The Office whereof, is, to be a Key, and generall preparation, to the Reading, of the Course. And principally, it ought to have, two Properties; The one, a perspicuous; and clear, Order, or Method; And, the other, an Universal Latitude, or Comprehension; That the Students, may have a little Pre-Notion, of every Thing, Like a Model, towards a great Building. For the Treatise, de Regular juris, I hold it, of all other Things, the most important, to the Health, (as I may term it,) and good Institutions, of any Laws. It is, indeed, like the ballast of a Ship, to keep, all upright, and stable: But I have seen little, in this kind, either in our Law, or other Laws, that satisfies me. The naked Rule, or Maxime, doth not the Effect. It must be made usefull, by good Differences, Ampliations, and Limitations, warranted by good Authorities; and this, not by Railing up, of Quotations, and References, but by Difcourse, and Deducement, in a just Tractable. In this, I have travelled myself, at the first, more curiously; since, with more Diligence; And will go on with it, if God, and your Majesty, will give me leave. And I do assure your Majesty, I am in good hope, that when, Sir Edward Cooke Reports, and my Rules, and Decisions, shall come to Posterity, there will be, (whatsoever is now thought,) Question, who was the greater Lawyer? For the Book, of the Terms, of the Law, There is a poore one; But I wish, a Diligent one, wherein, should be comprized, not onely, the Exposition, of the Terms, of Law; but of the Words, of all anient Records, and Presidents. For the Abridgements, I could wish, if it were possible, that none ought use them, but such, as had read the Course, First, that they ought serve, for Repertories, to Learned Lawyers, and not, to make a Lawyer, in haft; But since, that cannot be, I wish there were a good Abridgement, composed, of the Two that are existant, and in better order. So much for the Common Law.

Statute Law.

For the Reforming, and Recompiling, of the Statute Law, It consists of Four parts.

1. The First, to discharge, the Books, of those Statutes, whereas, the Cause, by Alteration of time, is vanished; As Lombard's Joewes, Gaul's halfe Pence, &c. Those may, neverthelesse, remaine, in the Libraries, for Antiquities, but no Reprinting of them. The like, of Statutes, long since expired, and clearly repealed; For if the
A Proposition touching the Compiling, and Amendment, &c.

the Repeal be doubtfull, it must be so propounded to the Parliament.

2. The next is, to repeale all Statutes, which are sleeping, and not of use, but yet starving, and in Force; In some of those, it will perhaps, be requisite, to substitute, some more Reasonable Law, instead of them, agreeable to the time; In others, a simple Repeal may suffice.

3. The Third, that the Grievousness, of the Penalty, in many Statutes, be mitigated, though the Ordinance stand.

4. The last is, the Reducing, of Concurrent Statutes, heaped one upon another, to one clear, and uniform, Law. Towards this, there hath been, already, upon my motion, and your Majesties Direction, a great deal, of good pains taken: My Lord Hobert, My Self, Sergeant Finch, Mr. Hennage Finch, Mr. Noye, Mr. Hackwell, and others: Whose Labours, being of a great bulk, it is not fit, now, to trouble your Majesties, with any further particularity, therein: Onely, by this, you may perceive, the Work is already advanced: But because, this part of the Work, which concerneth the Statute Laws, must of necessity, come to Parliament; And the Houses will best like that, which themselves guide: And the Persons, that themselves imploy, The way were, to Imitate, the president, of the Commissioners, for the Canon Laws, in 27. Hen. 8. and 4. Edw. 6. And the Commissioners, for the Union, of the two Realmes. Primo, of your Majesties; And so, to have the Commissioners, named, by both Houses; but not, with a precedent power, to Conclude; But only, to prepare, and propound to Parliament: This is the best way, I conceive, to accomplish, this Excellent Work, of Honour, to your Majesties Times, and of Good to all Times: Which I submit, to your Majesties better Judgement.
A FRAGMENT, OF AN ESSAY, OF FAME.

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

This is a flourish: There follow excellent Parables; As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terreur to great Cities: But that, which palleth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the Earth, Mother of the Giants, that made War against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, That Rebels, figured by the Giants; and Seditious Parties, and Libels, are but Brothers, and Sisters; Masculine, and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the Stile of the Poets.
Poets. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a Place, less handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of Fame. We will, therefore, speak of these points. What are false Names? And what are true Names? And how they may be best discerned; How Names may be found, 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, fearfully, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame, that he scattered; That Vitellius had in purpose, to remove the Legions of Syria, into Germany; And the Legions of Germany, into Syria: whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Caesar, took Pompey unprovided, and 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 spoiles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into Italy. Livia, seted all things, for the Succession, of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out, that her husband Augustus, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the Emissaries, to conceal the Death of the great Turk, from the Janizaries, and men of War, to save the Sacking of Constantinople, and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, King of Persia pass apace out of Greece, by giving out, that the Grecians, had a purpose, to break his Bridge, of Ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise Governors, have as great a watch, and care, over Names, as they have, of the Actions, and Designes themselves.

There was not Finished.
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SEVERAL LETTERS, WRITTEN BY THIS Honourable Authour, TO QUEEN ELIZABETH, KING IAMES, DIVERS LORDS, AND OTHERS.

LONDON, Printed by F. L. for William Lee, at the sign of the Turks-Head, in Fleetstreet, 1657.
A LETTER
To the Lord Treasurer,
BURGHLEY,
In Excuse of his Speech, in
PARLIAMENT,
Against the
TRIPLE SUBSIDIE.

It may please your Lordship,

I was sorry to find, by your Lordship's Speech, yesterday, that my last Speech, in Parliament, delivered, in discharge of my Conscience, and Duty to God, her Majesty, and my Country, was offensive. If it were misrepresented, I would be glad, to attend your Lordship, to disavow any thing, I said not; if it were misconstrued, I would be glad, to expound myself, to exclude any inference, I meant not. If my Heart be misjudged, by Imputation of Popularity, or Opposition, by any envious, or officious Informer, I have great wrong; and the greater, because the Manner of my Speech, did most evidently shew, that I spake simply; and only, to satisfy my Conscience, and not with any Advantage, or Policy, to sway the Cause: And my Terms, carried all Signification, of Duty, and Zeal, towards her Majesty, and her Service. It is true, that from the Beginning, whatsoever was above a Double Subsidy, I did with, might, (for President fake) appear to be extraordinary; and, (for Discontents fake,) ought not have been levied.
A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley,

levied, upon the Poorer sort: Though otherwise, I wished it as Rising, as I think this will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confess it. And therefore, I most humbly pray, your good Lordship; First, to continue me in your own good Opinion; And then, to perform the parts, of an Honourable Friend, towards your poor Servant, and Alliance; In drawing her Majesty, to accept, of the Sincerity, and Simplicity, of my Heart; And to bear with the rest, and relieve me, to her Majesty's Favour.

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, recommending his first Suit, touching the Solicitors place.

After the remembrance of my most humble Duty,

Though I know, by late Experience, how mindfull your Lordship toucheth to be of me, and my poor Fortunes; since it pleased your Lordship, during your Indisposition, when her Majesty came, to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me, for my Employment, and preferment; yet being now in the Country, I do presume, that your Lordship, who of your Self, had so Honourable care of the matter, will not think it a Trouble, to be solicited therein. My hope is, that whereas your Lordship told me, her Majesty was somewhat gravelled, upon the Offence, she took, at my Speech in Parliament, your Lordships favourable, and good word, (who hath assured me, that for your own part, you continued, that I spake, to the best,) will be as a good Tide, to remove her from that shelf. And it is not unknown to your Lordship, that I was the first, of the Ordinary Sort; of the Lower House, of Parliament, that spake for the Subsidy; And that, which I last spake in difference, was but in Circumstances of Time, and Manner, which methinks should be no great Matter, since there is Variety allowed in Counsel, as a Discord in Music, to make it more perfect. But I may justly doubt, not so much her Majesties Impression, upon this particular, as her Consent, otherwise, of my Insufficiency; which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose, not to divide my Self, between her Majesty, and the Causes of other Men, (as others have done,) but to attend her Business only; Hoping, that a whole Man, meanly able, may doe as well as Half a Man, better able. And if her Majesty think, that she shall make an Adventure, in using one, that is rather a Man of Study, than of Practice, and Experience; Surely, I may remember, to have heard, that my Father, (an Example, I conceive, rather Ready, than Like,) was made Solicitor, of the Augmentations, (a Court of much Business,) when he had never practised, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. Brograve, was now, in my time, called to be Attorney of the Dutchy, when he had practised,
practised, little, or nothing: And yet discharged his place, with great Sufficiency. But these Things, and the like, are, as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein, knowing what Authority, your Lordship's Commendation, hath with her Majest," I conclude with my Self, that the Substance of Strength, which I may receive, will be from your Lordship. It is true, my Life hath been so private, as I have had no means, to do your Lordship service; but yet, as your Lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such, as I could yield: For as God hath given me a mind, to love the Publick, so incidently, I have ever had your Lordship, in singular Admiration; whose happy Ability, her Majesty hath so long used, to her great Honour, and yours. Besides, that Amendment, of State, or Countenance, which I have received, hath been from your Lordship. And therefore, if your Lordship shall stand, a good Friend, to your poor Alle; you shall but Tu et Opus proprium, which you have begun. And your Lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one, that hath more sense of Obligation, than of Self-love. Thus humbly desiring pardon, of so long a Letter, I with your Lordship all Happinesse. This 7th of June, 1595.

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-years Gift.

It may please your Majestye,

According to the Ceremony, of the Time, I would not forget, in all humbleness, to present your Majestye, with a small New-years Gift: Nothing to my Mind. And therefore to supply it, I can but pray to God, to give your Majestye, his New-years Gift; that is, a New year, that shall be, as no years, to your Body; And as a year, with 2. Harvests to your Offices; And every other way, prosperous, and gladness. And so I remain.

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-years Gift.

Most excellent Sovereign Mistris,

The only New-years Gift, which I can give your Majestye, is that, which God hath given to me: which is, a Mind, in all Humbleness, to wait upon your Commandments, and Beuinesse: Wherein I would to God, that I were hooded, that I saw less; or, that I could perform more: For now I am like a Hawk, that bates, when I see occasion of service, but cannot fly, because I am tied.
A Letter, of Advice, to the Earl of Essex, &c.

My singular good Lord,

I do write, because I had no time, fully to express my Conceit, to your Lordship, touching Irish Affairs; considering them, as they may concern, your Lordship; Knowing, that you will consider them, as they may concern the State. That it is one of the aptest particular, that hath come, or can come upon the Stage, for your Lordship, to purchase Honour upon, I am moved to think, for 3 Reasons. Because, it is incoherent, in your House, in respect of my Lord, your Fathers, Noble Attempts: Because, of all the Motions, of State, on foot, at this time, the Labour receiveth most, in that particular; And because, the World, will make a kind of Comparison, between those, that set it out of Frame, and those that bring it into Frame: which kind of Honour, giveth the quickest kind of Reflection. The Transferring this Honour, upon your self, consists in 2 points: The one, if the Principal Persons employ'd, come in by you, and depend upon you: The other, if your Lordship, declare your self, and profess to undertake a Care of that Kingdom. For the Persons, it faileth out well, that your Lordship, hath had no Interest, in the Persons of Imputation: For neither, Sir William Fitz-williams, nor Sir John Norris, was yours. Sir William Russell, was conceived yours, but was curbed. Sir Coniers Clifford, (as I conceive it,) dependeth on you, who is said to do well. And if my Lord of Ormond, in this Interim, doth accommodate things well, (as it is said he doth,) I take it, he hath, always, had good Understanding, with your Lordship: So as all Things, hitherto, are not only whole, and entire, but of favourable Aspect, towards your Lordship, if hereafter you chuse well. Concerning the Care of Business, the general, and popular Conceit hath been, that Irish Causes have been much neglected; whereby, the Reputation, of better Care, will put Life into them. But for a Beginning, and Key, to that which shall follow; It were good, your Lordship, would have, some large, and serious, Conference, with Sir William Russell, Sir Richard Bingham, the Earl of Tousond, and Mr. Wilbraham; To know their Relation of the past; Their Opinion of the present; and Their Advice for the future.

For
A Letter of Advice, to the Earl of Essex, &c.

For the Points of Approving them, I am too much a Stranger, to the Business, to deduce them: But, in a general Topique, I think, the pertinent Interrogations, must be: Either, of the Possibility, and Means, of Accord; or of the Nature, of the Warre; or of the Reformation, of Abuses; Or of the joinings, of Practice with Force, in the Divisioun, of the Rebels. If your Lordship doubt, to put your Sickle, into another's Harvest; First, Time brings it to you, in Mr. Secretaries Absence: Next, being mixt, with matter of Warre, it is fittest for you: And lastly, I know your Lordship, will carry it, with that Modesty, and Respect, towards Aged Dignity; And that good Correspondence, towards my dear Kinsman, and your good Friend, now abroad, as no Inconvenience, may grow that way.

Thus have I played, the Ignorant Statesman; Which I doe, to No Body, but your Lordship; except to the Queen, sometimes, when the traine's me on. But your Lordship will accept my Duty, and good Meaning; And secure, me, touching the private, of that I write.

A Letter, of Advice, to the Earl of Essex, upon the first Treaty, with Tyrone, 1598, before the Earl was nominated, for the Charge of Ireland.

My very good Lord,

Concerning the Advertisements, which your Lordship imparted to me, touching the State of Ireland, for willing Duties sake, I will set down, to your Lordship, what Opinion, sprang in my Minde, upon that I read.

The Letters, from the Counsell, there, leaning to mistrust, and dissuade the Treaty, I do not much rely on, for 3. Causes. First, because it is always, the Grace, and the Safety, of such a Counsell, to erre in Caution: whereunto add, that it may be, they, or some of them, are not without Envy, towards the Person, who is used, in treating the Accord. Next, because the Time of this Treaty, hath no shew of Dilimulation; For that Tyrone, is now in no straights; but he is more like a Gamester, that will give over, because he is a Winner, than because, he hath no more Money, in his Purse. Lastly, I do not see, but those Articles, whereupon they ground their Suspicion, may as well proceed out of Fear, as out of Falsehood. For the Retaining, the Dependance; of the Vrighs; the protracting, the Admission, of a Sheriff; the Refusing, to give his Sonne, for an Hostage; the Holding off, from present Repair, to Dublin; the Refusing, to goe presently to Accord, without including Odonnell, and other his Associates; May very
A Letter, of Advice, to the Earl of Essex, &c.

very well come, of an Apprehension, in case he should receive
hard measure; And not out of Treaties). So as, if the great Per-
son, you write of, be faithfull; And that you have not heard,
some present Intelligence, of present succours, from Spain; (For
the Expectation whereof, Tyrone would win time;) I see no deep
Cause, of Disturbing, this Course of Treaty, if the main Condi-
tions may be good. For her Majesty feemeth to me, to be a Win-
er thereby, 3. ways; First, her Purse shall have some Reft:
Next, it will divert, the Foreign Designes, upon the Place: Third-
ly, though her Majesty, be like, for a time, to govern but precari-
in the North; And be not, (as to a true Command,) in better
state there, than before; yet, besides the two respects, of Ease of
Charge, and Advantage of Opinion, abroad, before mentioned,
the shall have a time, to use her Princely policy, in 2. points to
weaken them. The one, by Division, and Difunion, of the
Heads; The other, by Recovering, and Winning the People, from
them, by Justice; which, of all other Courses, is the best.

Now for the Athenian Question; you difcours well; Quid
igitur agendum est? I will shoot my Fools Bolt, since you will have
it so. The Earl of Ormond, to be encouraged, and comforted.
Above all Things, the Garrisons to be instantly provided for. For
Opportunity makest a Theif; And if he should mean never to well
now; yet such an Advantage, as the Breaking, of her Majesties
Garrisons, might tempt a true Man,

And because, he may as well waver, upon his own Inconstancy,
as upon Occasion; (And wanton Variableness, is never refrain-
ed, but by Fear;) I hold it necessary, he be menaced, with a
strong War: Not by Words, but by Masters, and preparations of For-
ces, here, in case the Accord proceed not: But none to be sent o-
ver, let it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run,
as soon as he hath laid away Arms. And but that your Lord-
ship, is too case, to pass in Such Cases, from Dissimulation, to
Verity; I think, if your Lordship lent your Reputation, in this
Case; That is, To pretend, that if Peace go not on, and the Queen
mean to make, not a Defensive War, as in times past, but a full Re-
conquest of those parts, of the Country, you would accept the
Charge; I think, it would help, to settle Tyrone, in his seeking Ac-
cord, and win you, a great deal of Honour, gratis.

And that, which most properly concern's, this Action, if it
prove a Peace; I think, her Majesty shall doe well, to cure the
Root of the Dispute; And to Proceed, by a Commission, of Peace-
able Men, of Respect, and Countenance, a Reformation of Abuses,
Extortions, and Injustices there; And to plant, a stronger, and
lurer Government, than heretofore, for the Ease, and Protection,
of the Subject. For the Removing of the Sword, or Government in
Arms, from the Earl of Ormond; Or the Slanding of a Deputy, (which
will eclipse it,) if Peace follow, I think it unreasonable.
A Letter of Advice, to my Lord of Essex,

Lastly, I hold it still my Opinion, (both for your better Information, and the fuller Declaration, of your Care, in Meddling, in this urgent, and meriting Service, ) That your Lordship have a set Conference, with the persons, I named, in my former Letter.

A Letter of Advice, to my Lord of Essex, immediately, before his going into Ireland.

My singular good Lord;

Your late Note of my Silence, in your Occasions, hath made me set down, these few wandring Lines, as one that would say somewhat, and can say nothing, touching your Lordships intended Charge for Ireland; Which my Endeavour, I know, your Lordship will accept graciously; whether your Lordship take it, by the Handle of Occasion, ministr'd from your Self; or of the Affection, from which it proceeds.

Your Lordship, is designd to a Service, of great Merit, and great Peril: And as the Greatness of the Peril, must needs include, a like proportion of Merit: So the Greatness of the Merit, may include, no small Consequence of Peril, if it be not temperately govern'd. For all immoderate Success, extinguiheth Merit, and stirreth up, Disafts, and Envy; The assured Forerunners, of whole Charges of Peril. But I am at the last point first; Some good Spirit, leading my Penn, to presage, to your Lordship, success: Wherein, it is true, I am not without my Oracles, and Divinations; None of them Superstitious, and yet not all Natural. For first, looking into the Course of God's Providence, in Things now depending; And calling to consideration, how great things God hath done, by her Majesty, and for her: I collect, he hath disposed, of this great Distinction, in Ireland, thereby, to give an urgent occasion, to the Reduction, of that whole Kingdom; As upon the Rebellion of Desmond, there infl'd, the Reduction of that whole Province.

Next, your Lordship goeth against, three of the unluckiest Vices, of all others; Disloyalty, Ingratitude, and Insolence: Which three Offences, in all Examples, have feldom their Doom, adjourn'd to the world to come.

Lastly, he that shall have had the Honour, to know your Lordship, inwardly, as I have had, shall find Bona Exspecto, whereby he may better ground, a Divination of Good, than upon the Dissension, of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave: For it is fit for others, to be confident upon the cause; The Goodness, and Justice, whereof, is such, as can hardly be matched, in any Example; It being no Ambitious Warr, against Forreiners, but a Recovery of Subjects; And that, after Longevity of Conditions, often tried; And a Recovery of them, not onely to Obedience, but to Humanity, and Policy.
immediately, before his going into Ireland.

Policy, from more than Indian Barbarism.

There is yet another Kinde of Divination, familiar to Matters of State, Being that, which Demosthenes, so often relied upon, in his time; when he said; That, which for the time past, is worst of all, is, for the time to come, the best; which is, that things goe ill, not by Accident, but by Errors; Wherein, if your Lordship have been, heretofore, an Awaking Centour, you must look for no other now, but, Medice Curatepsion: And though, you shall not be the Happy Physician, that commeth in the Declination of the Diseas; yet you embrace that Condition, which many Noble Spirits have accepted for Advantage; which is, that you goe, upon the greater Peril, of your Fortune; and the lesse, of your Reputation; And fo the Honour countervail the Adventure; Of which Honour, your Lordship is in no small possession; when that her Majesty, (known to be, one of the most judicious Princes, in discerning of Spirits, that ever governed,) hath made choice of you, (merely out of her Royal Judgement; her Affection inclining rather to continue your Attendance;) into whole hand, and trut, to put the Command, and Conduite, of so great Forces; The Gathering the Fruit of so great Charge; The Execution of so many Councils; The Redeeming, of the Defaults, of so many former Governors; The clearing of the Glory, of her so many happy years Reign, only, in this part, eclipsed; Nay further, how far forth, the peril of that State, is interlaced with the peril of England; And therefore, how great the Honour is, to keep, and defend, the Approaches, or Ave-newes, of this Kingdom, I hear many dispute; And there is a great Difference, whether the Tortoise gathereth her self, within her shell, hurt, or unhurt:

And if any Man be of Opinion, that the Nature of the Enemy, doth extenuate, the Honour of the Service, being but a Rebell, and a Savage; I differ from him; For I see, the jutefull Triumphs, that the Romans, in their greatness, did obtain; And that, whereof the Emperors, in their Stiles, took Addition, and Denomination, were of such an Enemy, as this: That is, People Barbarous, and not reduced to Civility, magnifying a kind of lawless Liberty, and prodigal of Life, hardned in Body, fortified in Woods and Boggs, and placing both Justice and Felicity in sharpness of their Swords: Such were the Germans, and ancient Britons, and divers others. Upon which kinde of People, whether the Victory were a Conquest; or a Reconquest; upon a Rebellion, or a Revolt; It made no difference, (that ever I could find,) in Honour. And therefore, it is not the Enriching Predatory Wars, that hath the preheminence in Honour; Else should it be more Honour, to bring in a Carick of rich Burthen, than one of the 12. Spanish Apostles. But then, this Nature of People, doth yield, a higher point of Honour, considered in Truth, and Substance, than any warre can yield, which should be achieved, against a Civil Enemy; If the End
A Letter of Advice, to my Lord of Essex, &c.

End may be; Pactis imponere morem, to replant, and refound, the policy of that Nation; To which nothing is wanting, but a judicious, and Civil, government: which Design, as it doth descend unto you, from your Noble Father, who lost his life in that Action, (though he paid Tribute to Nature, and not to Fortunes;) So, I hope your Lordship, shall be, as focal a Captain to this war, as Africanus was to the War of Carthage: After that both his Uncle, and Father, had lost their Lives, in Spain, in the same war. Now, although it be true, that these Things, which I write, (being but Representations, unto your Lordship, of the Honour, and Appearance of Success, of the Enterprise;) Be not much, to the purpose, of any Advice; yet it is that, which is left to me, being no Man of War, and ignorant in the particulars of Estate. For a Man may, by the Eye, set up the White, in the midst of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will only add this Wivish, according to the English Phrase, which termeth, a well-willing Advice, a Wivish: That your Lordship, in this whole Action, looking forward, would set down this Position; That Merit is worthier than Fame; And looking back hither, would remember this Text, That Obedience is better than Sacrifice. For Designing to Fame, and Glory, may make your Lordship, in the Adventure of your Person, to be valiant, as a private Soullier, rather than as a General: It may make you, in your Commandements, rather to be Gracious, than Disciplinary: It may make you preffe Action, (in respect of the great Expectation conceived,) rather hastily, than seasonably, and safely: It may make you, seek rather, to achieve the war, by force, than by Intermixture of Practice: It may make you, (if God shall send prosperous Beginnings,) rather seek the Fruition of that Honour, than the Perfection, of the work, in hand. And for the other point, that is the Proceeding, like a good Protestant, upon express warrant, and not upon good Intention; your Lordship knoweth, in your wisdom; That as it is most fit for you, to desire convenient Liberty of InSTRUCTIONS, so it is no lefe fit for you, to obverse the due Limits of them: Remembering, that the Exceeding of them, may not only procure, in case of adverfe Accident, a dangerous Disavow; But also, (in case of prosperous Success;) be subject to Interpretation, as if all were not referred, to the right End.

Thus have I presumed, to write these few Lines, to your Lordship, in Methodo Ignorantiae; which is, when a Man speaketh of a Subject, not according to the Matter, but according to the Model, of his own Knowledge: And most humbly desire your Lordship, that the weaknefs thereof, may be supplied, in your Lordship, by a benigne Acceptation, as it is in me, by my beft Wivishing.
A Letter to the Earl of Essex, in Offer of his Service.

My Lord;

No Man can expound my Doings better, than your Lordship; which makes me need to say the less: Only, I humbly pray you to believe, that I aspire to the Conscience, and Commendation, of Bonum Civis, and Bonum Vir; And that, though I love some Things, better, (I confess,) than I love your Lordship; yet I love few Persons better; Both for Gratiates fake, and for your Vertues; which cannot hurt, but by Accident; Of which my good Affection, it may please your Lordship, to assure your self; And of all the true Effects, and Offices, I can yield. For as I was ever sorry, your Lordship should fly, with waxen Wings, doubting Icarus Fortune; So for the growing, up of your own Feathers, be they Eltringes, or other kinde, no man shall be more glad. And this is the Axill-Tree, whereon I have turned, and shall turn. Which having already signified, to you, by some near mean, having so fit a Messenger, for mine own Letter, I thought good, also, to redouble by Writing. And so I commend you to God's Protection. From Graves Inn, this 9th of July, 1600.

An Answer, of my Lord of Essex, to the immediately preceding Letter, of Mr. Bacons.

Mr. Bacon;

I can neither Expound, nor Censure, your late Actions; Being ignorant, of all of them, save one; And having directed my Sight inward onely, to examine my Self. You doe pray me to believe, that you only aspire, to the Conscience, and Commendation, of Bonum Civis, and Bonum Vir; And I doe faithfully assure you, that while that is your Ambition, (though your Course be Active, and Mind Contemplative,) yet we shall both, Conceniire in eadem Tertio; And, Conceniire inter Nostros. Your Profession of Affection, and Offer of good Offices, are welcome to me: For answer to them, I will say but this; That you have believed, I have been kind to you; And you may believe, that I cannot be other, either upon Humour, or mine own Election. I am a stranger, to all Poetical Conceive, or else I should say somewhat, of your Poetical Example. But this I must say; That I never flew, with other Wings, than Desire to merit; And Confidence in my Sovereigns Favour; And when one of these Wings failed me, I would light no where, but at my Sovereigns Feet, though she sufferd me, to be bruised,
Two Letters framed, &c.

bruised, with my fall. And till her Majefty, that knows, I was never Bird of Prey, finds it to agree with her will, and her Service, that my wings should be imped again, I have committed my Self, to the Mue. No power, but my Gods, and my Sovereigns, can alter this Resolution, of

Your Retired Friend,

ESSEX.

Two Letters framed, the one, as from Mr. Anthony Bacon, to the Earl of Essex; The other, as the Earls Answer thereunto, delivered to Sir Francis Bacon, with the Advice of Mr. Anthony Bacon, his Brother, to be shewed to the Queen, upon some fit occasion; As a Mean, to work her Majefty, to receive the Earl again, to Favour and Attendance, at Court: They were devised, whilst my Lord remained Prisoner, in his own House.

My singular good Lord;

This standing at a stay, in your Lordships Fortunes, doth make me, in my Love towards your Lordship, jealous, lest you doe somewhat, or omit somewhat, that amounteth to a new Error. For I suppose, of all former Matters, there is a full Expiation: wherein, for any thing that your Lordship doth, I, for my part, (who am remote;) cannot cast, nor devise, wherein any Error should be; except in one point, which I dare not cenfure, nor difs nowhere: which is, that (as the Prophet saith,) In this Affaile, you look up, ad Manum Percutiensem, and so make your peace with God. And yet I heard it noted, that my Lord of Leicesters, (who could never get to be taken for a Saint, nevertheless in the Queens Disfavour,) waxed seeming Religious: which may be thought by some, and used by others, as a Cafe resembling yours; If Men do not see, or will not see, the difference between your two Dispositions. But to be plain with your Lordship, my Fear rather is, because I hear, how some of your good, and wise, Friends, not unpractised in the Court, and fupposing themselves, not to be unseen, in that deep, and unscrutable, Center of the Court, which is her Majefties Mind, do not onely toll the Bell, but even ring our Peals, as if your Fortune were dead, and buried; And as if, there were no possibility, of recovering her Majefties Favour; And as if, the best of your Condition, were to live, a private, and retired Life, out of Want, out of Peril, and out of manifest disgrace; And so in this persuafion of theirs, include a persuafion to your Lordship, to frame, and accommodate your Actions, and Mind, to that End: I fear, I say, that this untimely Delpair, may,
in time, bring forth, a just Despair, by causing your Lordship, to flacken, and break off your wife, loyal, and Scamnoble, Endeavours, and Industries, for Reintegration to her Majesties favour: In Comparison whereof, all other Circumstances, are but as Atomis; or rather, as Vacuum, without any Substance at all. Against this Opinion, it may please your Lordship, to consider, of these Reaons, which I have collected, And to make judgement of them: Neither out of the Melancholy, of your present Fortune; nor out of the Infusion of that, which commeth to you, by others Relation, (which is subject to much Tincture;) But ex Rebusipsis, Out of the Nature, of the Persons, and Actions, themselves: As the truthfull, and least deceiving Grounds, of Opinion. For though I am so unfortunate, as to be a stranger to her Majesties Eye, and to her Nature; yet by that which is apparent, I doe manifestly discern, that she hath the Character, of the Divine Nature, and Goodness; Quos amavit, amavit usque ad finem; And where she hath a Creature, she doth not deface, nor defeat it: Infomuch, as if I observe rightly, in those persons, whom heretofore she hath honoured, with her special Favour, she hath covered, and remitted, not only Defects, and Ingratiudes, in Affection, but Errors in State, and Service. Secondly, if I can spell, and Scholar-like put together, the parts of her Majesties proceeding, now towards your Lordship; I cannot but make this Constraction; That her Majest, in her Royal Intention, never purposed, to call your Lordships Doings, into publick Question; But only, to have used a Cloud, without a Shower, in confuring them, by some temporary Restraint onely, of Liberty, and debarring from her presence. For firft, the Handling the Cause in the Stann-Chamber, you not called, was enforced, by the Violence, of Libelling, and Rumours; (wherein the Queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your Lordships Appearance;) And after, when that Means, which was intended, for the Quenching, of malicious Brutes, turned to kindle them; (Because it was said, your Lordship, was condemned unheard; And your Lordships Sister wrote that piquant Letter,) then her Majest, law plainly, that these winds of Rumours, could not be commanded down, without a Handling of the Cause, by Making you Party, and Admitting your Defence. And to this purpose, I doe assure your Lordship, that my Brother, Francis Bacon, who is too wise, (I think) to be abused, and too honest, to abuse; Though he be more reserved, in all particulars, than is needful; yet, in generality, she hath ever constantly, and with affection, affirmed to me, that both those Dayses; That of the Stann-Chamber, and that at my Lord Keepers, were wonne from the Queen, merily upon necessitie, and point of Honour, against her own Inclination. Thirdly, in the last proceeding, I note 3 points, which are directly significant, That her Majest, did expressly forbear, any
any point, which was Irreparable, or might make your Lordship
in any degree, incapable, of the return of her favour; Or might
fix, any Character Indelible, of disgrace upon you: For the
spared, the Publick Place, of the Star-Chamber: She limited the
Charge, precisely, not to touch Disloyalty; And no Record re-
maineth to Memory, of the Charge, or Sentence. Fourthly, the
very Distinction, which was made, in the Sentence, of Sequestra-
tion, from the places of Service in State; And leaving to your
Lordship, the Place, of Master of the Horse, both, to my understand-
ing, indicative, point at this: That her Majesty meant, to lose
your Lordship's Attendance in Court, while the Excuses, of the other
places, flood suspend. Fifthly, I have heard; and your
Lordship knoweth better, that now, since you were in your own
Custody, her Majesty, in Verbo Regio, and by his Mouth, by whom
the committeth, her Royal Graunts, and Decrees; hath assured
your Lordship, the will forbid, and not suffer, your Ruine. Sixth-
ly, as I have heard, her Majesty, to be a Prince, of that Magnani-
mitie, that the will spare, the Service, of the abled Subjects, or Piers,
when she shall be thought, to stand in need of it: So she is, of
that Policy, as she will not loose, the Service, of a meaner than
your Lordship, where it shall depend, meekly, upon her Choice,
and Will. Seventhly, I hold it for a Principle; That those Dis-
eses, are hardest to cure, whereof the Cause is obscure; And those
caines, whereof the Cause is manifest: Whereupon I conclude,
that since it hath been your Error, in your Courties, towards her
Majesty, which hath prejudiced you; That your Reforming, and
Conformity, will restore you; So as you may be Faber Fortuna
proprie. Lastly, considering your Lordship, is removed, from
Dealing in Causes of State, and left only to a Place of Attend-
dance; Methinks, the Ambition of any Man, who can endure
no Partners, in State-Matters, may be so quenched, as they should
not, laboriously, oppose themselves, to your Being in Court: So as
upon the whole Matter, I cannot find, neither in her Majesties
Person, nor in your own Person, nor in any third Person; Nei-
ther in former Presidents, nor in your own Cafe; any Cause, of
dry, and peremptory, Defpair. Neither do I speak this, but
that if her Majesty, out of her Resolution, would design you, to a
private Life, you should be as willing, upon her Appointment,
to goe into the Wilderness, as into the Land of Promise. Onely, I
with your Lordship, will not preoccupate Defpair, but put trust,
next to God, in her Majesties Grace, and not to be wanting to your
Self. I know your Lordship, may justly interpret, that this, which
I perswade, may have some reference to my particular; because
I may truly say; Te Stantic, Non Videbo, ( For I am withered in
my Self;) but Videbo, or Tenebo; I shall, in some sort, be, or
hold out. But though your Lordships Years, and Health, may
expect return of Grace, and Fortune; yet your Eclipse for a time,
is an Ultimam Vale, to my Fortune: And were it not, that I desire, and hope, to see my Brother established, by her Majesties favour; (as I think him well worthy, for that he hath done, and suffered,) it were time, I did take that Course, from which I disswade your Lordship. But now in the mean time, I cannot choose, but perform, those honest Duties, unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bounden.

A Letter, framed, as from the Earl, in answer, of the former Letter.

Mr. Bacon,

I Thank you, for your kind, and careful Letter. It perswades me that, which I wish strongly, and hope for weakly; That is, Possibility of Restitution, to her Majesties Favour: Your Arguments, that would cherish Hope, turn to Despair. You say the Queen, never meant, to call me to Publick Censure, which sheweth her Goodness: But you see I pass'd it, which sheweth others Power. I believe most flatly, her Majesty never intended, to bring my Cause, to a Sentence; And I believe as verily, that since that Sentence, she meant to restore me, to attend upon her Person. But they that could use occasions (which was not in me to let,) and amplifie Occasions, and pratiſe Occasions, to represent to her Majesty, a Necessity, to bring me to the one, can, and will, do the like, to stop me from the other. You say, my Errors, were my Prejudice, and therefore I can mend my Self: It is true; But they that know, that I can mend my Self; And that if ever, I recover the Queen, that I will never loose her again; will never suffer me, to obtain Interest, in her favour. And you say, the Queen never forlooked utterly, where she inwardly favoured: But I know not, whether the Hour-glass of time, hath altered her; But sure I am, The false Glasſe, of others Informations, must alter her, when I want access to plead mine own Cause. I know, I ought doubly, to be her Majesties: Both Jure Creationis, For I am her Creature: And Jure Redemptionis; For, I know, the hath sav'd me, from Overthrow. But for her first Love, and for her last Protection, and all her great Benefits, I can but pray for her Majesty; And my Endeavours, are now, to make, my Prayers for her Majesty, and my Self, better heard. For thanks be to God, they that can make, her Majesty believe, I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe, that I counterfeit with him: And they which can let me, from coming near unto her, cannot let me, from drawing near unto him, as I hope I do daily. For your Brother, I hold him an honest Gentleman, and with him all good.

Much
A Letter, to Mr. Secretary Cecill, &c.

Much rather, for your Sake. Your self, I know, hath suffered more for me, than any Friend I have: But I cannot but lament freely, as you see I do; And advise you, not to doe that, which I doe, which is, to despair. You know Letters, what hurt they have done me; And therefore make sure of this: And yet I could not, (as having no other Pledge of my Love,) but communicate freely with you, for the Ease of my Heart, and yours.

A Letter to Mr. Secretary Cecill, after the Defeating of the Spanish Forces, in Ireland; Inciting him, to embrace the Care, of Reducing that Kingdom, to Civility, with some reasons sent, enclosed.

It may please your Honour,

A soone, that with thee, all Encrease of Honour; And as one, that cannot leave, to love the State, (what Interest I have, or may come, to have in it;) And as one, that now this dead Vacation time, hath some Leisure, ad aliud agendam; I will presume, to propound unto you, that, which though you cannot but see, yet I know not, whether you apprehend, and esteem it, in so high a degree; That is, for the best Action, of Importation to your self; Of found Honour and Merit, to her Majesty, and this Crown; without Ventotie, and Popularity, that the Riches, of any Occasion, or the Tide, of any Opportunity, can possibly minister, or offer. And that is, the Causes of Ireland, if they be taken, by the right Handle. For if the Wound, be not ripped up again, and come to a Recrudency, by new Forein Succours, I think, that no Physician, will goe on much, with letting Bloud, In Declinatiome Mori; But will intend, to Purge, and Corroborate. To which purpose, I send you mine Opinion, without Labour of Words, in the Enclosed; And sure I am, that if you shall enter into the matter, according to the Vivacity of your own Spirit, nothing can make unto you, a more gainfull return. For you shall make the Queens Felicity compleat, which now, (as it is,) is incomparable; And for your Self, you shall show your Self, as good a Patriot, as you are thought a Politick; And make the World perceive, you have not left Generous Ends, than Dexterous Delivery, of your Self, towards your Ends; And that you have, as well true Arts, 

| grounds of government, as the facility, & felicity, of practice, and negotiation; And that you are as well seen, in the periods, and Tides, of estates, as in your own Circle, and Way: Than the which, I suppose, nothing, can be a better Addition, and Accumulation, of Honour, unto you. This, I hope, I may in private, write, either as a Kinblman, that may be bold; or a Scholar, that hath Liberty of Discourse, without Committing any Absurdity.
Considerations, touching the Queens Service, in Ireland.

The Reduction, of that Country, as well to Civility, and Justice, as to Obedience, and Peace, (which things, as Affairs now stand, I hold to be Indispensable,) consists in 4 Points.

1. The Extirpation, of the Rebels, of the Warr.
2. The Recovery, of the Hearts, of the People.
3. The Removing, of the Root, and Occasions, of new Troubles.

For the first: Concerning the Places, and Times, and Particularities, of further Prosecution, in fact, I leave it, to the Opinion, of Men of Warr; Only the Difficulty is, to distinguish, and discern, the Propositions, which shall be, according to the Ends, of the State here; (That is, final, and summary, towards the Extirpation, of the Troubles;) From those, which though they pretend Public Ends, yet may refer, indeed, to the more Private, and Compendious Ends, of the Council there; or the particular Governors, or Captains. But still, (as I touched in my Letter,) I do think, much Letting Blood, In Declaration Morbi, is against Method of Cure; And that it will, but endure Necessity, and exasperate Delpair; And, per capita, discover the Hollowness of that, which is done already, which now blazeth to the best show. For Laggias, and Profcriptions, of 2, or 3, of the principal Rebels, they are, no doubt, Jure Gentium, lawfull; In Italy, usually practiced, upon the Banditi; Blood in season, where a Side goeth down: And may do good, in two Kinds; The one, if they take Effect; The other, in the Difficult, which may follow, amongst the Rebels themselves. But of all other points, to my Understanding, the most Effectual is, the well Expelling, or Impressing, the Design of this State, upon that miserable, and desolate, Kingdom; Containing the same, between these two Limits, or Boundaries: The one, that the Queen seeketh not, an Extirpation, of that People, but a Reduction; And that now, she hath chastified them, by her Royal Power, and Arms, according to the Necessity of the Occasion; Her Majesty, taketh no pleasure, in Effusion of Blood, or Displanting of Ancient Generations. The other, that her Majesty, Princeely Care, is, principally, and intentionally, bent, upon the Adition of Ireland: And that the
Considerations, touching the Queens Service, in Ireland.

the seeketh not, so much, the Eafe of Charge, as the royal performance, of the Office of Protection, and Reclaim, of those her Subjects: And, in a word, that the Care is altered so far, as may stand, with the Honour, of the Time past. And again, I doe repeat, that if her Majesty's Design be, ex Professo, to Reduce Rebels to Obedience, it makes weakneffe turn Christianity, and Conditions Graces: And so hath a Finenesse, in Turning Utility, upon Point of Honour; which is agreeable, to the Humor, of these Times. And besides, if her Majesty, shall suddeily abate, the Lifts of their Forces, and shall doe nothing to countervail it, in point of Reputation, of a Politick Proceeding, I doubt, Things may, too foon fall back, into the Value they were in. Next to this. Adding Reputation to the Cause, by Imprinting an Opinion, of her Majesty's Care, and Intention, upon this Action, is the Taking away, of Reputation, from the Contrary Side, by Cutting off, the Opinion, and Reputation, of Foreign Succours; To which purpose, this Enterprise of Algiers, (if it hold according to the Advertisement, and if it be not wrapped up, in the Period of this Summer,) seemeth, to be an Opportunity, etatis dimiffa. And to the fame purpose, nothing can be more fit, than a Treaty, or a Shadow, of a Treaty, of a Peace, with Spain; which, methinks, should be in our Power to fatten, at least Rumore terris, to the Deluding, of as wise People, as the Irish. Lastly, for this point; That which the Auncients called, Potes tas fata, redeundi ad Sanitate: And, which is but a Mockery, when the Enemy is strong, or proud, but Effectual in his Declination; That is, a liberal Proclamation, of Grace, and Pardon, to Such as shall submit, and come in within a time prefixed; And of some other Reward, to Such, as shall bring others in; That one's Sword, may be sharpened by another's; Is a Matter of good Experience, and now, I think, will come in time. And per ce, though I with the Exclusions, of fuch a pardon, exceeding few, yet it will not be safe, to continue fome of them, in their Strength; But to tranflate them, and their Generations, into England: And give them Recompence, and Satisfaction here, for their Possessions there; As the King of Spain did, by divers Families, of Portugal. To the Effecting, of all the Points, aforesaid; And likewise, thofe which fall, within the Divisions following, nothing can be in priority, (either of Time, or Matter,) better, than the sending of fome Commission, of Countenance, Ad Res inspiciendas, & composendas: For it will be very a significant Demonstration, of her Majesty's Care, of that Kingdom: A Credence, to any, that shall come in, and submit; A Bribe, to any, that shall have their Fortunes there, and shall apply, their Propositions, to private Ends; And an Evidence, that her Majesty, after Arms laid down, speedily pursue, a Politick Course, without Neglect, or Respiration: And it hath been the Wisdom of the best Examples of Government.
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Towards the Recovery, of the Hearts of the People; there be but 3. things in Nature Reasonable:

1. Religion.
2. Justice, and Protection.
3. Obligation, and Reward.

For Religion, (to speak first of Piety, and then of Policy,) all Divines do agree; That if Confessions, be to be enforced, at all, (wherein yet they differ) two Things must precede their Enforcement: The one, Means of Instruction; The other, Time of Operation: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides, till they be more like Reasonable Men, than they are, their Society, were rather Scandalous to the true Religion, than otherwise; As Pearls cast before Swine; For till they be�>P</int>enced, from their Blood, Incontinency, and Thefts, (which are now, not the Lapses, of particular Persons, but the very Laws of the Nation,) they are Incompatible, with Religion Reformed. For Policy, there is no doubt, but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their Reclaiming, and cannot but continue, their Alienation of Mind, from this Government. Besides, one of the principal Pretences, whereby the Heads of the Rebellion, have prevailed, both with the People, and with the Forreigners, hath been, the Defence, of the Catholic Religion: And it is that likewise, hath made the Forreigners, reciprocally, more plausible with the Rebell. Therefore a Toleration of Religion, (for a Time, not definite,) except it be in some Principal Towns, and Precincts; After the manner of some French Edicts, seeming to me, to be a Matter, warrantable by Religion, and in Policy, of absolute Necessity. And the Hesitation, in this point, (I think,) hath been, a great Catechising, of the Affairs there. Neither if any English Papist, or Recusant, shall for Liberty of his Conscience, transferre his Person, Family, and Fortunes thither, doe I hold it, a Matter of Danger, but expedient, to draw on Undertaking, and to further Population. Neither if Rome, will covenent it, Selij, by Convections, it may be some Degree, to the like Toleration, in England; doe I hold it, a matter of any Moment; But rather, a good Mean, to take off, the Fiercenesse, and Eagerness, of the Humor of Rome; And to stay, further Excommunications, or Interdiction, for Ireland. But there would goe, hand in hand, with this, some Course of Advancing Religion, indeed, where the People is capable thereof: As the sending over, some good Preachers, especially of that Sort, which are vehement, and zealous Persecutors, and not Scholastical; To be resident in principal Towns; Endowing them, with some Stipends, out of her Majesties Revenues; As her Majestie hath, most religiously, and graciously done, in Lancashire: And the Recontinuing, and Replenishing the College, begun at Dublin; The placing of good Men, to be Bishops there; And the Taking Care, of the Versions, of Bibles, Catechisms, and other Books of Instruction, into the
Irish Language; And the like Religious Causes; Both for the Honour of God, and for the Avoiding of Scandal, and Insubstantial here, by the shew of a Toleration of Religion, in some parts there.

For Justice, the Barbarism, and Desolation of the Country, considered, it is not possible, they should find, any Sweetness, at all, of Justice; If it shall be, (which hath been the Error, of Times past,) Formal, and fetched far off from the State; Because, it will require, running up and down, for Proceeds; And give Occasion, for Polling, and Exactions by Fees; And many other Delays, and Charges. And therefore, there must be an Interim, in which, the Justice must be only Summary; the rather, because it is fit, and safe, for a time, the Country do participate of Martial Government: And therefore, I could wish, in every principal Town, or Place, of Habitation, there were a Captain, or Governor; And a Judge, such as Recorders, and Learned Stewards, are here in Corporations; who may have a Prerogative Commission, to hear, and determine, Secundum sanam discretionem; And as near, as may be, to the Laws, and Customes of England: And that, by Bill, or Plein, without Original Writ; Referring from their Sentence, matter of Freethold, and Inheritance, to be determined, by a superior Judge, Itinerant: And both Sentences, as well of the Baylisswick Judge, as Itinerant, to be revered, (if Cause be,) before the Counsel, of the Province; to be established there, with fit Instructions.

For Obligation, and Reward; It is true, (no doubt,) which was anciently said; That a State, is contained, in two Words, Premium, and Pena. And I am persuaded, if a Penny in the Pound, which hath been spent in Pena, (for this kind of War is but pena, a chastisement of Rebels, without Fruit, or Emolument, to this State,) had been spent in Premio, that is, in Rewarding, Things had never grown to this Extremity. But to speak forwards. The keeping of the Principal Irish persons, in Terms of Contentment, and without Cause of particular Complaint; And, generally, the Carrying of an even Course, between the English, and the Irish; Whether it be in Competition; or whether it be in Controversie; as if they were one Nation; (without that same partial Course, which hath been held, by the Governors, and Counsellors; there, that some have favoured the Irish, and some contrary;) Is one of the best Medicines of State. And as for other Points of Contentment; As the Countenancing of their Nobility, as well in this Court, as there; The Imparting of Knighthood; The Care, of Education, of their Children; And the like points of Comfort; They are Things, which fall into every Mans Consideration.

For the Extirpating, of the Seeds, of Troubles, I suppose, the main Roots are but three. The first, the Ambition, and Absolute, of the Chief of the Families, and Sects; The second, the licentious Idleness, of their Kness, and Saddlers, that lie upon the Country,
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try, by Setles, and such like Oppressions. And the Third, the barbarous Laws, Customs, their Brutea Laws, Habits of Apparel, their Poets or Heralds, that enchant them in Savage Manners, and fundry other such Dregs, of Barbarism, and Rebellion; Which, by a Number, of Politick Statutes, of Ireland, meet to be put in Execution, are already forbidden; Unto which, such Additions may be made, as the present Time requireth. But the Deduction of this Branch, requireth a more particular Notice, of the State, and Manners there, than fall's within my Compass.

For Plantations, and Buildings, I doe find it strange, that in the last Plot, for the Population of Munfler, there were Limitations, how much in Demeef, and how much in Farm, and how much in Tenancy: Again, how many Buildings should be erected; How many Irish, in Atixture, should be admitted; And other things foreseen almost to Curiosity; But no Restraint, that they might not build, Sparre, at their pleasure; Nor any Condition, that they should make places Fortified, and Defensible: Which Omifion was a strange Neglect, and Secureneffe, to my understandling. So as, for this last Point, of Plantations, and Buildings, there be two Considerations, which I hold most material; The one, for Quickening; And the other, for Assuring. The first is, that choice be made, of such Persons, for the Government, of Towns, and Places; And such Undertakers be procured, as be Men gracious, and well beloved, and are like to be well followed. Wherein, for Munfler, it may be, (because it is not Res integra, but that the former Undertakers, stand intered,?) there will be some Difficulty. But surely, in mine Opinion, either by Agreeing with them, or by Over ruling them, with a Parliament, in Ireland; (which in this Course, of a Politick Proceeding, infinite Occasions, will require, speedily, to be held;) It will be fit, to Supply, fit qualified Persons, of Undertakers. The other, that it be not left, (as heretofore,) to the Pleasure, of the Undertakers, and Adventurers, where, and how, to build, and plant; But that they doe, according to a Prefcript, or Formulary: For first, the Places, both Maritime, and Inland, which are fittted, for Colonies, or Garrisons; As well, for doubt of the Foreiner, as for the Keeping the Countrey, in Bridle, would be found, surveyed, and resolved upon: And that the Parentees, be tied, to build, in those places onely, and to fortify, as shall be thought convenient. And lastly, it followeth of Course, in Countries, of new Populations, to invite, and provoke Inhabitants, by ample Liberties, and Charters.
A Letter, of Offer, of his Service, to his Majesty,

A Letter, of Recommendation, of his Service, to the Earl, of Northumberland, a few days, before Queen Elizabeth's death.

It may please your good Lordship,

AS the Time, of Sowing a Seed, is known, but the Time of
Coming up, and Disclosing, is casual, or according to the
Season; So, I am a Witness to my Self, that there hath been cov-
ered, in my mind, a long time, a Seed of Affection, and Zeal, to-
wards your Lordship, sown by the Estimation of your Vertues,
and your particular Honours, and Favours, to my Brother Deceased,
and my Self: Which Seed still springing, now bursteth forth, in-
to this Profession. And to be plain, with your Lordship, it is ve-
ry true; (And no Winds, or Noyses, of Civil Matters, can blow
this, out of my Head, or Heart;) That your great Capacity, and
Love, towards Studies, and Contemplations, of an higher, and
worthier Nature, than Popular; (A Nature rare in the World,
and in a Person, of your Lordship's Quality, almost singular;) is to
me, a great, and chief Motive, to draw my Affection, and Admi-
nation, towards you. And therefore, good my Lord, if I may be,
of any use, to your Lordship, by my Head, Tongue, or Penn,
Means, or Friends, I humbly pray you, to hold me your own;
And herewithall, not to doe so much Disadvantage to my good
Mind, nor Partly to your own Worth, as to conceive, that this
Commendation, of my humble Service, proceedeth, out of any
Streights, of my Occasions, but meerly, out of an Election, and
indeed, the Fulness of my Heart: And to wishing your Lordship,
all prosperity, I continue.

A Letter, of Offer, of his Service, to his Majesty, upon his
first Coming in.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

It is observed, upon a place, in the Caniciles, by some; Ego sum
Flos Campi, et Liliurn Convallium, that a Dispari, it is not said,
Ego sum Flos Horti, et Liliurn Montium, because the Majesty of that
Person, is not enclosed for a Few, nor appropriate to the Great,
And yet, notwithstanding, this Royal Vertue of Access, which
Nature, and Judgement, hath planted, in your Majesty's Minde,
as the Portal of all the rest, could not, of it Self, (my Imperfection
considered,) have animated me, to have made Obleation, of
my Self, immediately, to your Majesty, had it not been joyned,
To Mr. Faules, in Scotland, &c.

To Mr. Faules, in Scotland, upon the Entrance, of his Majesties Reign.

SIR, The Occasion awaketh in me, the Remembrance, of the conftant, and mutual, good Offices, which past,between my good Brother, and your Self: wherinto, (as you know,) I was not, altogether, a Stranger; Though the Time, and Deftin, (as between Brethren,) made me more referved. But well doe I bear in minde, the great opinion, which my Brother, (whose Jugegement I much reverence,) would often exprefse to me, of your Exaordinary Sufficiency, Dexterity, and Temper, which he had found in
A Letter, commending his Love, and Occasions, &c.

in you, in the Business, and Service, of the King, our Sovereign Lord: This latter, bred in me, an Election, as the former gave an Inducement, for me, to address my Self, to you: And to make this Signification, of my Desire, towards a mutual Entertainment, of good Affection, and Correspondece, between us; Hoping, that both some good Effect, may result of it, towards the King's Service; And that, for our particulars, though Occasion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known, by good note, unto the King: So no long time will intercede, before I, on my part, shall have some means given, to require your Favours, and to verify your Commendation. And so, with my loving Commendations, good Mr. Fauler, I leave you to God's Goodness. From Graies Inn, the 25th of March.

A Letter, commending his Love, and Occasions, to Sir Thomas Challoner, then in Scotland, upon his Majesties Entrance:

Sir, For our Money matters, I am assured, you received no In-satisfaction: For you know my Minds; And you know my Means; which now, the Openness of the time, caused, by this blessed Consent, and Peace, will encrease; And so our Agreement, according to your time, be observed. For the present, according to the Roman Adage; (That one Cluster of Grapes, ripeneth best besides another;) I know, you hold me not unworthy, whose mutual Friendship, you should cherish: And I, for my part, conceive good hope, that you are likely to become, an acceptable Servant, to the King, our Master: Not so much, for any way made heretofore, (which, in my Judgement, will make no great difference,) as for the Stuff and Sufficiency, which, I know, to be in you; And whereof, I know, his Majesty, may reap great Service. And therefore, my general Request is, that according to that industrious Viviality, which you use, towards your Friends, you will further his Majesties good Conceit, and Inclination, towards me; To whom words, can not make me known; Neither mine own, nor others; but Time will, to no Difadvantage, of any, that shall fore-run, his Majesties Experience, by your Testimony, and Commendation. And though, Occasion give you the Precedence, of Doing me this special good Office; yet, I hope, no long time will intercede, before I shall have some means, to require your Favour, and acquit your Report. More particularly, having thought good, to make Oblation of my most humble Service, to his Majesty, by a few Lines, I doe desire your loving care, and help, by your Self, or such Means, as I refer to your
your Discretion, to deliver, and present the same, to his Majesty's Hands. Of which Letter, I send you a Copy, that you may know, what you carry; And may take, of Mr. Mathew, the Letter itself; if you be pleased, to undertake the Delivery. Lastly, I doe commend to your Self, and such your Courtesies, as Occasion may require, this Gentleman, Mr. Mathew, eldest Sonne, to my Lord Bishop, of Durefem, and my very good Friend: Assuring you, that any Courtesу, you shall use towards him, you shall use, to a very worthy young Gentleman, and one, I know, whose Acquaintance, you will much esteem. And so I ever continue.

A Letter, to Mr. Davis, then gone to the King, at his first Entrance.

Mr. Davis. Though you went, on the sudden, yet you could not goe, before you had spoken with your Self, to the purpose, which I will now write: And therefore, I know, it shall be altogether needless, save that I meant to shew you, that I was not asleep. Briefly, I commend my Self to your Love, and the well using my Name; As well in reprefenting, and anfwering for me, if there be any Biting, or Nibbling at it, in that Place: As by imprinting a good Conceit, and Opinion of me, chiefly in the King; (of whose favour, I make my Self, comfortable Assurance;) As otherwise in that Court: And not onely fo, but generally, to perform to me, all the good Offices, which the Vivacity of your Wit, can suggest, to your mind, to be performed to one, with whole Affection, you have so great Sympathy. And in whole Fortune, you have so great Interest. So defiring you to be good, to concealed Poets, I continue.

A Letter, to Mr. Faules, 28 Martii, 1603.

Mr. Faules, I did write unto you, yesterday, by Mr. Lake,(who was dispatched hence, from their Lordships,) a Letter, of Revivour, of those Sparks of former Acquaintance, between us, in my Brothers time. And now, upon the same Confidence, finding so fit a Messenger, I would not fail to falute you: Hoping it will fall out so happily, as that you shall be one, of the Kings Servants, which his Majesty, will first employ, here with us: where, I hope, to have some means, not to be barren, in Friendship, towards you. We all thirt, after the Kings Coming, accounting all this, but as the Dawning, of the Day, before the Rifting, of the Sun, till we have
A Letter, to my Lord of Northumberland, &c.

have his Presence. And though, now, his Majesties must be James Bifrons, to have a Face to Scotland, as well as to England, yet; Quod nunc inflat agendum: The Expectation is here, that he will come in State, and not in Strength. So for this time, I commend you to Gods Goodness.

A Letter, to Mr. Robert Kempe, upon the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Kempe, This Alteration is so great, as you might jutly conceive, some Coldness of my Affection towards you, if you should hear nothing from me, I living in this Place. It is in vain to tell you, with what wonderfull Still, and Calm, this Wheel is turned round: Which, whether it be, a Remnant, of her Felicity, that is gone, or a Fruit, of his Reputation, that is comming, I will not determine. For I cannot, but divide my Self, between her Memory, and his Name: Yet we account it, but a fair Morn before Sun-rising, before his Majesties Presence; Though, for my part, I see not, whence any VVeather should arise. The Papijs are contain'd, with Fear enough, and Hope too much. The French, is thought to turn his Practice, upon procuring, some Disturbance in Scotland, where Crowns may doe wonders: But this Day, is so welcome to the Nation, and the time so short, as I doe not fear the Effect. My Lord of Southampton, expecteth Release, by the next Dispatch, and is already much visit'd, and much well with'd. There is continual poasting, by Men of good Quality, towards the King. The rather, I think, because this Spring time, it is but a kinde of Sport. It is hoped, that as the State here, hath performed the part, of good Attorneys, to deliver the King, quiet Possession, of his Kingdoms: So the King, will re-deliver them, quiet Possession of their Places; Rather filling Places void, than removing Men placed. So, &c.

A Letter, to my Lord of Northumberland, mentioning a Proclamation, drawn for the King, at his Entrance.

Is may please your Lordship,

I doe hold it, a Thing formal, and necessary, for the King, to fore-run his Comming, (be it never so speedly,) with some Gracious Declaration, for the Cherishing,Entertaining and preparing of Mens Affections. For which purpose, I have conceived a Draught, it being a thing familiar in my Misfri her times, to have my Penn used, in Publick Writings, of Satisfaction. The
A Letter, to the Earl of Northumberland, &c.

Use of this, may be, in two forts: First, properly, if your Lordship think it convenient, to shew the King any such Draught, because the Veins, and Pulses, of this State, cannot but be best known here; which if your Lordship should doe, then I would desire you, to withdraw my Name, and only signify, that you gave some Heads of Direction, of such a Matter, to one, of whose Stile, and Penn, you had some Opinion. The other, Collateral, That though your Lordship, make no other use of it, yet it is a Kinde of Portraiture, of that, which I think, worthy to be advised, by your Lordship, to the King; And, perhaps, more compendious, and significant, than if I had set them down in Articles. I would have attended your Lordship, but for some little Physick, I took. To morrow morning, I will wait on you. So I ever, &c.

A Letter, to the Earl of Southampton, upon the Kings Comming in.

It may please your Lordship,

I would have been very glad, to have presented, my humble Service, to your Lordship, by my attendance, if I could have foreseen, that it should not have been, unpleasing unto you. And therefore, because I would commit no Error, I chose to write; Assuring your Lordship, how credible forever, it may seem to you, at first, yet it is as true, as a Thing, that God knoweth; That this great Change, hath wrought in me, no other Change, towards your Lordship, than this; That I may safely be now, that which I was truly before. And so craving no other pardon, than for troubling you, with my Letter, I do not now begin to be, but continue to be,

Your Lordships humble and much devoted.

A Letter, to the Earl of Northumberland, after he had been with the King.

It may please your good Lordship,

I would not have left this Journey, and yet I have not that I went for. For I have had no private Conference, to purpose, with the King. No more, hath almost any other English: For the Speech, his Majesty admitteth, with some Noblemen, is rather, Matter of Grace, than Matter of Business; With the Attorney he spake, urging by the Treasurer of Scotland, but no more than needs must. After I had received his Majesty's first Welcome, and was promi-
A Letter, to Mr. Pierce, Secretary, to the Deputy of Ireland.

promised private Access, yet not knowing, what matter of Service, your Lordship's Letter carried, (for I saw it not;) And well knowing, that Primogeniture in Advertisement, is much, I chose, rather, to deliver it to Sir Tho. Heskins, than to cool it, in mine own Hands, upon Expectation of Access. Your Lordship shall finde a Prince, the further from Vain-Glory, that may be; And rather, like a Prince, of the ancient Form, than of the latter Time: His Speech is swift, and Cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Country, And in Speech of Business short, in Speech of Discourse large: He affecteth Popularity, by graceing such, as he hath heard, to be Popular, and not by any Factions of his own. He is thought somewhat general, in his Favours; And his Virtue of Access, is rather, because he is much abroad, and in Places, than that he giveth caithe Audience. He hath, to a mixture, of both Kingdoms, and Occasions, faster perhaps, than Policy will well bear. I told your Lordship, once before, that (methought) his Majesty rather asked Counsel, of the time past, than of the time to come. But it is yet early, to ground any Setled Opinion. For the particulars, I refer to conference, having in these generals, gone further, in so tender an Argument, than I would have done, were not the Bearer hereof so assur'd. So I continue, &c.

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A Letter, to Mr. Pierce, Secretary, to the Deputy of Ireland.

Mr. Pierce,

I am glad to hear of you, as I do; And for my part, you shall find me ready, to take any Occasion, to further your credit, and preferment: And I dare assure you, (though I am no Undertaker,) to prepare your way with my Lord of Salisbury, for any good Fortune, which may befall you. You teach me to complain of Business, whereby I write the more briefly; And yet I am so unjust, as that which I allege for mine own Exuse, I cannot admit for yours. For I much, by Expecting, exact your Letters, with this Fruit, of your Sufficiency, as to understand, how things pass, in that Kingdom. And therefore, having begun, I pray you continue. This is not merely Curiosity, for I have ever, (I know not by what Instinct,) wish'd well, to that impollish'd part of this Crown. And so, with my very loving, Commendations, I remain.
A Letter, to the Lord Chancellor, &c.

A Letter, to the King, upon presenting the Discourse, touching the Plantation, of Ireland.

It may please your excellent Majesty.

I know not better how to express my good wishes of a New Year, to your Majesty, than by this little Book, which, in all humble-ness, I send you. The Stile, is a Stile of Bumefes, rather than Curious, or Elaborate. And herein, I was encouraged, by my Experience, of your Majesties former grace, in accepting of the like poor Field-fruit, touching the Union: And certainly, I reckon this Action, as a Second Brother, to the Union. For I assure my Self, that England, Scotland, and Ireland, well united, is such a Trifole, as no Prince, except your Self, (who are the worthieft) weareth in his Crown, Si potentia reducatur in Alum. I know well, that for me, to bear my Brains, about these things, they be Majer-quaam pro Fortuna; But yet they be, Minora quam pro Studio, ac Voluntate. For as I doe yet bear, an extreme Zeal, to the Memory, of my old Majfirs, Queen Elizabeth; To whom, I was rather bound, for her Truf, than her Favour; So I must acknowledge my Self, more bound, to your Majesty, both for Truf, and Favour; whereof, I will never deceive the one, as I can never deserve the other. And fo in all humble-ness, kissing your Majesties sacred hands, I remain.

A Letter, to the Lord Chancellor, touching the History, of Britaine.

It may please your good Lordship.

Some late Act of his Majesty, referred to some former Speech, which I have heard from your Lordship, bred in me, a great De-rire; And the Strength of Desire, a Boldnef, to make an humble Proposition, to your Lordship, Such, as in me, can be no better, than a Wish: But, if your Lordship should apprehend it, it may take, some goods, and worthy, Effect. The Act, I speak of, is the Order, given by his Majesty, for the Erection of a Tomb, or Monument, for our late Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth; Wherein I may note much, but only this, at this time; that as her Majesty, did always right, to his Majesties Hopes; So his Highness, doth, in all things, Right to her Memory; A very just, and Princely Retribution. But from this Occasion, by a very cute Affeption, I paffed further, being put in mind, by this Representative, of her Person, of the more true, and more vive, Representation, which is of her Life, and Government; For as Statues, and Pictures, are dumb Histories,
A Letter, to the Lord Chancellor, &c.

Histories, fo Histories, are speaking Pictures: wherein, if my Affection, be not too great, or my Reading too small, I am of this Opinion; That if Plutarch, were alive, to write Lives, by Parallels, it would trouble him, for Vertue, and Fortune both, to finde for her; a Parallel, amongst Women. And though she was of the Paffing Sex, yet her Government, was so Active, as in my simple Opinion, it made more Impression, upon the severall States of Europe, than it received from thence. But, I confefs, unto your Lordship, I could not stay there, but went a little farther, into the Consideration of the Times, which have passed, since King Henry the 8th, wherein I find the strangest Variety, that, in so little Number, of Successions of any Hereditary Monarchy, hath ever been known: The Reign of a Child: The offer of an Injurpation, though it were but as a Diary Age; The Reign of a Lady, married, to a Foreiner; And the Reign, of a Lady, Solitary, and Unmarried; So that, as it commeth to pafs, in Matrific Bodies; That they have certain Trepidations, and Waiverings, before they fix, and settle; So it feedeth, that by the Procodence of God, this Monarchy, (before it was to settle in his Majesty, and his Generations; In which, I hope, it is now establisht, for ever!) Hath had these Prejudicial changes, in these Barren Princes. Neither, could I contain my Self here; (As it is easier to multiply, than to stay a While;) But calling to Remembrance, the Unworthines, of the History of England, in the main continuance thereof; And the Partiality, and Obliquity, of that of Scotland, in the last, and largest Offer, that I have seen; I conceived, it would be Honour, for his Majesty, and a work very memorable, if this Island of Great Britain, as it is now joyned, in Monarchy, for the Ages to come; So it were joyned in History, for the Times past; And that one Juft, and compleat, History, were compiled, of both Nations. And if any Man think, it may refresh the Memory, of former Discords, he may satisfy himself with the Verfe; Olim haec meminisse jucubit. For the Cafe being now altered, it is Matter of Comfort, and Gratulation, to remember former Troubles. Thus much, if it may please your Lordship, is in the Optative Mood. It is time, that I did, Look a little, into the Potential: wherein the Hope, which I conceived, was grounded, upon; Observations. The First, the Nature of these Times, which flourish in Learning, both of Art, and Language: which giveth Hope, not only that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I doe see that, which all the World see's, in his Majesty, both a wonderful Judgement in Learning, and a singular Affection towards Learning; And works, which are of the Mind, and not of the Hand. For there cannot be, the like Honour sought, in building of Galleries, and Planting of Ehms, along high-ways, and the outward Ornaments, wherein France now is buill; (Things rather of Magnificence, than of Magnanimity;) As there is, in the Writing of States, Pacifying of Controver-
A Letter to the King, upon the sending, &c.

A Letter to the King, upon the sending unto him, a Beginning, of an History, of his Majesties Times.

It may please your Majestty,

Hearing, that you are at leisure, to peruse Stories, a desire took me, to make an Experiment, what I could doe, in your Majesties times; which being, but a Leaf, or two, I pray your pardon, if I find it, for your Recreation; Considering, that Love must creep, where it cannot goe. But to this, I add, these Petitions. First, that if your Majestie doe dislike any thing, you would conceive, I can amend it, upon your leaff beck. Next, that if I have not spoken, of your Majestie, encomiastically, your Majestie, would be pleased, only to ascribe it, to the Law, of an History; which doth not clutter together praife, upon the first mention of a Name, but rather differeth, and weaveth them, through the whole Narrative. And as for the Proper place, of Commemoration, (which is in the Period of Life,) I pray God, I may never live, to write it. Thirdly, that the reason, why I presum'd to think of this OBLATION, was because, whatsoever my Disability be, yet I shall have that Advantage, which, (almost) no Writer of History, hath had;
A Letter, to the Lord Treasurer, Buckhurst, &c.

In that, I shall write of Times, not only since I could Remember, but since I could observe. And lastly, that it is only, for your Majesty's Reading.

A Letter, to the Earl of Salisbury, upon sending of him, one of his Books, of Advancement of Learning.

It may please your good Lordship; I present your Lordships with a Work, of my vacant time; which if it had been more, the work had been better. It appertaineth to your Lordship, (besides my particular respects,) in some Propriety; In regard, you are a great Governor, in a Province of Learning. And (that which is more,) you have added to your Place, Affection towards Learning; And to your Affection, Judgement. Of which, the last, I could be content, were, (for the time,) less, that you might the less exquitely Censure, that which I offer unto you. But sure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good Author. But I shall content my self, to awake better Spirits; Like a Bellingriner, which is first up, to call others to Church. So with my humble Desire, of your Lordships' good Acceptation, I remain.

A Letter, to the Lord Treasurer, Buckhurst, upon the like Argument.

May it please your good Lordship; I have finish'd a Work, touching the Advancement, or Setting forward of Learning; which I have dedicated to his Majesty, the most learned, of a Sovereign, or Temporal Prince, that Times hath known. And upon reason, not unlike, I humbly present, one of the Books, to your Lordship: Not only, as a Chancellor, of an University, but as one, that was exellently bred, in all Learning; which I have ever noted, to shine, in all your Speeches, and Behaviours. And therefore your Lordship, will yield a gracious Aspect, to your first Love; And take pleasure, in the Adorning of that, wherewith your self are so much adorned. And so humbly desiring your favourable Acceptation thereto, with Signification of humble Duty, I remain.
A Letter, of like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor.

May it please your good Lordship; I humbly present your Lordship, with a work, wherein, as you have much Commandement, over the Author: So your Lordship, hath also great Interest in the Argument; for to speak without Flattery, few have like use of Learning, or like Judgement in Learning, as I have observed in your Lordship. And again, your Lordship, hath been a great Planter of Learning; Not only, in those places, in the Church, which have been in your own Gift, but also, in your Commentatorial Vote, no man hath more constantly held; Deut Digniori: And therefore, both your Lordship, is beholding to Learning, and Learning beholding to you, Which maketh me presume, with good Assurance, that your Lordship, will accept well of these my Labours; The rather, because your Lordship, in private Speech, hath often begun to me, in expressing, your Admiration, of his Majesty's Learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; And whose Vertue, and Perfection, in that kinde, did chiefly move me, to a Work of this Nature. And so, with Signification, of my most humble Duty, and Affection, to your Lordship, I remain.

A Letter, of like Argument, to the Earl of Northampton, with request, to Present the Book, to his Majesty.

It may please your good Lordship.

Having finished a work, touching the Advancement of Learning, and dedicated the same, to his Sacred Majesty, whom I dare avouch, (if the Records of Time err not,) to be the learnedst King, that hath reigned; I was desirous, in a kinde of Congruity, to present it, by the learnedst Counsellor, in this Kingdom; To the end, that so good an Argument, lighting upon so bad an Author, might receive some Reputation, by the Hands, into which, and by which, it should be delivered. And therefore, I make it, my humble Sute, to your Lordship, to present this mean, but well meant Writing, to his Majesty, and with it, my humble, and zealous Duty; And also, my like humble request of Pardon, if I have too often, taken his name in Vain; Not only in the Dedication, but in the Voucher, of the Authority, of his Speeches, and Writings. And so I remain.
A Letter, of Request, to Dr. Playfer, 

A Letter, of Request, to Dr. Playfer, to Translate the Book, of Advancement of Learning, into Latin.

Mr. Dr. Playfer, 

Mr. Dr. Playfer: 

A Great Desire, will take a small Occasion, to hope, and put in Trial, that which is desired. It pleased you, a good while since, to express unto me, the good Liking, which you conceived, of my Book, of the Advancement of Learning, and that more Significantly, (as it seem'd to me,) than out of Curtesy, or Civil Respect. My Self, as I then took Contentment, in your Approbation thereof; So I should esteem, and acknowledge, not only my Contentment increased, but my Labours advanced, if I might obtain your help, in that nature which I desire. Wherein, before I set down, in plain Terms, my request unto you, I will open my Self, what it was, which I chiefly sought, and propounded, to my Self, in that work; That you may perceive, that which I now desire, to be pursuing thereupon. If I do not much erre, (For any Judgement, that a Man maketh, of his own Doings, had need be spoken, with a Si nunquam fallit Imago.) I have this Opinion, that if I had fought mine own Commendation, it had been, a much fitter Course for me, to have done, as Gardeners used to doe, by taking their Seed, and Slipps, and rearing them first into Plants, and so uttering them in Pots, when they are in Flower, and in their best State. But for as much, as my End, was Merit, of the State of Learning, (to my Power,) and not Glory; And because my purpose was, rather to Excite, other Mens Wits, than to magnify mine own; I was desirous, to prevent the uncertainties, of mine own Life, & Times, by uttering rather Seeds, than Plants: Nay, and further, (as the Proverb is,) by sowing with the Basket, rather than with the Hand: Wherefore, since I have only taken upon me, to ring a Bell, to call other wits together, (which is the meanest Office,) it cannot but be consonant to my Desire, to have that Bell heard, as far as can be. And since they are but Sparks, which can work but upon Matter prepared, I have the more reason, to wish, that those Sparks may fly abroad, That they may the better find, and light, upon those Minds, and Spirits, which are apt to be kindled. And therefore, the Privateneis of the Language considered, wherein it is written, excluding so many Readers; As on the other side, the Obscurity of the Argument, in many parts of it, excluded many others; I must accoempt it, a Second Birth, of that Work, if it might be translated into Latin, without manifest Iofs, of the Sense, and Matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to my Self, any Man, into whose hands, I doe more earnestly desire, that Work should fall, than your Self: For by that, I have heard, and read, I know no Man, a greater
A Letter, to Sir Thomas Bodley, &c.

Matter, in Commanding Words, to serve Matter. Nevertheless, I am not ignorant of the worth of your Labours; Whether such as your Place, and Profession imposeth; Or such, as your own Virtue, may, upon your Voluntary Election, take in hand. But I can lay before you, no other persuasions, than either the Work itself, may affect you with; Or the Honour, of his Majesty, to whom it is dedicated; Or your Particular Inclination to my Self; who, as I never took so much comfort, in any Labours of mine own, so I shall never acknowledge my Self, more obliged, in any thing, to the Labour of another, than in that, which shall assist it. Which your labour, if I can, by my Place, Profession, Means, Friends, Travel, Work, Deed, require unto you, I shall esteem my Self, so straightly bound thereunto, as I shall be ever most ready, both to take, and seek, occasion of Thankfulness. So leaving it, nevertheless, salut amicitia, (as reason is,) to your own good Liking, I remain,

A Letter, to Sir Thomas Bodley, upon sending of him, his Book, of Advancement of Learning.

I Think, no Man, may more truly say, with the Psalm, Multum Incola fuit Animis meae, than my Self, For I do confess, since I was of any Understanding, my MInd, hath in Effect, been absent from that I have done: And in Absence, are many Errors, which I do willingly acknowledge; And amongst the rest, this great one, that ledd the rest; That knowing my Self, by inward Calling, to be fitter, to hold a Book, than to play a part, I have led my life in Civil Causes; For which I was not very fit by Nature, and more unfit, by the preoccupation of my MInde. Therefore calling my Self home, I have now, for a time, enjoyed my Self; whereof, likewise, I desire, to make the world partaker. My Labours, (if I may so term that; which was the Comfort, of my other Labours;) I have Dedicated to the King; Desirous, if there be any Good in them, it may be, as the Fat of a Sacrifice, incensed to his Honour; And the second Copy, I have sent unto you; Not onely, in good Affection, but in a kinde of Conformity, in regard, of your great, and rare deficit, of Learning. For Books, are the Shrines, where the Saint is, or is beleived to be, And you, having built an Ark, to save Learning, from Deluge, deserve Propriety, in any new Instrument, or Engine, whereby Learning, should be improved or advanced.
A Letter, to Sir Tho: Bodley, &c.

A Letter, to the Bishop of Ely, upon sending his Writing, entitle, Cogitata, & Vifa.

My very good Lord: Now your Lordship, hath been so long in the Church, and the Palace, disputings, between Kings, and Popes, Methinks, you should take pleasure, To look into the Fields, and refresh your minde, with some Master, of Philosophy; Though that Science, be now, through Age, waxed a Childe again, and left to Boys, and young men. And because you were wont to make me beleev, you took liking to my writings, I fend you some of this Vacations, Fruits; And thus much more, of my minde, and purpose. I happen not to Publish; perishing I would prevent. And I am forced, to respect, as well my Times, as the Matter. For with me it is thus; and I think with all Men in my Cafe: If I bind my Self, to an Argument, it loadeth my Minde: But if I rid my Mind, of the present Cogitation, it is rather a Recreation. This hath put me into these Miscellanes; which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave, to write, a just, and perfect Volume, of Philosophy, which I goe on with, through slowly. I fend not your Lordship, too much, lest it may glut you. Now let me tell you, what my Desire is: If your Lordship, be so good now, as when you were, the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is; That not by Pricks, but by Notes, you would mark unto me, whatsoever shall seem unto you, either not current in the Stile; Or hard to credit, and Opinion; Or inconvenient, for the Person, of the Writer. For no Man, can be Judge, and Party: And when our Minds judge, by Reflexion of our Selves, they are more subject to Error. And though, for the Matter it self, my Judgement, be, in some things, fixed; and not Accessible by any Mans Judgement, that goeth not my way; yet even in those Things, the Admonition of a Friend, may make me, express my Self, diversely. I would have come to your Lordship, but that I am happening to my House, in the Country. And so I commend your Lordship to Gods Goodnes.

A Letter, to Sir Tho: Bodley, after he had imparted to him, a Writing, entiltled, Cogitata, & Vifa:

Sir, in respect of my Going down, to my House, in the Country, I shall have misse of my Papers, which I pray you therefore to return unto me. You are, I bear you witness, Slothfull, and you help me nothing: So as I am half in conceit, that you affect not the Argument: For my Self, I know well, you love, and
A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon sending, &c.

and affect. I can say no more to you, But, Non cantimns Sardis, respondent omnia Sylva. If you be not of the Lodgings, chaslid up, (whereof I speak in my Preface,) I am but to pass by your Door. But if I had you, but a Fortnight, at Gibraltar, I would make you tell me another Tale; or else, I would add a cogitation, against Libraries, and be revenged on you, that way. I pray, send me some good News, of Sir Tho. Smith; And commend me very kindly to him. So I rest.

A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon sending to him, a part, of Instructatio Magna.

Mr. Matthew; I plainly perceive, by your affectionate writing, touching my Work, that one, and the same thing, affecteth both; which is, the good End, to which it is dedicate. For as to any Ability of mine, it cannot merit, that Degree, of approbation. For your caution for Church Men, and Church Matters; As for any Impediment, it might be, to the Applause, and Celebrity, of my Work; it moveth me not; But as it may hinder the Fruit, and Good, which may come, of a quiet, and calm, passage, to the good Port, to which it is bound, I hold it a just respect; So as to fetch a fair Wind, I go not too far about. But the Truth is, that I, at all, have no occasion, to meet them, in my way; Except it be, as they will needs confederate themselves, with Aristotle, who, you know, is intemperately magnified, by the School-Men; And is also allied, as I take it, to the Jesuits, by Faber, who was a companion, of Loyola, and a great Aristotelian. I fend you, at this time, the only part, which hath any Harshness; And yet, I framed to my Self, an Opinion, that whosoever allowed well, of that Preface, which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not to dislike, this other Speech of Preparation: For it is written, out of the same Spirit, and out of the same Necessity: Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the Question between me, and the Antients, is not, of the Virtues of the Race, but of the Righness, of the Way. And to speak truth, it is to the other, but as Palma to Paganus, part of the same thing, more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have Commission, to impart, and communicate them, to others, According to your Discretion. Other Matters I write not of. My self, am like the Miller of Grancester, that was wont to pray, for Peace, amongst the Willows; For while the winds blew, the Wind-mills wrought, and the Water-mill, was less customed. So I fee, that Controversies of Religion, must hinder the Advancement of Sciences. Let me conclude, with my perpetual Wish, towards your self; That the Approbation of your Self, by your own discreet, and temperate,
A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, touching Inslauratio Magna.

Mr. Matthew, I heartily thank you, for your Letter, of the 10th of February; And am glad, to receive, from you, Matter, both of Encouragement, and of Advertisement, touching my Writings. For my part, I doe with, that since there is, no Lumen-secum, in the world; But all Madidum, and Maceratum, infused in Affections, and Blouds or Humours; that these Things of mine, had those Separations, that might make them more acceptable: So that they claim not, so much Acquaintance, of the present times, as they be thereby, the lefs apt to laft. And to shew you, that I have some Purpofe, to new mould them; I fnd you, a Leaf, or two, of the Preface, carrying some Figure of the whole Work. Wherein, I purpose, to take that, which I count real, and effectual, of both Writings; And chiefly, to add a Pledge, (if not Payment,) to my Promises, I fnd you alfo, a Memorial, of Queen Elizabeth; To requite your Elagh, of the late Duke of Florence, Felicity. Of this, when you were here, I fndved you some Model; At what time, (methought,) you were more willing, to hear Julius Cæsar, than Queen Elizabeth, commended. But this, which I fnd, is more full, and hath more of the Narrative. And further, hath one part, that, I think, will not bee difagreeable, either to you, or that Place; Being the true Track, of her Proce- dings, towards the Catholiques, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I doe not imagine, they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain upon Excufe. I finde Mr. Le-Zure, to use you well, (I mean his Tongue of you,) which fhes you, either honest, or wife. But this I fpeak merrily. For in good faith, I doe conceive hope, that you will go govern your Self; as we may take you, as affuredly for a good Subject, and Patriot; as you take your Self for a good Christian; And fo we may again enjoy your Company, and your Confcience; if it may no other ways be. For my part, affure your Self, (as we fay in the Law,) mutatis mutandis, my love, and good wishes to you, are not diminished. And fo I remain,
A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon sending, &c.

A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, imprisoned for Religion.

Mr. Matthew; Doe not think me forgetful, or altered towards you. But if I should say, I could doe you any good, I should make my Power, more than it is. I doe hear that, which I am right sorry for; That you grow more impatient, and But, than at first: which maketh me exceedingly fear the issue of that, which seemeth not at stand at a stay. Tiny Self, am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused, when you were first seduced: But that, which I take in Compassion, others may take in Severity. I pray God, that understandeth us all, (better than we understand one another,) contain you, (even as I hope he will,) at the least, within the Bounds of Loyalty to his Majesty, and Natural Piety towards your Country. And I entreat you much, sometimes, to meditate, upon the extreme Effects of Superstition, in this last Powder Treason; fit to be tabled, and pictured, in the Chambers of Meditation, as another Hell, above the Ground; And well justifying, the Ceniture of the Heathen; That Superstition is far worse than Atheism: By how much it is left evil, to have no Opinion, of God at all; than such as is impious, towards his Divine Majesty, and Goodness. Good Mr. Matthew, receive your Self back, from these Courses, of Perdition: Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue.

A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon sending his Book; De Sapientiâ Veterum.

Mr. Matthew, I do very heartily thank you, for your Letter of the 24. of August, from Salamanca: And, in recompence thereof, I fend you, a little work of mine, that hath begun, to pass the world. They tell me, my Latin, is turn'd into Silver, and become current; Had you been here, you should have been my Inquisitor, before it came forth. But I think, the greatest Inquisitor in Spain, will allow it. But one thing, you must pardon me, if I make no haft to beleive, That the World should be grown to such an Extent, as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author diffenteth in Religion: No more than they doe, by Aristotle, or Aquinas. My great work goeth forward; And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished. This I have written, in the midst, of a Term, and Parliament; Thinking no time so precious, but that I should talk of these Matters, with
A Letter, to my Lord of Salisbury, &c.

Mr. Attorney, I thought best, once for all, to let you know, in plainness, what I finde of you, and what you shall find of me: You take to your self, a Liberty, to disgrace, and disable my Law, my Experience, my Discretion: What it pleatheth you, I pray, think of me; I am one, that know's both mine own wants, and other Mens: And it may be, perchance, that mine mend, others stand at a stay. And surely, I may not endure, in publick place, to be wronged, without repelling the fame, to my best advantage, to right my Self. You are great, and therefore have the more Enemies; which would be glad, to have you paid, at another's cost. Since the time, I miffed the Solicitors place, (the rather I think by your means,) I cannot expect, that you, and I shall ever serue, as Attorney, and Solicitor, together; But either, to serve with another, upon your Remove, or to step into some other Course: So as, I am more free, than ever I was, from any Occation, of unworthy Conforming my Self to you; More than general good manners, or your particular good Usage, shall provoke. And if you had not been, short sighted, in your own Fortune, (as I think,) you might have had more use of me, But that Tide is passed. I write not this, to shew my Friends, what a brave Letter, I have written, to Mr. Attorney: I have none of those Humours: But that I have written, is to a good End; That is, to the more decent Carriage, of my Masters Service; And to our particular, better Understanding One of Another. This Letter, if it shall be answered by you, in deed, and not in word, I suppose, it will not be worse, for us both: Else it is but a few Lines loft; which, for a much smaller Matter, I would have adventured. So this being to your Self, I for my part reit.

A Letter, to my Lord of Salisbury, touching the Solicitors Place.

It may please your good Lordship,

I Am not ignorant, how mean a Thing, I stand for, in desiring to come, into the Solicitors Place: For I know well, it is not the Thing it hath been; Time having wrought Alteration, both in

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A Letter, of like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor:

the Profession, and in that special Place. Yet because, I think, it will encrease my practice, and that it may satisfy my Friends; And because I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein, I may say to your Lordship, in the Confidence, of your poor Kinman, and of a Man, by you advanced; *Terridem fer opem, qui sper, dedisti:* For, I am sure, it was not possible, for a Man Living, to have received, from another, more significant, and comfortable, words of Hope; your Lordship being pleased, to tell me, during the Course of my last Service, that you would raise me; And that, when you had resolved, to raise a Man, you were more careful of him, than himself; And that, what you had done for me, in my Marriage, was a benefit to me, but of no use, to your Lordship; And therefore, I might assure my Self, you would not leave me thereby, with many like Speeches, which I know, my Duty too well, to take any other hold of, than the Hold, of a Thankfull Remembrance. And I acknowledge, and all the World knoweth, that your Lordship, is no Dealer, of Holy Water, but Nobles and Real; And, on my part, I am of a pure ground, that I have committed nothing, that may deserve alteration. And therefore, my Hope is, your Lordship, will finish a good Work, and consider, that Time groweth precious with me, and that I am now in Vergebibus Annis. And although I know, that your Fortune is not to need, an Hundred such as I am, yet I shall be ever ready, to give you my best, and First fruits; And to supply, (as much as in me lieth,) Worthines, by Thankfulness.

A Letter, of like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor.

It may please your good Lordship,

As I conceived it to be a Resolution, both with his Majesty, and your Lordships of his Council, that I should be placed Solicitor, and the Solicitor, to be removed, to be the Kings Serjeant: So I most thankfully acknowledge, your Lordships furtherance, and forwardness therein; your Lordship, being the Man, that first devised the Mean: Wherefore, my humble Request, to your Lordship is, that you would set in, with some Strength, to finish this your work: Which I assure your Lordship, I desire the rather, because being placed, I hope, for many Favour, at last, to be able, to doe you some better Service. For as I am, your Lordship cannot use me; nor scarcely indeed know me: Not that I vainly think, I shall be able, to doe any great Matters, but certainly, it will frame me to use a nearer Observance, and Application, to such, as I honour so much, as I doe your Lordship; And not, (I hope,) without some good Offices, which may, now and then, deserve your
A Letter, to the King, touching the Solliciters Place.

Your Thanks. And herewithall, (good my Lord,) I humbly pray your Lordship, to consider, that Time growth precious with me, and that a Married Man, is 7. years elder, in his thoughts, the first day. And therefore, what a uncomfortable Thing it is for me, to be unfelted still! Certainly, were it not, that I think my Self born, to doe my Soveraign Service; And therefore, in that Station, I will live and dye; Otherwife, for mine own Private comfor, it were better for me, that the King, did blot me out of his Book; Or that I should turn my Course, to endeavour, to serve, in some other kinde, than for me, to stand thus at a stopp; And to have that little Reputation, which by my Industrie I gather, to be scattered, and taken away, by continual Disgraces, every new Man comming above me. Sure am I, I shall never have fairer Promises, and Words, from all your Lordships. For I know not what my Services are, (saving that your Lordships told me, they were good;) And I would beleive you, in a much greater Matter. Were it nothing else, I hope the Modesty of my Sute, deferveth somewhat; For I know well, the Solliciters Place, is not as your Lordship, left it; Time working Alteration, somewhat in the Profession, much more in that special Place. But to conclude, as my Honourable Lady, your Wife, was some Mean, to make me, to change the Name of Another; So if it please you, to help me, to change mine own Name, I can be, but more and more bounden to you: And I am much deceived, if your Lordship, finde not the King, well inclined, and my Lord of Salisbury, forward, and affectionate.

A Letter, to the King, touching the Solliciters Place.

How honestly ready I have been, (most gracious Soveraign,) to doe your Majestys humble Service, to the best of my power, and in a manner, beyond my power, (as I now stand,) I am not so unfortunate, but your Majestie knoweth. For both, in the Commission of Vaison, (the Labour whereof, for Men of my Profession, relied most upon my hand;) And this last Parliament, in the Bill of the Subsidy; Both Body and Preamble, In the Bill of Attainders, both Tresnam, and the rest; In the Matter of Purveyance; In the Ecclesiastical Petitions; In the Grievances; And the like; as I was ever careful, (and not without good Success,) sometimes to put forward, that which was good; sometimes to keep back, that which was not so good; So your Majestie was pleased, kindly to accept of my Services, and to say to me; Such Conflicts were the Wars of Peace; And such Victories the Victories of Peace; And therefore such Servants, that obtained them, were by Kings.
A Letter, to the Earl of Salisbury, &c.

that reign in Peace, no less to be esteemed, than Services of Commanders in the Wars. In all which, nevertheless, I can challenge, to my Self, no Sufficiency, but that I was diligent, and reasonable happy, to execute those Directions, which I received, either immediately from your Royal Mouth, or from my Lord of Salisbury. At what time, it pleased your Majesty also, to promise, and assure me, that upon the Remove of the then Attorney, I should not be forgotten, but brought into Ordinary Place. And this was after confirmed to me, by many of my Lords, and towards the end of the last Term, the manner also, in particular, spoken of; That is, that Mr. Solicitor, should be made your Majesty's Serjeant, and I Solicitor; For so it was thought best, to fort, with both our Gifts, and Faculties, for the good of your Service; And of this Resolution, both Court, and Country, took knowledge. Neither was this, any Invention, or Project, of mine own; but moved from my Lords, I think, first from my Lord Chancellor: whereupon retting, your Majesty well knowest, I never opened my Mouth; for the Greater Place; Though I am sure, I had 2. Circumstances, that Mr. Attorney, that now is, could not allege: The one, Nine years Service of the Crown: The other, the being Cousin German, to the Lord of Salisbury, whom your Majesty esteemed, and trusted so much. But for the less Place, I conceive it was meant me. But after that, Mr. Attorney Hubert was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment; but it seemed to me at a stop, to my great Disgrace, and Discouragement. For (gracious sovereign,) if still, when the waters are stir'd, another shall be put in before me, your Majesty had need work a Miracle, or else, I shall be still, a lame Man, to doe your Service. And therefore, my most humble suit, to your Majesty, is; That this, which seemed to me intended, may speedily be performed: And, I hope, my former Service, shall be, but as Beginnings to better, when I am better strengthened: For sure I am, no Man's Heart is fuller, (I say not, but many may have greater Hearts, but I say not fuller;) of Love, and Duty, towards your Majesty, and your Children; As, I hope, Time will manifest, against Envy, and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I most humbly crave pardon for my boldness, and rest.

A Letter, to the Earl of Salisbury, of Curtesy, upon a New-years Tide.

It may please your good Lordship,

Having no Gift, to present you with, in any degree proportionable to my mind; I desire, nevertheless, to take the Advantage, of a Ceremony, to express my Self, to your Lordship; it be-
A Letter, to the King, &c.

ing the first time, I could make the like Acknowledgement, when I stood, out of the person of a Subject; wherefore, I most humbly pray your Lordship, to think of me, that now it hath pleased you, by many Efficacious, and great Benefits, to add the Assurance, and Comfort, of your Love, and Favour, to that precedent Disposition, which was in me, to admire, your Virtue and Merit; I doe esteem, whatsoever I have, or may have, in this World, but as Truth, in comparison, of having the Honour, and Happiness, to be a near, and well accepted, Kinman, to so rare, and worthy, a Counsellor, Governor, and Patriot. For having been a studious, if not, a Curious Observer, of Antiquities of Virtue, as of late Pieces, I forbear to say to your Lordship, what I find and conceive; But to any other, I would think, to make my Self, beleived. But not to be tedious, in that, which may have the shew of a Complement, I can but with your Lordship, many happy years; Many more, than your Father had; Even to many more, as we may need you more. So I remain.

A Letter, of Thanks, to the King, upon Mr. Attorney's Sicknes.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I doe understand, by some of my good Friends, to my great comfort, that your Majesty, hath in minde, your Majesty's Royal Promise, (which to me is Anchora Speius) touching the Attorney's place. I hope, Mr. Attorney shall doe well. I thank God, I with no Mans Death; Nor much mine own Life, more than to doe your Majesty Service. For I account my Life the Accident, and my Duty the Substance. But this, I will be bold to say. If it please God, that ever I serve your Majesty, in the Attorney's place, I have known an Attorney Cooke, and an Attorney Hober; Both worthy Men, and farre above my Self: But if I should not find, a Middle way, between their two Dispositions, and Carriages, I should not satisfy my Self. But these things, are farre, or near, as it shall please God. Mean while, I most humbly pray your Majesty, to accept, my Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for your Gracious Favour. God preserve your Majesty. I ever remain.
A Letter, to the King, of Sute, to succeed, in the Attorney's Place.

It may please your Majesty,

Your great, and Princeful, Favours towards me, in Advancing me to Place; And that, which is to me, of no less comfort, your Majesties benign, and gracious Acceptation, from time to time, of my poor Services, much above the Merit, and Value of them; Hath, almost, brought me to an Opinion, that I may sooner, (perchance,) be wanting, to my Self, in not asking; Than finde your Majesties Goodness wanting to me, in any my reasonable, and modell desires. And therefore, perceiving, how at this time, Preferences of Law fly about mine Ears; To some above me, and to some below me; I did conceive, your Majestys may think it, rather a Kinde of Dullness, or want of Faith, than Modesty, if I should not come, with my Pastor, to Jacobs Well, as others doe. Wherein I shall propound to your Majesties, that which tendeth not so much, to the Raising of my Fortune, as to the feeling of my Minde; Being sometimes afflicted with this Cogitation; That by reason of my Slowneas, to see, and apprechend suddain Occasions; Keeping on one plain Course of painfull Service; I may, (in fine Dierum,) be in danger, to be neglected, and forgotten. And if that should be, then were it much better for me, now while I stand in your Majesties good Opinion, (though unworthy,) and have some little Reputation, in the VWorld, to give over the Course I lamin, and to make proof, to doe you some Honour, by my Pen, either by writing, some faithfull Narrative, of your Happy, (though not untraduced,) Times; Or by recomposing your Laws, (which, I perceive, your Majestys laboureth with;) And hath in your Head, as Jupiter had Pallas;) Or some other the like work: (For without some Endeavour to doe you Honour, I would not live;) Than to spend my Wits, and Time, in this laborious place, wherein I now serve; If it shall be deprived, of those outward Ornaments, which it was wont to have, in respect of an Assured Succession, to some Place, of more Dignity, and Reit: which seemeth now, to be an Hope, altogether Casual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore, (not to hold your Majestys long,) my humble Sute, to you, is that, than the which, I think, I cannot well goe lower; which is, that I may obtain, your Royal promis, to succeed, (if I live,) into the Attorneys place, whenever it shall be void: It being, but the Natural, and Immediate Step, and Rife, which the Place, I now hold, hath ever, (in fort,) made claim to, and almost never failed of. In this Sute, I make no Friends to your Majestys, but rely upon no other Motive, but your Grace; Nor any other Assurance, but your word; where-
A Letter, to Sir George Carey, \\

of I had good Experience, when I came to the Solicitors Place; 
That it was like, to the Two great Lights, which in their Motions 
are never Retrograde. So with my best Prayers, for your 
Majesty's Happiness, I rest.

A Letter, to Sir George Carey, in France, upon sending him, 

his Writing; 

In Felicem Memoriam Elisabetha.

My very good Lord; 

Being asked the Question, by this Bearer, an old Servant of my 
Brother Anthony Bacon, whether I would command him any 
thing into France; And being, at better leisure, than I would, in 
regard of Sicknes; I began to remember, that neither your 
Business, nor mine, (though great, and continual,) can be, upon an 
an exact account, any just Occasion, why so much good will, as 
hath pasted between us, should be so much disconcluded, as 
hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought 
provoke, your Remembrance of me, by a Letter: And thinking 
to fit it, with somewhat, besides Salutations, it came to my 
Minde, that this last Summer Vacation, by occasion of a 
Passanaeous Book, that endeavoured to versus, Misera Femina, (The Addition 
of the Poper's Bulls,) upon Queen Elizabeth, I did write, a few Lines, 
in her Memorial; which I thought, you would be pleased to read, 
both for the Argument; And because, you were wont, to bear 
Affection to my Penn. Verum, ut alius ex alio, if it came handsomely 
to pass, I would be glad, the President de Thoul, (who hath 
written an History, as you know, of that Fame, and Diligence,) 
saw it: Chiefly, because I know not, whether it may not serve 
him, for some use, in his Story: wherein, I would be glad, he did 
right to the Truth, and to the Memory, of that Lady, as I perceive, 
by that he hath already written, he is well inclined to doe, 
I would be glad also, it were some Occasion, (such as Absence may 
permit,) of some Acquaintance, or mutual Notice, between us. 
For though he hath, many ways, the precedence, (chiefly in 
worth,) yet this is common to us both, that we serve our 
Sovereigns, in places of Law, eminent. And not our Selves onely, but 
our Fathers, did so before us: And lastly, that both of us, love 
Learning, and Liberal Sciences, which was ever, a Bond of Friendship, in the greateft Distance, of Places. But of this, I make no 
further Request, than your Occasions, and Respects, (to me 
unknown,) may further, or limit; My Principal Purpose being, 
to salute you, and send you this Token. Whereunto I will add, 
my very kinde Commendations, to my Lady; And so commit you 
both, to God's Holy Protection.
A Letter, to my Lord Mayour, upon a Proceeding, in a Private Cause.

My very good Lord; I did little expect, when I left your Lordship last, that there would have been, a Proceeding against Mr. Barnard, to his Overthrow. Wherin I must confess my self, to be, in a sort, Accesary: Because, he relying upon me, for Counsel, I advised that Courfe, which he followed. Wherin now I begin, to question my self, whether in preserving my Respects, unto your Lordship, and the Rest, I have not failed, in the Duty, of my Profession, towards my Client. For certainly, if the words had been hainous, and spoken in a malicious fashion, and in some publick place, and well proved; And not a Prattle, in a Tavern, caught hold of by one, who, (as I hear) is a detected Sympathant (Standish I mean;) yet I know not, what could have been done more, than to impose upon him, a grievous Fine; And to require, the Levying of the same; And to Take away his means of Life, by his Disfranchifement; And to commit him, to a Defamed Prison, during Christmas; In Honour whereof, the Prisoners, in other Courts, doe, commonly, of grace, obtain some Enlargement. This Rigor of Proceeding, (to tell your Lordship, and the rest, as my good Friends, my Opinion, plainly,) tendeth not to strengthen Authority, which is best supported, by Love, and Fear, intermixed; But rather, to make People discontented, and Servile; especially, when such Punishment is inflicted, for words, not by Rule of Law, but by a Jurisdiction of Discretion, which would evermore, be moderately used. And I pray God, whereas Mr. Recorder, when I was with you, did well, and wisely, put you in mind, of the Admonitions, you often receiv'd from my Lords, that you should bridle unruly Tongues; That those kind of Speeches, and Rumours, whereunto those Admonitions doe refer, which are concerning the State, and Honour thereof, doe not pass, too licentiousl.y, in the City, unpunished; while these Words, which concern your particular, are so straitly enquired into, and punnished with such Extreamity. But these Things, your own wisdom, (first, or last,) will best represent unto you. My writing unto you at this time, is, to the end, that howsoever I doe tak'e it somewhat unkindly, that my Mediation prevail'd no more; yet I might preserve, that further Respect, that I am willing to use, unto such a State, in delivering my Opinion, unto you, freely, before I would be of Counsel, or move any thing, that should cross your Proceedings; which, notwithstanding, (in case, my Client, can receive no Relief, at your hands,) I must, and will doe. Continuing, nevertheless, in other Things, my wonted good Affection, to your Selves, and your Occasions.
A Letter, to his Majesty, concerning Peachams Cause.

A Letter, to my Lord Treasurer Salisbury, upon a New-years Tide.

It may please your good Lordship,

I would Entreat, the New year, to answer for the Old, in my humble Thanks to your Lordship, Both for many your Favours, and chiefly, that upon the Occasion, of Mr. Attorneys Infirmity, I found your Lordship, even as I could with. This doth encrease a desire in me, to express my Thankfull minde, to your Lordship; Hoping, that though I finde Age, and Decays, grow upon me, yet I may have a Faith, or two, of Spirit, left to doe you Service. And I doe protest before God, without Complement, or any light Vanity of Minde, that if I knew, in what Course of Life, to doe you best Service, I would take it, and make my Thoughts, which now fly to many Pieces, to be reduced to that Center. But all this, is no more, than I am; which is not much: But yet the Entire of him, that is, &c.

A Letter, to his Majesty, concerning Peachams Cause, January 21, 1614.

It may please your Excellent Majesty,

I grieve me exceedingly, that your Majesty, should be so much troubled, with this Matter of Peacham, whose Raging Devil, seemeth to be turn'd, into a Dumb Devil. But although, we are driven, to make our way, through Questions, (which I with were otherwise,) yet I hopewell, the End will be good. But then, every Man, must put his Helping Hand; For else, I must say to your Majesty, in this, and the like Cases, as St. Paul said, to the Centurion, when some of the Mariners, had an Eye, to the Cockboat; Except these stay in the Ship, ye cannot be safe. I finde, in my Lords, great, and worthy, Care, of the Business. And for my part, I hold my Opinion, and am strengthen'd in it, by some Records, that I have found. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble, and devoted Subject, and Servant.

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A Letter, to the King, touching Peachams Cause.

January 27, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

This Day, in the Afternoon, was read, your Majesty's Letters, of Direction, touching Peacham; which because it concerneth properly the Duty of my Place, I thought it fit for me, to give your Majesty, both a speedy, and a private, Account thereof; That your Majesty knowing Things, clearly, how they pass, may have the true Fruit, of your own Wisdom, and clear-Seeing Judgement, in Governing the Business.

First, for the Regularity, which your Majesty, (as a Master in Business of Estate,) doth prudently prescribe, in Examining, and taking Examinations, I subscribe to it; Onely, I will say for my Self, that I was not, at this time, the Principal Examiner.

For the Course, your Majesty directeth, and commandeth, for the feeling of the Judges, of the Kings Bench, their Several Opinions, by distributing our Selves, and enjoying Secrecy; we did first, finde an Encounter, in the Opinion, of my Lord Cooke; who seem'd to affirm, that such particular, and, (as he call'd it,) Articular Taking of Opinions, was not according to the Custom of this Realm; And seem'd to divine, that his Brethren, would never doe it. But when I replied, that it was our Duty, to pursue your Majesty's Directions; And it were not amiss, for his Lordship, to leave his Brethren, to their own Answers; It was so concluded, and his Lordship, did desire, that I might confer with Himself, And Mr. Serjeant Mountague, was named, to speak with Justice Cooke; Mr. Serjeant Crew, with Justice Houghton; and Mr. Soliciter, with Justice Dodderidge. This done, I took my Fellows aside, and advis'd, that they should presently speak with the 3 Judges, before I could speak with my Lord Cooke, for doubt of Intuition; And that they should not, in any case, make any doubt to the Judges, as if they mistrusted, they would not deliver any Opinion apart, but speak reluctantly to them, and only make their Comming to be, to know, what time they would appoint, to be attended with the Papers. This sort of amiss; For Mr. Soliciter, came to me, this Evening, and related to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge, very ready, to give Opinion, in secret; And tell upon the same reason, which upon your Majesties first Letter, I had used to my Lord Cooke, at the Council Table; which was, that every Judge, was bound, expressly, by his Oath, to give your Majesty Counsel, when he was called; And whether he should doe it, joyntly, or severally, that rested, in your Majesties good pleasure, as you would require it. And though the Ordinary Course, was to}

assemble
A Letter, to the King, touching Peacams Cause.

assemble them, yet there mought intervene Cases, wherein the other Course was more convenient. The like Answer made Justice Crook, Justice Houghton, who is a soft Man, seem'd desirous, to confer; Alleging, that the other Judges, had all served the Crown before they were Judges, but that he had not been much acquainted, with Buiinets, of this Nature.

We purpose therefore, forthwith, they shall be made acquainted with the Papers; And if that could be done, as judically, as this was, I should make small doubt of their Opinions: And howsoever, I hope, Force of Law, and President, will bind them to the Truth. Neither am I wholly out of hope, that my Lord Coke himself, when I have, in some dark manner, put him in doubt, that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular.

For Owen, I know not the reason, why there should have been no Mention made thereof, in the late Advertisement: For I must say for my Self, that I have lost no moment of Time in it, as my Lord of Canterbury can bear me witness. For having received, from my Lord, an Additional, of great Importance; which was, that Owen, of his own Accord, after Examination, should compare the Case of your Majesty, (if you were Excommunicate,) to the Case, of a Prisoner, Condemned at the Barr; which Additional was subscrib'd by one Witness; but yet I perceived it was spoken aloud, and in the Hearing of others; I prefently sent down a Copy thereof, which is now come up, attested with the Hands, of 2, more, left there should have been, any Scruple, of Singularis Tessis; So as for this Case, I may say, Omnia parata; And we expect, but a Direction, from your Majesty, for the Acquainting the Judges Severally; Or the 4, Judges, of the Kings Bench, as your Majesty's shall think good.

I forget not, nor forswear not, your Majesty's Commandement, touching Recusants: Of which, when it is ripe, I will give your Majesty, a true Account, and what is possible to be done, and where the Impediment is. Mr. Secretary, bringeth Bonam Voluntatem, but he is not verified much, in these things; And sometimes urges the Conclusion, without the premises, and by halfe hindreth. It is my Lord Treasurer, and the Exchequer, must help it, if it be holpen. I have heard more ways than one, of an offer of 2000 l. per Annum, for farming, the Penalties of Recusants, not including any Offence Capital, or of Premature; wherein I will presume to say, that my poor Endeavours, since I was, by your great, and sole grace, your Attorney, have been no small Spurrs, to make them feel your Laws, and seek this Redemption; Whereas, I must also say, my Lord Coke hath done his part; And I doe assure your Majesty, I know it, somewhat inwardly, and groundedly; that by the Courses we have taken, they conform daily, and in great Numbers; And I would to God, it were as well a Conversion, as a Conformity;
A Letter, reporting the State, &c.

But if it should die, by Dispenfation, or Diffimulation, then I fear, that whereas your Majesty hath now, to many ill Subjects, poor, and destitute, you shall then have them, rich and dissembled. And therefore, I hold this offer, very considerable, of so great an Increase, of Revenue; If it can pass, the fery Trial of Religion, and Honour; which I with, all Projects may pass.

Thus, in as much, as I have made to your Majesty, somewhat a naked, and particular account, of Business, I hope your Majesty, will use it accordingly. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble, and devoted Subject, and Servant.


It may please your excellent Majesty,

Because I know your Majesty, would be glad, to hear, how it is, with my Lord Chancellor: And that it pleased him, out of his antient and great Love, to me; which, many times, in Sickness, appeareth most; To admit me, to a great deal of Speech, with him, this afternoon; which, during these three days, he hath scarcely done to any; I thought it might be pleasing to your Majesty, to certify you, how I found him. I found him in bed, but his Spirits fresh, and good, speaking stoutly, and without being spent, or weary; And both willing, and Beginning of himself, to speak, but wholly of your Majesties Business. Wherein I cannot forget, to relate, this particular; That he wished, that his Sentencing of L. S. at the day appointed, mought be his last Work, to conclude his Services, and express his Affection, towards your Majesty. I told him, I knew your Majesty, would be very desirous, of his Presence, that day, So it mought be, without prejudice; But otherwise, your Majesty, esteemed a Servant, more than a Service; specially such a Servant. Not to trouble your Majesty; Though good Spirits, in Sickness, be uncertain Kalenders; yet I have very good Comfort of him, and I hope by that day, &c.
A Letter, to the King, giving him an Account, &c.

A Letter, to the King, giving him an Account of Peachams Business, and some others, Jan. 31. 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I received, this Morning, by Mr. Murray, a Message, from your Majesty, of some warrant, and confidence, that I should advertise your Majesty of your business, wherein I had part. Wherein, I am first, humbly, to thank your Majesty, for your good acceptation, of my Endeavours, and Service; which I am not able to furnish, with any other Quality, save Faith, and Diligence.

For Peachams Cafe, I have, since my last Letter, been with my Lord Cooke, twice; Once before Mr. Secretaries going down, to your Majesty; And once since, which was yesterday: At the former, of which times, I delivered him Peachams papers; And at this Latter, the Presidents, which I had, with care, gathered, and selected: For these Degrees, and order, the Business required.

At the former, I told him, that he knew my Errand, which stood upon two points: The one to inform him, of the particular Cafe, of Peachams Treasons; (For I never give it, other word, to him;) The other, to receive his Opinion, to my Self, and in secret, according to my Commission, from your Majesty.

At the former time, he fell, upon the fame Allegation, which he had begun, at the Council Table; that Judges, were not to give Opinion, by Fractions, but entirely, according to the Vote, whereupon they should settle, upon conference: And that, this Auricular Taking of Opinions, single, and apart, was new, and dangerous; And other words, more vehement, than I repeat.

I replied, in Civil, and plain, Terms; That I wished his Lordship, in my love to him, to think better of it; For that this, that his Lordship was pleased, to put into great Words, seemed to me, and my Fellows, when we spake of it, amongst our selves, a reasonable, and familiar Matter, For a King to consult with his Judges, either assembled, or selected; or one, by one. And then, to give him a little Outlet, to faye his first Opinion, (wherewith he is most commonly in love,) I added, that Judges, some times, might make a Stare, to be spared, for their Opinion, till they had spoken with their Brethren; But, if the King, upon his own Prince-

ly Judgement, for Reason of Estate, should think it fit, to have it otherwise, and should fo demand it, there was no declining: Nay, that it touched, upon a Violation, of their Oaths, which was, to counsel the King, without Distinction, whether it were joyntly, or severally. Thereupon, I put him the Cafe, of the Privy Council; As if your Majesty, should be pleased, to command any of
of them, to deliver their Opinion, apart, and in private; whether it were a good Answer, to deny it, otherwise, than if it were propounded, at the Table. To this he said, That the Cafes were not alike, because this concern’d Life. To which I replied, That Questions of Equity, moved concern Thousands of Lives; and many Things more precious, than the Life, of a particular; As war, and Peace; and the like.

To conclude, his Lordship, tanquam Exitum queens, defined me, for the time, to leave with him, the Papers, without preceding him, to content, to deliver a private Opinion, till he had perus’d them. I said, I would; And the more willingly, because I thought his Lordship, upon due consideration, of the Papers, would finde the Case, to be so clear a Case, of Treason, as he would make no difficulty, to deliver his Opinion, in private; And so I was persuaded, of the rest, of the Judges, of the King’s Bench; who likewise, (as I partly understood,) made no Scruple, to deliver their Opinion, in private. Whereunto he said, (which I noted well,) That his Brethren were wise Men; And that, they might make a shew, as if they would give an Opinion, as was required; But the end would be, that it would come to this; They would say, they doubted of it, and to pray advice, with the rest. But to this I answered, that I was sorry, to hear him say so much, left, if it came so to pass, some that loved him not, might make a Construction, that that, which he had foretold, he had wrought. Thus; your Majesty’s (as, that as Solomon faith;) Crestum volonem tanquam in Septinaram; It catcheth upon every Thing.

The latter Meeting, is yet, of more Importance; For then, coming armed, with divers presidents, I thought, to set in, with the best Strength, I could; and said; That before I defended, to the Record, I would break the Case, to him thus. That it was true, we were to proceed, upon the ancient Statute of King Edward the 3. because other Temporary Statutes were gone; And therefore, it must be laid in the Indictments; Imaginantis ejus, et Compaslati, Mortem, et finalem Delegationem, Domini Regis; Then must the particular Treasons follow in this manner; viz. Et quod, ad perimplendum nefandum Propositum suum, compositus, & conscriptus, quendam desidiam, et venenatorium libellum, sive scriptum, in quo inter alia prodiisissm, contrectur, &c. And then the principal passages of Treasons, taken forth of the Papers, are to be enred, in loco Verba; And with a Conclusion, in the End; Ad Intentionem, quod Leges Populus, et Veri Subditis, Domini Regis, cordia em suum amorem, & Domini Rege rerum, et ipsium Dominium Regem relinquuerunt, & Guerram, et Insurrecutionem, contra eum levarent, et facerent, &c. Thaye, in this former, followed the ancient Style, of the Indictments, for brevity sake, though when we come to the Business it self, we shall enlarge it, according to the use of the latter times. This I represented to him, (being a thing he is well acquainted with,) that he might perceive, the Plat-
A Letter, to the King, giving him an Account, &c.

Platform of that was intended, without any Mistaking, or Ob-secuity. But then I fell to the matter itself, to lock him in, as much as I could, viz.

That there be 4. Means or manners, whereby the Death of the King, is compassed, and imagined.

The first, by some particular Fact, or Plot.

The second, by Disabling his Title; As by affirming, that he is not lawful King; Or that another ought to be King; Or that he is an Furrer; Or a Bastard; Or the like.

The third, by Subjecting his Title, to the Pope; and thereby Making him, of an Absolute King, a Conditional King.

The fourth, by Disabling his Regiment; and making him appear, to be incapable, or indigiu, to reign.

These things, I relate to your Majesty, in summ, as is fit; which when, I opened to my Lord; I did inflish a little more upon, with more efficacy and edge, and Authority of Law, and Record, than I can now express.

Then I placed Peacham's Treason, within the last Division, agreeable to divers presidents, whereof I had the Records ready; And concluded, that your Majesty's Safety, and Life, and Authority, was thus by Law incensed, and quartered; And that it was in vain, to fortify, on Three of the sides, and so leave you open on the Fourth.

It is true, he heard me, in a grave fashion, more than accustomed, and took a Pen, and took notes of my Divisions; And when he read the Presidents, and Records, would say; This you mean fallenth within your first, or your second, Division. In the end, I expressly demanded his Opinion, as that, whereof both he, and I was enjoyed. But he desired me, to leave the Presidents, with him, that he might advise upon them. I told him, the rest of my Fellows, would dispatch their part, and I should be behind with mine; which I perfwaded my Self, your Majesty would impute, rather to his Backwardness, than my Negligence. He said, as soon as I should understand, that the rest were ready, he would not be long after, with his Opinion.

For I.S. your Majesty knoweth, the day draweth on; And my Lord Chancellors Recovery, the Season, and his Age promising, not to be too hasty. I spake with him, on Sunday, at what time, I found him in Bed, but his Spirits strong, and not spent, or wearied; And spake wholly of your Business, leading me from one Matter, to another. And wished, and seemed to hope, that hee might attend the day; for I.S. and it were, (as he said,) to be his last work, to conclude his Services, and express his Affection, towards your Majesty. I presumed to say to him, that I knew your Majesty, would be exceeding desirous, of his being present that day,
A Letter, to the King, &c.

To as that it ought be, without prejudice, to his continuance; But that, otherwise, your Majesty esteemed a Servant, more than a Subject, especially such a Servant. Surely, in mine opinion, your Majesty were better, put off the day, than want his presence, considering the Cause of the putting off, is so notorious; And then the Capital, and the Criminal, may come together, the next Term.

I have not been unprofitable, in helping to discover, and examine, within these few days; a late Patent, by Surreption obtained from your Majesty, of the greatest Forest; in England, worth 30,000 l. Under Colour, of a Defective Title, for a matter of 400 l. The Person must be named, because the Patent, must be questioned. It is a great Person, my Lord of Shrewsbury; Or rather, (as I think,) a greater than he, which is my Lady of Shrewsberg. But I humbly pray your Majesty, to know this first, from my Lord Treasurer; who, methinks, greweth even illudious, in your Business; God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble and devoted,

Subject, and Servant.

The rather, in regard of Mr. Murray's Absence; I humbly pray your Majesty, to have a little regard, to this Letter.

A Letter, to the King, touching my Lord Chancellors Amendment, and the putting off, of J. S. his Cause,

February 7. 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

My Lord Chancellor, sent for me, to speak with me; this Morning, about 8. of the clock. I perceive, he hath now, that Signum Sanitatis, as to feel better his former weakness. For it is true, I did a little mistrust, that it was but a Boutead, of Delire, and good Spirit, when he promised himself, strength for Friday, though I was wonn, and carried with it. But now, I finde him, well inclined, to use, (should I say,) your Liberty, or rather your Interdict, signified by Mr. Secretary, from your Majesty. His Lordship, shewed me also, your own Letter, whereof he had told me before, but had not shewed it me. What shall I say? I doe much admire, your Goodness, for writing such a Letter, at such a time.

He had sent also, to my Lord Treasurer, to desire him, to come to him about that time. His Lordship came; And, not to trouble your
A Letter, to the King, of account, of Owens Cause, &c.

your Majesty, with circumstances, both their Lordships concluded, my Self present, and concuring; That it could be no prejudice, to your Majesty's Service, to put off the day, for I. S. till the next Term. The rather, because there are Seven, of your Privy Council, which are at least, Numerus, and part of the Court, which are by Infirmity, like to be absent; That is, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Admiral, my Lord of Shrewsbury, my Lord of Exeter, my Lord Zouch, my Lord Stanhope, and Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy: wherefore they agreed, to hold a Council, too morrow, in the afternoon, for that purpofe.

It is true, that I was always of Opinion, that it was no time loft; And I doe think fo, the rather, because I could be content, that the Matter of Peacham, were first fetled, and put to a point. For there be, perchance, that would make the Example upon I. S. to stand for all. For Peacham, I expect, some account, from my Fellow, this day. If it should fall out otherwise, then, I hope, it may not, be left fo. Your Majesty, in your laft Letter, very wisely, put in a Disjunctive, that the Judges, should deliver an Opinion, privately, either to my Lord Chancellor, or to our Selves, distributed: His Sickness, made the later way, to be taken: But the other may be referred, with some Accommodating, when we fee, the success of the Former.

I am appointed, this day, to attend my Lord Treasurer, for a Proposition, of Raising Profit, and Revenew, by Infranchising Co-pyholders. I am right glad, to fee the Patrimonial part of your Revenew, well look'd into, as well as the Fisical. And I hope it will to be, in other parts; as well as this. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's, moft humble, and devoted, Subject, and Servant.

A Letter, to the King, of account, of Owens Cause, &c.

11 February, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

My Self, with the rest, of your Counsel Learned, confered with my Lord Cooke, and the rest of the Judges, of the Kings Bench, onely, being met at my Lord's Chambers, concerning the business of Owens. For although it be true, that your Majesty, in your Letter, did mention, that the same Course, might be held, in the Taking of Opinions, apart, in this, which was prescribed, and used, in Peachams Cause; yet both my Lords of the Council, and we amongt our Selves, holding it, in a Cafe so clear, nor needfull; But rather it would import, a difference in us, and deprive us, of the means, to debate it, with the Judges, (if cause were) more strongly;
ly, (which is somewhat,) we thought best, rather to use this Form.

The Judges desired us, to leave the Examinations, and Papers, with them, for some little time, to consider, (which is a thing they use,) but, I conceive, there will be, no manner of Question, made of it. My Lord Chief Justice, to shew forwardness, (as I interpret it,) shewed us passages of Suarez, and others, thereby to prove, that though your Majesty, stood not Excommunicate, by particular Sentence, yet by the General Bulls, of Cens Domini, and others, you were, upon the matter, Excommunicate; and therefore, that the Treason was, as De praeventi. But I, that foresee, that if that Courie should be held; when it commeth to a publick day, to delinamate to the Vulgar, an Opinion, that your Majesties Cafe is all one, as if you were de saeculo, particularly, and expressly, Excommunicate, it would but encrease, the danger of your Person, with these, that are Desperate Papits; and that it is needless; Commended my Lords Diligence, but withall, put it by; and fell upon the other Courie, (which is the true way,) that is, that whatsoever shall affirm, in Diem, or sub Conditione, that your Majesty, may be destroy'd, is a Treason, de praeventi; for that, he maketh you, but Tenant for Life, at the will of another, and I put, the Duke of Buckingham's Cafe, who said; that if the King, causeth him to be arrest'd, of Treason, he would stab him; and the Cafe of the Impostures, Elizabeth Barton, that said, That if King Henry the 8. took not his wife again, Katharine Dowager, he should be no longer King; and the like.

It may be, these particulars, are not worth the Relating. But because, I find nothing in the World, so important to your Service, as to have you thoroughly informed, (the Ability of your DIRECTION considered,) it maketh me thus to doe; most humbly praying your Majesty, to admonish me, if I be over-troublethom.

For Peacham, the rest of my Fellowes, are ready, to make their Report, to your Majesty, at such time, and in such manner, as your Majesty shall require it. My Self yesterday, took my Lord Coke aside, after the rest were gone, and told him, all the rest were ready, and I was now to require, his Lordship's Opinion, according to my Commision. He said, I should have it; and repeated that, twice, or thrice, as thinking he had gone too far, in that kind of Negative, (to deliver any Opinion apart,) before; and said, he would tell it me, within a very short time, though he were not that instant ready. I have told this Business, in omnes partes, whereof I will give your Majesty knowledge, when time serveth. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty, most humble, and devoted, Subject, and Servant.
A Letter, to the King, touching Matter of his Revenue, &c.

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It may please your excellent Majesty,

I send your Majesty, enclosed, my Lord Cooke's Answers. I will not call them Reseripts; Much less Oracles. They are of his own hand, and offered to me, as they are, in writing, though I am glad of it, for mine own Discharge. I thought it my duty, as soon as I received them, instantly, to send them to your Majesty; And forbear, for the present, to speak further of them. I, for my part, (though this Magia ceria vbe, be a little too hard, for my Constitution,) was ready, to have waited, upon your Majesty, this day, all respects let aside; But my Lord Treasurer, in respect of the season, and much other Business, was willing to save me. I will only conclude, touching these Papers, with a Text, Divided, I can not say; Oportet igitur fieri; But I may say; Finis autem non dum. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble, and devoted Subject, and Servant.

A Letter, to the King, touching Matter, of his Revenue, and Profit. April 25, 1615.

It may please your Majesty,

I may remember, what Tacitnus faith, by occasion, that Tiberius, was often, and long, absent; from Rome; In Vib, et partis, et magnis, Negavit, Imperatorem simul premunt; But faith He, In receivs, dimissis revus, minoris momentis, summe rerum magnarvm magis agitauer. This maketh me think, it shall be no Incivility, to trouble your Majesty, with Business, during your abode from London; Knowing, that your Majesties Meditations, are the principal wheel, of your Estate; And being warranted, from a former Commandement, which I received from you,

I doe now, only send your Majesty, these Papers enclosed; because I doe greatly desire, so farth forth, to preserve my credit with you, as thus; That whereas lately, (perhaps, out of too much Desire, which induceth too much bелект,) I was bold to say, that I thought it as easy for your Majesty, to come out of Want, as to goe forth of your Gallery; your Majesty, would not take me, for a Dreamer, or a Projector; I send your Majesty therefore, some Grounds of my Hopes. And for that Papers, which I have gathered, of Increase, &c, I befeeche you, to give me leave, to think.
that if any of the particulars, doe fail, it will be rather, for want of \textit{workmanship}, in those that shall deal in them, than want of \textit{materials}, in the Things themselves. The other \textit{Paper}, hath many Discarding Cards; And I send it chiefly, that your Majesty, may be the \textit{less surprized}, by \textit{Projectors}; who pretend, sometimes, great \textit{Discoveries}, and \textit{Inventions} in Things, that have been propound-ed, and, perhaps, after a better fashion, long since. \textit{God Almighty} preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble, and devoted, \textit{Subject}, and \textit{Servant}.

\textit{A Letter, to the King, reporting the Day of Hearing, of I. S. his Cause, in the Starre-Chamber.}

\textit{29 April 1615.}

\textit{It may please your excellent Majesty,}

I. S. his Day is past, and well past. I hold it to be \textit{Janus Bifrons}; it hath a good \textit{Aspect}, to that which is past; And to the Future: And doth both satisfy, and prepare. All did well: My \textit{Lord Chief Justice}, delivered the Law, for the \textit{Benevolence}, strongly; I would he had done it timely. Mr. \textit{Chancellor} of the \textit{Exchequer} spake finely, somewhat after the manner, of my late \textit{Lord Privy Seal}; Not all out so sharply, but as elegantly. \textit{Sir Thomas Lake}, (which is also new, in that \textit{Court},) did very well, familiarly, and Coun-seller-like. My \textit{Lord of Pembroke}, (who is likewise a stranger there,) did extraordinarily well, and became himself well, and had an evident Applause. I meant well also; And because my \textit{Information} was the \textit{Ground}; having spoken out of a few Heads, which I had gathered; (For I seldom doe more,) I set down, as soon, as I came home, curiously, a Frame of that, I had said; Though I persuade my self, I spake it, with more life. I have sent it to Mr. \textit{Murray}, sealed; If your Majesty, have so much idle time, to look upon it, it may give some light, of the Days work: But I most humbly pray your Majesty, to pardon the Errors. \textit{God} preserve you ever.

Your Majesties, most humble \textit{Subject}, and devoted \textit{Servant}. 
A Letter, to the King, concerning the New Company.

August 12. 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty;

Your Majesty shall shortly receive the Bill for the Incorporation, of the New Company; together with a Bill, for the Prixy Seal, being a Dependancy thereon. For this Morning, I subscribed, and docketted, them both. I think it therefore now time, to represent to your Majesty's high wisdom, that which I conceive, and have had long in my minde, concerning your Majesty's service, and honourable profit in this Business.

This Project, which hath proceeded, from a worthy Service of the Lord Treasurer, I have, from the beginning, constantly affected; As may well appear, by my sundry Labours, from time to time, in the same. For I hold it, a worthy character, of your Majesty's Reign, and Times; Infomuch, as though your Majesty, thought have, at this time, (as is spoken,) a great Annual Benefit, for the Quitting of it, yet I shall never be the Man, that should with your Majesty, to deprive your Self, of that Beatitude; Beatus est darse, quam accipere; In this caufe; But to sacrifice your profit, (though as your Majesty's State is, it be precious to you,) to so great a Good, of your Kingdom: Although this Project, is not without a Profit, immediate, unto you, by the encreasitg of Customs, upon the materials, of Dys.

But here is the Case. The New Company, by this Patent, and Prixy Seal, are to have two Things, wholly different, from the first Intention; Or rather, Ex Diame tro, opposite unto the same; which nevertheless, they must, of necessity have, or else the Work is overthrown. So as I may call them Mala Necssaria, but yet with all Temporaries. For, as Men make Warr, to have Peace, so these Merchants, must have license, for whites, to the end, to banish whites; And they must have license, to use Teynours, to the end to banish Teynours.

This is therefore that I say, your Majesty, upon these two points, may justly, and with honour, and with pretention of your first Intention, inviolate, demand Profit, in the Interim; as long as these unnatural points continue, and then to cease; For your Majesty, may be pleased to observe, that they are to have all the Old Companys Profit, by the Trade of whites; They are, again to have, upon the proportion of Cloathes, which they shall vend, died, and dressed, the Flemings profit, upon the Teynour. Now then I say; As it had been, too good Husbandry, for a King, to have taken profit of them, if the Project could have been effected at once, (as was voiced;) So on the other side, it might be, perchance, too little
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

To the Husbandry, and Providence, to take nothing of them; for that, which is meerly lucrative to them, in the mean time. Nay, I say further, this will greatly conduceth, and be a kind of Security, to the End desired. For I always feared, and doe yet fear, that when Men, by condition Merchants, though never so honest, have gotten into their Hands, the Trade of White, and the Dispen-

sation to Tyraunz, wherein they shall reap profit, for that, which they never sowed; But have gotten themselves Certainties, in respect of the States hopes; They are like enough, to sleep upon this, as upon a Pillow: And to make no haste, to goe on with the reft. And though it may be said, that that is a thing, will easi-

ly appear to the State, ye, (no doubt,) means may be devised, and found, to draw the Business in length. So that I conclude, that if your Majestie, take a profit of them, in the Interim, (con-

sidering you relucle profit, from the Old Company,) it will be both Spurr, and Bridle, to them, to make them Pace aright, to your

Majesty's End.

This in all humblenes'd, according to my vowed Care, and Fidelitie, being no Mans Man, but your Majesties, I present, leave, and submit, to your Majesties better Judgement; And I could with, your Majestie would speak, with Sir Thomas Lake in it; who, be-

sides his good Habit, which he hath in business, beareth, (me-
thinks,) an indifferent Hand in this particular; And (if it please your Majestie,) it may proceed, as from your Self, and not as a

Motion, or Observation, of mine.

Your Majestie, need not, in this, to be streightened in time; As if this maff be demanded, or treated, before you sign their Bill. For I, foreseeing this, and foreseeing, that many things mought fall out, which I could not foresee, have handled it so, as with their good Contentment, there is a Power of Revocation, inferred into their Patent. And so recommending your Majestie, to Gods blessed, and precious Custody; I reft,

Your Majesties, most humble, and devoted, Subjick, and Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching Roper's place.

January 22. 1615.

Sir, Sending to the King, upon Occasion, I would not fail, to falute you, by my Letter; which, that it may be more than two lines, I add this for News; That as I was fitting, by my Lord Chief Juries, upon the Commission, for the Inditing, of the Great Person; One of the Judges asked Him, whether Roper were dead?
A Letter, to the King, &c.

He said, He, for his part, knew not; Another of the Judges answered; It should concern you, my Lord, to know it. Whereupon he turned his Speech to me, and said; No, Mr. Attorney: I will not wrangle now in my latter times. My Lord, (said I,) you speak like a wise Man. Well, (faith he,) they have had no luck with it; that have had it. I said again, Those days be past. Here you have the Dialogue, to make you merry. But in sadness, I was glad to perceive he meant not to content. I can but honour, and love you, and rest,

Your assured Friend and Servant.

A Letter, to the King, advising, how to break off, with the New Company. February 3, 1615.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I Spake, yesternight, long, with my Lord Cooke; And for the Rege inconstito, I conceive by him, it will be, An amplis deliberandum censo, (as I thought at first,) so as, for the present, your Majesty, shall not need, to renew your Commandement of Stay. I Spake with him, also, about some Propositions, concerning your Majesty's casual Revenue; wherein, I found him, to content with me, fully; Assuming, nevertheless, that he had thought of them before: But it is one Thing, to have the Vapour of a Thought; Another, to digest Business aright. He, on his part, imparted to me, diverse Things, of great weight, concerning the Reparation, of your Majesty's Means, and Finances, which I heard gladly; Informing, as he perceiving the same, I think, was the reader, to open himself to me, in one Circumstance, which he did much inculcate. I concur with him, that they are to be held secret: For I never saw, but that Business, is like a Child, which is framed invisibly in the Womb; And if it come forth too soon, it will be abortive, I know, in most of them, the Prosecution must rest, much, upon my Self. But I, that had the Power, to prevail, in the Farmers Cafe, of the French wines, without the help, of my Lord Cooke, shall be better able, to go through these, with his help, the ground being no less just. And this I shall ever add of mine own, that I shall ever respect your Majesty's Honour, no less than your Profit; And shall also take care, according to my pensive manner, that that, which is good, for the present, have not in it, hidden Seeds of future Inconveniences.

The Matter, of the New Company, was referred, to me by the Lords, of the Privy Council; wherein, after some private Speech, with Sir Lionel Cranfield, I made that Report, which I held, most agreeable to Truth, and your Majesty's Service. If this New Company,
A Letter, to the King, touching the Lord Chancellors Sickness.

February 9, 1615.

I am glad to understand, by Mr. Murray, that your Majesty, accepteth well, of my poor Endeavours, in opening unto you, the passages of your Service. That Business may come the less crude, and the more prepared, to your Royal Judgement, the perfection whereof, as I cannot expect, they should satisfy, in every particular.
A Letter, to the King, reporting, &c.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I do find, (God be thanked,) a sensible Amendment, in my Lord Chancellor. I was with him yesterday in private conference, about half an Hour: And this day again, at such time, as he did seal, which he endured well, almost the space of an Hour, though the Vapour of Wax, be offensive to him. He is free from a Fever, Perfect in his powers, of Memory, and Speech; And not hollow, in his Voice, nor Look; He hath no panting, or labouring, Respiration; Neither are his Coughs dry, or weak: But whosoever thinketh, his Diseas is but Melancholy, he maketh no true Judgment of it; For it is, plainly, a formed, and deep Cough, with a Pectoral surcharge; So that, at times, he doth almost, Animam agere. I forbear, toadvertise your Majesty, of the Care I took, to have Commissions in readiness, because Mr. Secretary Lake, hath let me understand, he signified as much, to your Majesty: But, I hope, there shall be no life, for them, at this time. And, as I am glad, to advertise your Majesty, of the Amendment, of your Chancellers Person; So I am sorry, to accompany it, with an Advertisement, of the Sicknes, of your Chancery Court, though, (by the Grace of God,) that Cure will be much easier, than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your Majesty, that for the Matters, of the Habeas Corpora, (which was the third Matter in Law, you had given me in charge;) I did think, the Communion in Service, between my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the great Business of Examination, would join them, as they would not square, at this time; But pardon me, (I humbly pray your Majesty,) if I have too Reasonable Thoughts.

A Letter, to the King, of my Lord Chancellors Amendment, and the Difference begun, between the Chancery, and Kings Bench, Feb. 15. 1615.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I do find, (God be thanked,) a sensible Amendment, in my Lord Chancellor. I was with him yesterday in private conference, about half an Hour: And this day again, at such time, as he did seal, which he endured well, almost the space of an Hour, though the Vapour of Wax, be offensive to him. He is free from a Fever, Perfect in his powers, of Memory, and Speech; And not hollow, in his Voice, nor Look; He hath no panting, or labouring, Respiration; Neither are his Coughs dry, or weak: But whosoever thinketh, his Diseas is but Melancholy, he maketh no true Judgment of it; For it is, plainly, a formed, and deep Cough, with a Pectoral surcharge; So that, at times, he doth almost, Animam agere. I forbear, to advertise your Majesty, of the Care I took, to have Commissions in readiness, because Mr. Secretary Lake, hath let me understand, he signified as much, to your Majesty: But, I hope, there shall be no life, for them, at this time. And, as I am glad, to advertise your Majesty, of the Amendment, of your Chancellers Person; So I am sorry, to accompany it, with an Advertisement, of the Sicknes, of your Chancery Court, though, (by the Grace of God,) that Cure will be much easier, than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your Majesty, that for the Matters, of the Habeas Corpora, (which was the third Matter in Law, you had given me in charge;) I did think, the Communion in Service, between my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the great Business of Examination, would join them, as they would not square, at this time; But pardon me, (I humbly pray your Majesty,) if I have too Reasonable Thoughts.
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, etc.

And yet, that which happened, the last day, of the Term, concerning certain Indictments, in the Nature of Premunire, preferred into the Kings Bench, but not found; Is not so much, as is voiced abroad; (though I must say, it is omni tempore Nimium, et hoc tempore Alienum;) And therefore, I beseech your Majesty, not to give any Believing Ear to Reports, but to receive the Truth, from me, that am your Attorney General, and ought to stand indifferent, for Jurisdictions, of all Courts; which Account, I cannot give your Majesty now, because I was then absent: And some are now absent, which are properly, and authentically, to inform me, touching that which pasted. Neither let this, any ways, disjoynt, your other Business; For there is a time, for all things; And this very Accident, may be turned, to Good. Not that I am of Opinion, that that fame Cunning Maxim, of Separa, & Impera, which sometimes holdeth in Persons, can well take place in Jurisdictions; But because, some good Occasion, by this Excess, may be taken, to settle that, which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone out, by little and little. God ever preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble Subject, and most bounden Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching the Difference, between the Court of Chancery, and the Kings Bench.

Febr. 19: 1615.

SIR, I received, this Morning, from you, two Letters, by the fame Bearer; The one written before, the other, after his Majesty had received my last.

In this Difference, between the two Courts, of Chancery, and Kings Bench; (For so I had rather take it, for this Time, than between the Persons, of my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Justice,) I marvail not, if Rumour get way, of true Relation. For I know Fame hath swift wings; Specially that, which hath black Feathers; But within these two days, (For sooner I cannot be ready,) I will write unto his Majesty, both the Narrative truly, and my Opinion sincerely; Taking much comfort, that I serve such a King, as hath God's Property, in discerning truly, of Mens Hearts. I purpose, to speak, with my Lord Chancellor, this day; And so to exhibit, that Cordial, of his Majesties Grace: As I hope, that other Accident, will rather rouse, and raise his Spirit, than depript him, or encline him to Relapse. Mean while, I commend the Wit, of a mean Man, that said this other day; well, the next Term, you shall have an old man, come with a Beesom of Wormwood, in his
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

Sir, I thank you for your Inward Letter
I have burned it, as you commanded,
But the Fire it hath kindled in me; will never be extinguished.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching a Motion, to swear him Counsellor: Febr. 21, 1615.

S I R, My Lord Chancellors Health, growing with the Dayes, and his Resignation, being an Uncertainty, I would be glad, you went on, with my first Motion, my swearing Prizy Counsellor. This I desire; not so much to make my Self, more sure of the other; and to put it past Competition; (For herein, I rest wholly upon the King, and your excellent self;) But, because I finde hourly, that I need this Strength, in his Majesties Service; Both for my better warrant, and satisfaction of my Conscience, that I deal not in Things, above my Vocation; And for my better Countenance, and Prevailing, where his Majesties service, is, under any pretext, opposed, I would it were dispatched. I remember, a greater Matter than this, was dispatched, by a Letter, from Roylon; which was, the Placing of the Arch-Bishop; that now is: And I imagine, the King did it on purpose, that the Act mought appear, to be his own.

My Lord Chanceller told me, yeasterday, in plain Terms, that if the Kings would ask his opinion, touching the Person, that he would commend, to suceed him, upon Death, or Difability, he would name me, for the fittest Man. You may advise, whether use, may not be made, of this offer.

I sent, a pretty while since, a Paper, to Mr. John Murrey; which was, indeed, a little Remembrance, of some Things past; concerning my honest, and faithful Services to his Majestie; Not by way of Boasting, (from which I am far;) but as Tokens, of my studying his Service, uprightly, and carefully. If you be pleased, to call for the Paper, which is with Mr. John Murrey; And to find a fit time, that his Majestie, may cast an eye upon it, I think it will doe no Hurt: And I have written to Mr. Murrey, to deliver the Paper, if you call for it. God keep you in all Happynefs.

Your truest Servant.
A Letter, to the King, concerning the Premunire, &c.

A Letter, to the King, concerning the Premunire, in the Kings Bench, against the Chancery. Febr. 21. 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I Was yesterday, in the Afternoon, with my Lord Chancellor, according to your Commandement, which I received by the Master of the Horfe: And finde the Old Man, well comforted; Both towards God, and towards the World, and that same middle Comfort, which is Divine, and Humane, proceeding from your Majesty, being God's Lieutenant, on Earth, I am perswaded, hath been a great Caufe, that such a Sickness, hath been portable, to such an Age. I did not fail, in my Conjecture, that this Business, of the Chancery, hath stirred him; He theneth to despife it, but he is full of it; And almost, like a young Duellist, that findeth himself behind hand.

I will now, as your Majesty requireth, give you a true Relation, of that which hath pass'd; Neither will I decline, your Royal Commandement, for delivering my Opinion also, though it be a tender Subject, to write on; But I, that account my Being, but as an Accident to my service, will neglect no duty upon Self-Safety. First, it is necessary, let your Majesty know, the Ground of the Difference, between the Two Courts; that your Majesty, may the better understand the Narrative.

There was a Statute made, 27 Edw. 3. Cap. 1, which (no doubt) in the principal Intention thereof, was ordained, against those, that staid to Rome; wherein there are Words, somewhat general, against any, that questionable, or impeachable, any Judgment, given in the Kings Courts, or in any other Court. Upon these doubtful Words (other Courts,) the Controversie greweth. For the founder Interpretation, taketh them, to be meant, of those Courts, which though, locally, they were not held at Rome, or where the Popes Chair was, but here within the Realm; yet, in their Jurisdiction, had their Dependance, upon the Court of Rome; As were the Court of the Legate here, and the Courts of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, which were then, but subordinate Judgment Seats, to that high Tribunal of Rome. And for this Construction, the Opposition of the Words (if they be well observed) between the Kings Courts, and other Courts, maketh very much: For it importeth, as if those other Courts, were not the Kings Courts. Also, the main Scope of the Statute, fortifieth the same: And lastly, the Practice of many Ages. The other Interpretation, (which cleareth to the Letter,) expoundeth the Kings Courts, to be the Courts of Law, only, and other Courts, to be Courts of Equity, as the Chancery, Exchequer-chamber, Dutchy, &c. Though this also flyeth, indeed, from the Letter, for that all these, are the Kings Courts.

There
A Letter, to the King, concerning the Praemunire, &c.

There is also another Statute, which is but a simple Prohibition, and not with a Penalty, of a Praemunire, (as the other is;) That after Judgments given in the Kings Courts, the parties shall be in Peace, except the Judgment be undone, by Error, or Attais, which is a Legal form, of Recusal. And of this also, I hold, the Sounder Interpretation to be, to settle Possessions, against Disturbances, and not to take away Remedy, in Equity, where those Judgments, are obtained, ex Regio Juris, and against good Conscience.

But upon these two Statutes, there hath been, a late Conceit in some, that if a Judgement, pass, at the Common Law, against any, that he may not, after Issue, for Relief in Chancery: And if he doth, both 

Here your Majesty, hath the true State, of the Question, which I was necessity to open to you first, because your Majesty, calleth for this Relation; Not as Nevers, but as Business. Now to the Historical part.

It is the Course, of the Kings Bench, that they give in Charge to a Grand Jury, offences of all Natures, to be presented within Middlesex, where the said Court is; And the manner is, toenumerate them, as it were, in Articles. This was done by Justice Crook, the Wednesday, before the Term ended. And that Article, (If any Man, after a Judgement given, had drawn the said Judgement, to a new Examination, in any other Court,) was by him, specially, given in charge; which had not used to be given, in charge before. It is true, it was not solemnly dwelt upon, but, as it were, thrown in amongst the rest.

The last day, of the Term; (And that which all Men condemn, the supposed last day, of my Lord Chancellors life;) There were two Indictments preferred, of Praemunire, for Suing in Chancery, after Judgement in Common Law; The one by Rich. Glazmur, the other by William Allen: The former against Courtis, the party in Chancery, Gibb the Counselor, and Dewit the Clark; The latter, against Alderman Bowles, and Humfrey Smith parties in Chancery; Serjeant More the Counselor, Elias Wood, Solicitor in the Cause, and Sir John Tindal, Mr. of the Chancery, and an Attorney, to my Lord Chancellor.

For the Cases themselves, it were too long, to trouble your Majesty, with them; But this I will say; If they were set on, that preferred them, they were the worst Marks-men, that ever were, that set them on. For there could not have been chosen, two such Causes, to the Honour, and Advantage, of the Chancery, for the Jutness of the Decrees, and the Foulness; and Scandal, both of Fact, and Person, in those that impeach the Decrees.

The Grand Jury, consulting, (as it seemeth,) of very Substantial, and Intelligent, Persons, would not finde the Bills; Notwithstanding,
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standing, they were clamoured by the parties, and twice sent back, by the Court; And in Conclusion, refolutely, 17 of 19, found an Ignoramus: wherein, for that time, I think, Ignoramus, was wiser, than those that know too much.

Your Majesty will pardon me, if I be sparing, in delivering to you, some other Circumstances, of Aggravation, and of Concourse, of some like Matters, the same day; as if it had been some Fatal constellation. They be not things, so sufficiently tried, as I dare put them, into your Ear.

For my Opinion, I cannot but begin, with this Preface; That I am infinitely sorry, that your Majesty, is thus put, to salve, and cure, not only Accidents of Time, but Errors of Servants: For I account this, a kind of Sickness, of my Lord Cooke, that comes, almost, in as ill a time, as the Sickness, of my Lord Chancellor. And as (I think,) it was one of the wifest parts, that ever he played, when he went down, to your Majesty, to Raifon, and defired, to have my Lord Chancellor, joined with him; So this was one of the weakest parts, that ever he played, to make all the World perceive, that my Lord Chancellor, is severed from him, at this time.

But for that, which may concern your Service, which is my End, (leaving other Men to their own wayes;) First, my Opinion is plainly, that my Lord Cooke, at this time, is not to be disgraced; Both because, he is so well habitude, for that which remained, of these Capital Causes; And also, for that, which I finde, is in his Breast, touching your Finances, and Matters of Repair, of your Estate. And, (if I ought speak it,) as I think, it were good, his hopes were at an end; in some kind, so I could with, they were raised, in some other.

On the other side, this great, and publick Affront, not only to the Reverend, and well deserving, person, of your Chancellor; (And at a time, when he was thought, to Iye, on Dying, which was barbarous;) But to your High Court of Chancery, which is the Court, of your absolute power; May not, (in my Opinion,) pass lightly, nor end, only, in some Formal Attonement; But He is to be made thereof, for the feeling of your Authority, and strengthening of your Prerogative, according to the true Rules of Monarchy.

Now to reconcile, and accommodate these two Advices, which seem almost opposite. First, your Majesty, may not see, (though I confefs it be suspicious,) that my Lord Cooke was, any way, aforehand, privy to that, which was done; Or that he did set it, or animate it; But only took the Matter, as it came before him; And that his Error was, only, that at such a time, he did not divert it, in some good manner.

Secondly, if it be true, (as is reported,) that any of the Puisne Judges, did think this Business; Or that, they did openly revile, and
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and menace the jury, for doing their Conscience; (As they did, honestly, and truly,) I think, that Judge, is worthy, to lecture his place. And to be plain with your Majesty, I do not think there is any Thing, a greater Pluck, yet a malice, to your Affairs, than upon a suit, and in Occasion, to make some Example, against the Presumption, of a Judge, in Causes, that concern your Majesty: whereby the whole Body, of those Magistrates, may be contained the better in awe; And it may be, this will light, upon no unfit Subject, of a Person, that is Rude, and that no Man cares for.

Thirdly, if there be, no one, so much in fault, (which I cannot yet affirm, either way, and there must be a just Ground, God forbid else;) yet I should think, that the Very Presumption, of Going so far, in so high a Cause, deserves to have that done, which was done in this very case, upon the Indictment of Sergeant Heale, in Queen Elizabeth's time; that the Judges, should answer it, upon their knees, before your Majesty, or your Council, and receive a sharp Admonition: At which time also, my Lord Wray, being then Chief Justice, lifted the Collar, and was forborne.

Fourthly, for the persons themselves, Glanville, and Allen, which are base Fellowes, and turbulent, I think, there will be discovered, and proved against them, (besides the preferring of the Bills,) such Combinations, and Contemnous Speeches, and Behaviours; As there will be good Ground, to call them, and perhaps some of their petty Counsellors, at Law, into the Starre-Chamber.

In all this, which I have said, your Majesty, may be pleased to observe, that I do not engage you much, in the main point of the Jurisdiction; For which I have a great deal of Reason, which I now forbear. But two Things, I wish to be done. The one, that your Majesty, take this occasion, to redouble unto all your Judges, your ancients, and true Charge, and Rule, That you will endure, no Innovating, the Point of Jurisdiction; But will have every Court, empaled, within their own Presidents; And not ascribe to themselves, new Powers, upon Conceits, and Inventions of Law: The other, that in these high Causes, that touch upon States, and Monarchy, your Majesty give them straight Charge, that upon any Occasions intervening hereafter, they do not make the Vulgar, party to their Contestations, by publick Handling them, before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the Reiglement, of those things, only appertaineth.

To conclude, I am not without hope, that your Majesty, managing this Business, according to your great Wisdom; (unto which I acknowledge my Self, not to be worthy, to be Cardholder; or a Candle-holder;) will make profit, of this Accident, as a Thing of Gods sending.

Lastly, I may not forget, to represent to your Majesty, that there
A Letter, to the King, of Advice, &c.

is no Thinking of Arraignments, until these Things, be somewhat accommodate; And some outward, and superficial, Reconciliation, at least; made, between my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Justice. For this Accident, is a Banquer, to all the Delinquents Friends. But this is a Thing, that falleth out, naturally, of it Self; In respect, of the Judges Going Circuit, and my Lord Chancellors Infirmitie, with Hope of Recovery. And although this protraction of Time, may breed some doubt of Mutability, yet I have lately learned, out of an excellent Letter, of a certain King; That the Sun serviceth, sometime, wary, to our Eyes, but when the Cloud is gone, the Sun is as before. God ever preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble Subject, and bounden Servant.

A Letter, to the King, of Advice, upon the Breach of the New Company. Febr: 25. 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Our Privy Council, have wisely, and truly, discerned, of the Orders, and Demands, of the New Company, that they are unlawful, and unjust; And themselves, have now acknowledged, the Work impossible, without them, by their Petition in Writing, now registered, in the Council-Book: So as this Conclusion, (of their own makings,) is become peremptory, and final, to themselves; And the Impossibility confessed, the Practice, and Abuse, referred to the Judgement, the State shall make of it.

This Breach then, of this great Contract, is wholly on their part; which could not have been, if your Majesty, had broken, upon the Patent: For the Patent, was your Majesty's Act; The Orders, are their Act; And in the former Case, they had not been liable, to further Question, now they are.

There rest two Things, to be considered: The one if they, (like Protes, when he is hard held,) shall yet again, vary their shape; And shall quit their Orders, convinced of injustice, and lay their Imposition onely, upon the Trade of whites, whether your Majesty, shall further expect? The other, if your Majesty dissolve them, upon this Breach, on their part, what is further to be done, for the setting of the Trade, again, in joynt, and for your own Honour, and profit? In both which points, I will not presume to give Opinion, but onely, to break the Business, for your Majesty's better Judgment.

For the first, I am sorry, the Occasion was given, (by my Lord Coke's Speech, at this time, of the Commitment of some of them;) That they should seek, Omne mazere lapidem, to help themselves.
Better it had been, if (as my Lord Fenelon said to me, that Morning, very judiciously, and with a great Deal of Right,) That, for that time, they should have had, a Bridge, made for them, to be gone. But my Lord Cook (as it is said to be intended,) your Majesty hath ready, two Answers, of Repulse, if it please your Majesty to use them.

The one, that this is now the Fourth time, that they have mainly broken, with your Majesty, and contradicted themselves: First, they undertook, to dye, and dress, all the Cloathes of the Realm; Soon after, they wound themselves, into the Trade, of whites, and came down to the proportion contracted. Secondly, they ought to have performed that Contract according to their Subscription, provatis, without any of these Orders, and Impositions: Soon after, they deferred their Subscription, and had recourse, to these Devices, of Orders. Thirdly, if by Order, and not by Subscription, yet their Orders should have laid it, upon the whites, which is an Unlawfull, and Prohibited, Trade. Nevertheless, they would have brought in, lawfull, and fecked Trades, full Manufacturers, Merchandize of all Natures, Poll-Money, or Brotherhood-Money, and I cannot tell what. And now lastly, if it seemeth, they would goe Back, to lay it, upon the whites: And therefore, whether you Majesty, will any more rest, and build this great Wheel, of your Kingdom, upon these broken, and brittle, Pins, and try Experiments further, upon the Healthy, and Body, of your State, I leave to your Princely Judgement.

The other Answer, of Repulse, is a kind of Apposing them, what they will doe, after the three years, contracted for? Which is a point, hitherto, not much stirr'd, though Sir Lionel Cranfield, hath ever beaten upon it, in his Speech with me: For after the three years, they are not tied, otherwise, than as Trade shall give Encouragement; Of which Encouragement, your Majesty, hath a bitter Taft. And if they should hold on, according to the third years Proportion, and not rise on, by further gradation, your Majesty hath not your End. No, I fear, and have long feared, that this Feeding of the Forciner, may be dangerous: For as we may think, to hold up our Cloathing, by Vent of whites, till we can dye, and dress; So they, (I mean the Dutch,) will think to hold up, their Manufacture, of Dying, and Dressing, upon our whites, till they can cloath: So as your Majesty, hath the greatest reason, in the World, to make the New Company, to come in, and strengthen that part, of their Contract: And they refusing, (as it is confidently beleived they will,) to make their Default, more visible, to all Men.
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For the second main part, of your Majesties Consultation; That is, what shall be done, supposing an absolute Breach; I have had some Speech, with Mr. Secretary Lake, and likewise with Sir Lionel Cranfield; And, (as I conceive,) there may be three ways, taken into consideration. The first is, that the Old Company be restored, who, (no doubt,) are in Appetite, and (as I finde by Sir Lionel Cranfield,) not unprepared; And that the Licences, The one, that of 30000 Cloathes, which was the old Licence; The other, that of my Lord of Cumberlands, which is, without flint, (my Lord of Cumberland receiving Satisfaction,) be compounded, into one entire Licence, without flint; And then, that they, amongst themselves, take order, for that profit, which hath been offered to your Majesty. This is a plain, and known way, wherein your Majesty, is not an Actour; onely it hath this, that the Work, of Dying, and Dresting, Cloathes, which hath been so much glorified, seemeth to be wholly relinquished, if you leave there. The second is, that there be a free Trade, of Cloath, with this Difference; That the Dyed, and dressed, pay no Custom, and the Whites double Custom, it being a Merchandize prohibited, and only licentiate. This continueth in life, and fame, the work desired, and will have a popular Applause. But I doe confesse, I did ever think, that Trading, in Companies, is most agreeable to the English Nature, which wanteth that fame general Vein, of a Republick, which runneth in the Dutch; And serveth to them, instead of a Company. And therefore, I dare not advise, to adventure, this great Trade, of the Kingdom, (which hath been so long, under Government,) in a free, or loose, Trade. The Third is, a Compounded Way of both, which is; To goe on, with the Trade, of Whites, by the Old Company restored; And that your Majesties Profit be raised, by Order amongst Themselves; Rather than by double Custom, wherein you must be the Actour: And that, nevertheless, there be added a Privilege, to the fame Company, to carry out Cloathes, Dyed, and Drested, Custom-free; Which will still continue, as a glorious Beam, of your Majesties Royal Design. I hope, and With, at least, that this, which I have written, may be of some Use, to your Majesties, to settle, by the Advice, of the Lords about you, this great Business. At the least, it is the Effect, of my Care, and poor Ability, which, if in me be any, it is given me, to no other end, but faithfully, to serve your Majesties. God ever preserve you.

Your Majesties, most humble Subject,
and bounden Servant.
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

Another Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching a Motion, to swear him Counsellor. February 27. 1615.

Sir, I humbly pray you, not to think me over-hasty, or much in Appetite, if I put you in Remembrance, of my Motion, of strengthening me, with the Oath, and Trust, of a Prity Counsellor; not for mine own strength, (for as to that, I thank God, I am armed within,) but for the Strength, of my Service. The Times, I submit to you, who knoweth them best. But sure I am, there were never Times, which did more require, a Kings Attorney, to be well armed, and (as I said once to you,) to wear a Gauntlet, and not a Glove. The Arraignment, when they proceed; The Contention, between the Chancery, and Kings Bench; the great Caufe, of the Rege inconfulto, which is so precious; to the Kings Prerogative; Diverse other Services, that concern the Kings Revenue, and the Repair of his Estate. Besides, it pleaseth his Majesty, to accept well, of my Relations, touching his Business; which may seem, a kind of Interloping, (as the Merchants call it,) for one that is no Counsellor. But I leave all unto you, thinking my Self infinitely bound unto you, for your great Favours; The Beams whereof, I see plainly, reflect upon me, even from others: So that now, I have no greater Ambition, than this; That, as the King, sheweth Himself to you, the best Master, so I mought be found, your best Servant. In which With, and Vow, I shall ever rest.

Most devoted, and affectionate, to obey your Commands.

A Letter, to the King, upon some Inclination, of his Majesty, to him, for the Chancellors Place. April 1. 1616.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

The last day, when it pleased your Majesty, to express your Self, towards me, farr above that, I can deserve, or could expect, I was surprized, by the Princes comming in: I most humbly pray your Majesty, to accept these few Lines, of Acknowledgement. I never had great Thought, for my Self, further than to maintain, those great Thoughts, which, I confess, I have, for your Service. I know, what Honour is; And I know, what the Times are. But, I thank God, with me, my Service is the Principal; And it is farr from me, under Honourable Pretences, to cover base Desires; which I account then to be, when Men refer, too much to Themselves, especially serving such a King. I am afraid of Nothing,

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A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

but that the Master of the Horse, your Excellent Servant, and I, shall fall out, who shall hold your Stirrup-belt. But were you Mounted, and Seated, without Difficulties, and Distastes, in your Business, as I desire, and hope to see you; I should, ex animo, desire, to spend the Decline of my years, in my Studies. Wherein also, I should not forget, to do him Honour, who, besides his Active, and Politique Virtues, is the best Penn of Kings; Much more, the best Subject of a Penn. God ever preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble Servant,
And more, and more, obliged

Sir George Villiers, May 30, 1616.

SIR, The time is, as I should think, now, or never, for his Majesty, to finish his good Meaning towards me; If it please him to consider, what is past, and what is to come.

If I would tender my Profit, and oblige Men unto me, by my Place, and Practice, I could have more profit than I could devise; And could oblige all the World, and offend none, which is a brave Condition, for a Man's Private. But my Heart, is not, on these Things. Yet, on the other side, I would be sorry, that worthless Persons, should make a Note, that I get Nothing, but Pains, and Enemies; And a little Popular Reputation, which followeth me, whether I will, or no. If any thing, be to be done, for your self, I should take infinite Contentment, that my Honour, might wait upon yours: But I would be loath, it should wait upon any Man else. If you would put your Strength, to this Business, it is done; And that done, many Things more, will begin. God keep you ever; I rest,

Your true, and devoted, Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, upon the Choice, his Majesty gave him, whether he would be sworn Counsellor, or have Assurance, to succeed the Chancellor, June 3, 1616.

SIR, The King giveth me a noble choice; And you are the Man, my Heart ever told me, you were. Ambition would draw
draw me, to the latter part of the Choice; But, in respect of my hearty wishes, that my Lord Chanceller, may live long; And the small Hopes I have, that I shall live long, my Self; And above all, because I see, his Majesties Service, daily, and instantly, blest. Towards which, I persuade my Self, (vainly perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts, firmly, and constantly,) that I shall give, when I am of the Table, some effectual Furtherance, (as a poor Thread of the Labyrinth, which hath no other Virtue, but an united Continuance, without Interruption, or Distraction,) I do accept of the former, to be Counsellor, for the present, and to give over pleading at Barr; Let the other Matter rest upon my Proof, and his Majesties Pleasure, and the Accidents of Time. For to speak plainly, I would be loath, that my Lord Chanceller, to whom I owe most, after the King, and your Self, should be locked to his Successor, for any Advancement, or Gracing, of me. So I ever remain.

Your true, and most devoted, and obliged, Servant.

To his very Honourable good Friend, Sir George Villiers, Master of the Horse, to his Majesty, and of the most Noble Order of the Garter. June 12. 1616.

Sir, I send his Majesty, a Draught, of the Act of Counsel, concerning the Judges Letter; penned, as near as I could, to his Majesties Instructions, received in your presence. I then told his Majesty, my Memory was not able, to keep way with his; And therefore his Majesty will pardon me, for any Omissions, or Errors; And be pleased, to supply, and reform the same. I am preparing, some other Materials, for his Majesties excellent Hand, concerning Business, that is comming on. For since his Majesty, hath renewed my Heart within me, methinks, I should double my endeavours. God ever preserve, and prosper you; I rest.

Your most devoted, and bounden, Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, for the Restoring of Doctor Burgis, to preach. June 12, 1616.

Sir, I doe think, you may doe your Self Honour, and, (that which is more,) doe a good Work, if you will assist; and perfect; a Motion begun, (and that upon a good Ground, both of Sub-


A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

Submission, and conformity,) for the restoring, of Doctor Bur- 

gis, to Preach; And I will, likewise, that if Graves Inn should 
think good, (after he is free from the States,) to chuse him, for 
their Preacher, his Majestie should not be against it; For certain-
yly, we should watch him well, if he should flye forth; So as he 
cannot be placed, in a more safe Auditor. This may seem a 
Trifle, but I doe assure you, I doe scarce know a particular, 
wherein you may open, more honest Mouthes, to speak Honour 
of you, than this. And I doe extremely desire, there may be a 
full Cry, from all forts of People, (especially the best,) to speak, 
and to trumpeter out, your Commendations. I pray you take it to 
Heart, and doe somewhat in it. I rest.

Your devoted and Bounden 
Servant.

July 5, 1616.

Sir, Because I am uncertain, whether his Majestie, will put to 

a point, some Resolutions, touching Ireland, now at Windsore; 
I thought it my duty, to attend his Majestie, by my Letter, and 
thereby to supply my Absence. For the Renewing, of some for-
er Commissions, for Ireland; And the Framing, of a new Commis-
sion, for the Wards, and the Alienation, (which appertain pro-
perly to me, as his Majesties Attorney, and have been accordingly 
referred by the Lords;) I will undertake, that they are prepa-
red, with a greater care, and better applications, to his Majesties 
Service in that Kingdom, than heretofore they have been. And 
therefore of that I say no more. And for the Instructions, of the 
new Deputy, they have been set down, by the two Secretaries, and 
read to the Board; And being things, of an ordinary nature, I 
do not fee, but they may pass. But there have been three Pro-
positions, and Counsels, which have been stirr'd, which seem to me, 
of very great Importance; wherein, I think my Self bound, to de-

civer to his Majestie, my Advice, and Opinion, if they should now 
come in Question.

The first is, touching the Recusant Magistrates, of the Towns, of 

Ireland, and the Commonalties themselves, their Electours, what 
shall be done? Which Consultation ariseth, from the late Adver-
tisements, of the two Lords Justices, upon the Instance, of the 
two Towns, Limerick, and Kilkenny; In which Advertisements, they 
represent the Danger only, without giving any Light, for the Re-
medy
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

meary; Rather warily for themselves, than agreeable to their Duties, and places.

In this point, I humbly pray his Majesty to remember, that the Oath of Allegiancę, (which is not enacted in Ireland;) but of the Oath of Supremacy, which cuteth deep, into Matter of Confidence. Also, that his Majesty will, out of the depth, of his Excellent Wisdom, and Providence, think, and as it were, calculate with himself; Whether Time will make more, for the Caufe of Religion, in Ireland, and be still more, and more, propitious; Or whether Deferring Remedies, will not make the Case more difficult. For if Time, give his Majesty Advantage, what needeth precipitation, to extreme Remedies? But if Time, will make the case more desperate, then his Majesty, cannot begin, too soon. Now in my Opinion, Time will open, and facilitate Things, for Reformation of Religion there; And not shut up, or lock out, the fame. For first, the Plantations going on, and being, principally, of Protestants, cannot but make the other party, in Time:

Also, his Majesty's Care, in placing good Bishops, and good Divines; In amplifying the Colledge there; And in looking, to the Education, of wards, and such like; As they are, the most Natural Means, so are they like, to be the most effectual, and happy, for the Weeding out of Popery, without using the Temporal Sword; So that, I think, I may truly conclude, that the Ripeness of Time, is not yet come.

Therefore my Advice is, in all Humbleness, that this hazardous Course, of Proceeding, to tender the Oath, to the Magistrates of Towns, proceed not, but dye by degrees: And yet, to preserve the Authority, and Reputation, of the former Council, I would have somewhat done; which is, that there be a proceeding, to Seizure, of Liberties; But not, by any Act of Power, but by Quo Warranta, or Seire facias; which is a Legal Course; And will be the Work of three or four, Terms; By which time, the Matter will somewhat cool.

But I would not, (in any case;) that the Proceedings, should be with both Towns, which stand now in contempt, but with one of them, only: choosing that, which shall be thought most fit. For if his Majesty, proceed with both, then all the Towns, that are in the like cafe, will think it a common Cause; And that it is, but their Case too day, and their own too morrow. But if his Majesty proceed, but with one, the Apprehension, and Terour, will not be so strong; For they will think, it may be their Case, to be spared, as well, as prosecuted; And this is the best Advice, that I can give to his Majesty, in this Streight; And of this Opinion, seem'd my Lord Chancellor, to be.

The Second Proposition is this: It may be; his Majesty will be moved, to reduce, the Number, of his Council, of Ireland, which is now almost Fifty, to Twenty, or the like Number; In respect,
A Letter, from the Kings Attorney General, &c.

that the Greatness of the Number, doth both embrace the Authority, of the Council, and divulge the Business. Nevertheless, I hold this Proposition, to be rather specious, and solemn, than needful, at this time; For certainly, it will fill the State, full of Discontent; which, in a Growing, and unsettled Estate, ought not to be.

This I could wish, that his Majesty, would appoint a select Number, of Counsellors there, which might deal in the Improvement, of his Revenue; (Being a Thing not fit to pass, through too many Hands;) And the said select Number, should have days of Sitting, by themselves. At which, the rest of the Council, should not be present; which being once select, then other principal Business of State, may be handled at those Sittings, and so the rest begin to be diffused, and yet retain their Countenance, without Murmurs, or Disgrace.

The Third Proposition, as it is moved, seemeth to be pretty, if it can keep promise: For it is thus, That a Means, may be found, to re-enforce his Majesty's Army, by 500, or a 1000 Men; And, that, without any Penny Encrease, of Charge. And the Means should be, that there should be a Commandement of a Local Removal, and transferring some Companies, from one Province, to another: whereupon it is supposed, that many, that are planted, in Houses, and Lands, will rather leave their Entertainment, than remove; And thereby, new Men may have their Pay, and yet the old, be mingled in the Country, for the Strength thereof.

In this Proposition, two things may be feared: The one, Discontent of those, that shall be purged: The other, that the Companies shall be stuffed with Novices, and Tyrones, instead of Veteran. I wish therefore, that this Proposition, be well debated, ere it be admitted. Thus having performed that, which Duty binds me to; I commend you, to God's best prestation.

Your most devoted, and bounden Servant.

A Letter, from the Kings Attorney General, to the Master of the Horse, upon the sending, of his Bill, for Viscount.

August 5. 1616.

SIR, I send you the Bill, for his Majesty's Signature, reformed, according to his Majesty's Amendments, both in the two places, (which I assure you, were both altered, with great Judgement;) And in the Third place, which his Majesty termed a Question, only. But he is an idle Body, that thinks his Majesty, asks an idle Question; And therefore, his Majesty's Questions, are to be answered,
A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, &c.

red, by Taking away, the Cause of the Question, and not by Replying.

For the Name, his Majesty's Will, is a Law, in those things; And to speak Truth, it is a well-founding, and Noble Name, both here, and abroad: And being your proper Name, I will take it, for a good Sign, that you shall give Honour, to your Dignity, and not your Dignity to you. Therefore I have made it Viscount Villiers: And for your Baronry, I will keep it for an Earldom: For though the other, had been more orderly, yet that is as usual, and both alike good in Law.

For Roper's place, I would have it, by all means, dispatched. And therefore, I marvail, it lingereth. It were no good manners, to take the Business, out of my Lord Treasurer's hands; And therefore, I purpose, to write to his Lordship, if I hear not from him, first, by Mr. Deakin. But if I hear of any Delay, you will give me leave, (especially since the King named me,) to deal with Sir John Roper, my Self; For neither I, nor my Lord Treasurer, can defer any great thanks of you, in this Business, considering the King hath spoken to Sir John Roper, and he hath promised; And besides, the thing it self, is so reasonable, as it ought, to be as soon done, as said. I am now gotten, into the Country, to my House, where I have some little Liberty; to think of that, I would think of, and not of that, which other Men, Hourly break my Head withal, as it was at London. Upon this, you may conclude, that most of my Thoughts, are of his Majesty; And then, you cannot be far off. God ever keep you, and prosper you. I rest always,

Your true, and most devoted,

Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, upon the Sending, his Patent, of Viscount Villiers, to be Signed.

August 12. 1616.

Sir, I have sent you, now, your Patent, of Creation, of Lord Blechly, of Blechly, and of Viscount Villiers. Blechly is your own; And I liked, the sound of the Name, better than Whaddon: But the Name, will be hid, for you will be called Viscount Villiers. I have put them both, in a Patent, after the manner of the Patent of Arms, where Baronies are joyned. But the chief Reason was, because I would avoid double Prefaces; which had not been fit: Nevertheless Ceremony of Roasting, and otherwife, must be double: And now, because I am in the Country, I will send you, some of my Country Fruits, which, with me, are good Meditations; which, when I am in the City, are choaked with Business.

L.11

After
After that the King, shall have wait'd, your new Dignities, with his Bounty, of the Lands, which he intends you; And that, some other things, concerning your means, which are now likewise in Intention, shall be fted upon you; I do not see, but you may think, your private Fortunes established; And therefore, it is now time, that you should refer your Actions, chiefly, to the Good, of your Soveraign, and your Country. It is the life, of an Oxe, or a Beast, always to eat, and never to exercise; But Men are born, (especially Christian Men,) not to cram them in their Fortunes, but to exercize their Virtues; And yet, the other, have been the unworthy, and, sometimes, the unlucky humour, of great Persons, in our Times; Neither will your further Fortune, be the further off. For assure your self, that Fortune, is of a woman's Nature, that will sooner follow you, by flighting, than by too much Wooing: And in this Dedication, of your Self to the Publick, I recommend unto you, principally, that which I think, was never done, since I was born; And which not done, hath bred, almost, a Wilderness, and Solitude, in the Kings Service; which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance, able, and vertuous Men, in all Kindes, Degrees, and Professions. For in the time of some late great Counsellours, when they bare the Sway, able Men, were by design, and of purpose, suppressed: And though, now since, Choice goeth better, both in Church, and Commonwealth, yet Money, and Turn-Serving, and Cunning Canwifes, and Importunity, prevail too much. And in places of Moment, rather make Able and Honest Men, yours, than advance those, that are otherwise, becaufe they are yours: As for Cunning and Corrupt Men, you must, I know, sometimes use them, but keep them at a distance; And let it appear, that you make use of them, rather than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly, (next to God,) upon the King; And be ruled, (as hither to you have been,) by his Instructions; For that's best for your Self. For the Kings Care, and Thoughts, concerning you, are according to the Thoughts, of a great King; whereas your Thoughts, concerning your Self, are, and ought to be, according to the Thoughts of a Modest Man. But let me not weary you. The Summer, that you think Goodness, the best part of Greatness; And that you remember, whence your Rising comes, and make return accordingly. God ever keep you.
A Letter, to the King, &c.

A Letter, to the King, touching Sir George Villiers Patent, for Baron of Blechley, and Viscount Villiers.
August 12. 1616.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I have lent, Sir George Villiers Patent, drawn again, containing also a Baronry; The Name, Blechley, which is his own; And to my Thinking, foundeth better, than added. I have included both, in one Patent, to avoid a double Preface, and as hath been used, in the Patents, of like nature. Nevertheless, the Ceremony of ROasting, and otherwise, is to be double, as is also used, in like case of Earls.

It resteth, that I express unto your Majesty, my great Joy, in your Honouring, and Advancing, this Gentleman: whom to describe, not with Colours, but with true Lines, I may say this; Your Majesty, certainly, hath found out, and chosen, a safe Nature, a capable Man, and honest Will, Generous and Noble Affections, and a Courage well lodged; And one that, I know, loveth your Majesty, unfegnedly; And admireth you as much, as is in a Man, to admire his Sovereign, upon Earth. Onely, your Majesty's School, (wherein, he hath already so well profited, as in this Entrance upon the Stage, being the Time of greatest Danger, he hath not committed any manifest Error;) will add Perfection, to your Majesty's comfort, and the great Contentment, of your People. God ever preserve, and prosper, your Majesty. I rest in all Humbleness,

Your Majesty's, most bounden, and most devoted, Subject, and Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, upon the Sending, of his Patent, for the Creation, of Viscount, Sealed
August 20. 1616.

Sir, I took much Contentment, in that, I perceive by your Letter, that you took, in so good part, the Freedom of my Advice; And that your Self, in your own Nature, consented therewith. Certainly, no Service is comparable, to good Counsell; And the Reason is, because no Man can doe so much, for another, as a Man, may doe for himself: Now good Counsel, helpeth a Man, to help himself. But you have so happy a Master, as supplyeth all. My Service, and good will, shall not be wanting.
To the Renowned University of Cambridge, &c.

It was graciously, and kindly, done also, of his Majesty, towards me, to tell you, that you were beholding to me. But it must be then, for Thinking of you, as I doe. For otherwise, for Speaking, as I think, it is but the part of an Honest Man. I send you your Patent, whereof God give you Joy: And I send you here, inclosed, a little Note of Remembrance, for that part of the Ceremony, which concerneth the Patent: For as for other Ceremonies, I leave to others.

My Lord Chancellor, dispatch your Patent, presently, upon the Receipt; And writ to me, how glad he was of it, and how well he wished you. If you writ to him, a few words of Thanks, I think, you shall doe well. God keep you, and prosper you. I ever rest

Your true, and most devoted,

Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, acknowledging the Kings Favour in granting, some Suite of his. August 22. 1616.

SIR, I am more, and more, bound, unto his Majesty, who, I think, knowing me, to have other Ends, than Ambition, is contented, to make me Judges of mine own Desires. I am now beating my Brains, (amongst many Cares, of his Majesty Business,) touching the Redeeming the Time, in this Business of Cloth. The great Question is; How to miss, or how to make the Flemings; How to pass by them, or how to pass over them.

In my next Letter, I shall alter your Stile; But I shall never, whilst I breath, alter mine own Stile. In being

Your true, and most devoted,

Servant.

The Lord Keepers Letter, to the University, in answer, of their Congratulation, at his first Comming to that place:

To the Renowned University of Cambridge, his Dear, and Reverend, Mother.

I am Debtor to you of your Letters; and of the Time, likewise, that I have taken, to answer them; But as soon as I could chuse, what to think on, I thought good, to let you know, That although...
A Letter of King James, &c;

you may err much, in your valuation of me, yet you shall not be deceived, in your Assurance: And for the other part also, though the manner be, to mend the Picture, by the Life; yet I would be glad, to mend the Life, by the Picture, and to become, and be, as you express me to be. Your Gratulations, shall be no more welcome to me, than your Business, or occasions; which I will attend; and yet not so, but that I shall endeavour, to prevent them, by my care of your Good. And so I commend you, to God's goodnes.

Your most loving, and assured

Friend, and Sonne

Fr. Bacon. C. S.

A Letter of King James, written to his Lordship, when he was Lord Chancellor, with his Majesties own Hand, upon the sending to him, his Book, of Instauratio Magna, then newly published.

My Lord, I Have received your Letter, and your Book, than the which you could not have sent, a more acceptable Present unto me. How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm Resolution, I have taken; First, to read it thorough, with care, and attention; Though I should steal some Hours, from my Sleep; Having otherwise as little spare time, to read it, as you had, to write it. And then to use the liberty, of a true Friend, in not sparing, to ask you the question, in any point, whereof I shall stand in doubt; (Nam enim est Explicare, cujus est Conderc;) As, on the other part, I will willingly give, a due commendation, to such places, as, in my opinion, shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can, with comfort, assure you, that you could not have made choice, of a Subject, more befitting your place, and your universal, and Methodick, Knowledge; And, in the general, I have already observed, that you jump with me, in keeping the middle way, between the two Extremes; As also in some particulars, I have found, that you agree fully, with my opinion. And so praying God, to give your work, as good Success, as your Heart can wish, and your Labours deserve, I bid you heartily farewell.

Octob. 16. 1620. James Rex.
OTHER
LETTERS,
BY THE SAME
Honourable Author,
Written in the Dayes of
QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

LONDON,
Printed by F. L. for William Lee, at the sign of
the Turks-Head, in Fleetstreet, 1657.
The First
Hebrew Grammar
by
Elizabeth

By W. Jones
Principles of Grammar for Students of

English.
OTHER LETTERS, WRITTEN BY THE SAME Honourable Author.

To my Lord of Essex.

My singular good Lord,

May perceive, by my Lord Keeper, that your Lordship, as the time served, signified unto him, an Intention, to confer with his Lordship, at better opportunity; Which, in regard of your several, and weighty occasions, I have thought good, to put your Lordship, in remembrance of; That now, at his Comming to the Court, it may be executed; Desiring your good Lordship, nevertheless, not to conceive, out of this my diligence, in soliciting this matter, that I am, either much in Appetite, or much in Hope. For as for Appetite; The Waters of Parnassus, are not like, the Waters, of the Spar, that give a Stomach; But rather, they quench Appetite, and Desires. And for Hope; How can he hope much, that can allege no other Reason, than the Reason of an Evil Debter; who will persuade his Creditour, to lend him new Summes, and to enter further in with him, to make him satisfie theold? And to her Majesty, no other Reason, but the Reason of a waterman; I am her first Man, of those, who serve in Counsel of Law. And so, I commit your Lordship, to Gods best preservation.
To my Lord of Essex.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

Concerning that your Lordship, came now up, in the person of a good servant, to see your sovereign mistress; which kind of complements, are many times, Insit magnarum Meritorum; And therefore, that it would be hard for me, to find you, I have committed, to this poor Paper, the humble Salutations of him, that is more yours, than any Mans; And more yours, than any Man. To these Salutations, I add, a due, and joyfull Gratulation, confessing that your Lordship, in your last conference with me, before your journey, spake not in vain, God making it good; That you trusted, we should say, Quis putaret? Which, as it is found true, in a happy sense, so I wish, you doe not find, another quis putaret, in the manner, of taking, this so great a service. But, I hope, it is, as he said; Nubes caelest, cito transibis: And that your Lordships Wisdome, and Obequious Circumspicition, and Patience, will turn all to the belt. So referring all, to some time, that I may attend you, I commit you to Gods best preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

I am glad, your Lordship, hath plunged, out of your own business. Wherein, I must commend your Lordship, as Xenophon commended, the state of his Country; which was this; That having chosen, the worst Form of Government, of all others, they governed the best, in that kind. Hoc, Peace, et Veniam tuis, according to my charter. Now, as your Lordship, is my Wimess, that I would not trouble you, whilst your own cause was in hand; (Though that I know, that the further from the term, the better the time, was to deal for me;) So that being concluded, I presume, I shall be one, of your next cares. And having communicated with my Brother, of some course, either to perfect the first, or to make me some other way; Or rather, by seeming to make me some other way, to perfect the first, wherewith he agreed to acquaint your Lordship; I am desirous, for mine own better satisfaction, to speak with your Lordship, my self; Which I had rather, were somewhere else, than at Court; And as soon, as your Lordship, well assign me, to wait on you. And so in, &c.
To Sir John Stanhope.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

SIR,

Your Honour knowest, my Manner is, though it be not the wisest way, yet taking it for the honestest, to doe, as Alexander did, by his Physician; In drinking the Medicine, and delivering the Advertisement, or suspicion: So I true, and yet do not smother, what I hear. I doe assure you, Sir, that by a wise Friend of mine, and not factious toward your Honour, I was told, with asleration, that your Honour, was bought, by Mr. Coventry, for 2000. Angels; 'And that you wrought, in a contrary spirit, to my Lord your Father. And he said further, that from your Servants, from your Lady, from some Counsellors that have observed you in my business, he knew, you wrought, under hand, against me. The truth of which Tale, I doe not believe; you know the Event will shew, and God will right. But as I reject this Report, (though the Strangeen's of my Cafe, might make me credulous,) so I admit a Conceit, that the last Messenger, my Lord, and your self used, dealt ill with your Honour; And that Word, (Speculation,) which was in the Queen's mouth, rebounced from him, as a Commendation: For I am not ignorant, of those little Arts. Therefore, I pray, true, not him again, in my matter. This was much to write, but I think my Fortune, will set me at liberty, who am weary of afflicting my Self, to every Mans charity. Thus I, &c.

To Sir John Stanhope.

SIR,

Your good promises sleep, which it may seem, now, no time to awake. But that I do not finde, that any general Kalender, of Observation of time, serveth for the Court: And besides, if that be done, which I hope, by this time, is done; And that other matter shall be done, which we wish may be done, I hope to my poor Matter, the one of thefe great Matters, may clear the way, and the other give the occasion. And though my Lord Treasurer be absent; whose Health, nevertheless, will enable him, to be sooner at Court, than is expected; especially if this hard weather, (too hard to continue,) shall relent; yet we abroad say, his Lordship's spirit may be there, though his person be away. Once I take for a good ground, that her Majesties Business, ought to keep, neither Vacation, nor Holyday; either in the Execution, or in the Care and preparation, of those, whom her Majestie calleth, and useth: And therefore, I would think, no time barred, from remembering that, with such discretion, and respect, as appertaineth.
To the Lord Treasurer.

neth. The Conclusion shall be, to put you in minde, to maintain
that which you have kindly begun, according to the Reliance, I
have, upon the Sincerity, of your Affectiion, and the Soundness
of your Judgement. And so I commend you, to God's preservation.

To my Lord of Elex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I am very sorry, her Majesty should take my Motion to travail,
in offence. But surely, under her Majesties Royal Correction, it
is such an Offence, as it should be, an offence to the Sun, when a
Man, to avoid the Scorching heat thereof, flyeth into the shade.
And your Lordship may easily think, that having now these twen-
ty years, (For so long it is, and more, since I went, with Sir A-
nias Pauletts, into France, from her Majesties royal Hand,) I made
Her Majesties Service, the Scope of my life: I shall never finde a
greater grief than this, Relinquere Amorem Primum. But since, prin-
cipia Aetionum, sunt tamen, in nobis a potestate; I hope, her Majes-	ty, of her Clemency, yea and Justice, will pardon me, and not force
me, to pine here, with Melancholy. For though mine Heart be
good, yet mine Eyes will be sore; So as I shall have no pleasure,
to look abroad: And if I should otherwise be affecfed, her Majes-	ty, in her Wisdom, will but think me, an impudent Man, that would
face out a disgrace. Therefore, as I have ever found you, my
good Lord, and true Friend, to I pray, open the matter to, to her
Majesty, as she may discern the necessity of it, without adding
hard Conceit, to her Rejection; Of which, I am sure, the latter
I never deservd. Thus, see.

To the Lord Treasurer.

It may please your good Lordship,

I am to give you humble Thanks, for your favourable opinion,
which by Mr. Secretaries report, I finde, you conceive of me, for
the obtaining of a good place, which some of my honourable
Friends, have wished unto me, Nee Opinantes. I will use no rea-
son, to persuade your Lordships Mediation, but this; That your
Lordship, and my other Friends, shall in this, begg my life, of the
Queen; For I see well, the Barr will be my Beer, as I must, and
will use it, rather than my poor Estate, or Reputation, shall de-
cy. But I stand indifferent, whether God call me, or her Majesty.
Had I that in possession, which by your Lordships onel means, a-
gainst the greatest opposition, her Majestly granted me, I would
never
To Foulk Grevill.

SIR,

I understand of your paines, to have visited me; For which I thank you. My Matter is an endless Question. I assure you, I had said: Requiesce anima mea: But now, I am other wise put to my psalter: Nolite confidere. I dare go no farther. Her Majesty, had by let speech, more than once, assured me, of her Intention, to call me to her service, which I could not understand, but of the place, I had been named to. And now, whether Invicimus Homunculi; Or whether my Matter, must be an Appendix to my Lo: of Essex sute; Or whether her Majesty, pretending to prove my Ability, meaneth, but to take advantage, of some Errors, which, like enough, at one time, or other, I may commit; Or what it is; But her Majesty, is not ready, to dispatch it. And what thought the Mr. of the Rowles, and my Lo: of Essex, and your self, and others, think my case without doubt; yet in the mean time, I have a hard condition, to stand fo, that whatsoever service, I do to her Majesty, it shall be thought to be, but Servitus visitation, lime-twiggs, and Fetches, to place my self; And so I shall have Envy, not Thanks. This is a Course, to quench all good spirits, and to Corrupt every Mans Nature; which will, I fear, much hurt, her Majesty's Service, in the end. I have been like a piece of Stuff, bespoken in the thopp: And if her Majesty, will not take me, it may be, the selling by parcels, will be more gainfull. For to be, as I told you, like a Child, following a Bird, which when he is nearest, flyeth away, and lighteth a little before, and then the Child after it again, and so in infinitum, I am weary of it: As also, of wearying my good Friends; Of whom, Nevertheless, I hope, in one course or other, gratefully to deserve, And so, not forgetting your Business, I leave to trouble you, with this idle Letter, being but Junctis, & Moderata Querimonia. For indeed, I do confess, primas Amor, will not easily be cast off. And thus again, I commend me to you.
To the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

Most Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I know, I may commit an Error, in writing this Letter, both in a time, of great, and weighty Business; As also, when my self, am not induced thereto, by any new particular occasion: And therefore, your Lordship may impute to me, either Levity, or Ignorance, what appertaineth to good respects, and forwardness of Dealing; Especially to an Honourable Person, in whom there is such concurrence, of Magnitude Honors, &c. As it is hard to say, whether is the greater. But I answer my self first, that I have ever noted it, as a part of your Lordships excellent Wisdom, Partis compromer Magna: That you do not exclude inferior matters, of Access, amongst the Care of great. And for my self, I thought, it would better manifest, what I design to express; if I did write out of a deep, and settled consideration, of mine own Duty, rather than upon the spur of a particular Occasion. And therefore, (my singular good Lord) Ex abundantia cordis, I must acknowledge, how greatly, and diversly, your Lordship hath vouchsafed, to rye me unto you, by Many your Benefits. The Reversion of the Office, which your Lordship Only procured unto me, and carried through great, and vehement Opposition, though it yet bear no fruit, yet it is one of the fairest Flowers, of my poor Estate; your Lordships constant, and serious Endeavours, to have me Soliciter: your late honourable Wishes, for the place of the Wards: Together with your Lordships Attempt, to give me way, by the Removal of Mr. Soliciter: They be Matters, of singular obligation: Besides many other favours, as well by your Lordships Grants, from your Self, as by your Commendation to others, which I have had for my help; And may justly persuade my Self, out of the few Denials, I have received, that fewer mought have been, if mine own Industry, and good happy, had been answerable to your Lordships Goodness. But on the other side, I most humbly pray your Lordships pardon, if I speak it. The time is yet to come, that your Lordship did ever use, or command, or employ me, in my profession, in any Services, or Occasions, of your Lordships own, or such as are near unto your Lordship: which hath made me, fear, sometimes, that your Lordship doth more honourably affect me, than thoroughly discern, of my most humble, and dutifull Affection, to your Lordship again. Which if it were not in me, I knew not, whether I were unnaturally, unthankfully, or unwise. This causeth me, most humbly to pray your Lordship: (And I know mine own case too well, to speak it as weening, I can do your Lordship service, but as willing to do it;) To believe, that your Lordship is, upon just Title, a principall Owner, and proprietary, of that
To my Lord of Essex,

that, I cannot call Talent, but Mitch, that God hath given me; which I ever do, and shall, devote to your service. And in like humble manner, I pray your Lordship, to pardon mine Errors, and not to impute unto me, the Errors of any other: (which I know also, themselves, have, by this time, let, and forethought:;) But to conceive of me, to be a Man, that daily profitteth in Duty. It is true, I do, in part, comfort my self, supposing that it is my Weakness, and Infficiency, that moveth your Lordship, who hath to generall a command, to use others more able. But let it be as it is; For Duty only, and Homage, I will boldly undertake, that Nature, and true Thankfulness, shall never give place, to a politic dependance. Lastly, I most humbly desire your Lordship, to continue unto me, the good favour, and countenance, and Encouragement, in the Course of my poor Travails; whereof I have had, some taste, and experience; For the which, I yield your Lordship, my very humble good thanks. And so again, craving your Honour's pardon, for so long a Letter, carrying so empty an offer, of so unprofitable a service; But yet a true, and unfeigned, signification, of an honest, and vowed duty; I ceafe, commending your Lordship, to the preservation, of the Divine Majesty.

To my Lord of Essex.

Most Honourable, and my Singular good Lord,

I Cannot but importune your Lordship, with thanks, for your Lordships remembering my name, to my Lord Keeper; which being done, in such an Article of time, could not, but be exceedingly enriched, both in demonstration, and effect: which I did well discern, by the manner of expressing thereof, by his Lordship, again to me. This accumulating of your Lordships Favours, upon me, hitherto, worketh only this effect; That it raiseth my mind, to aspire, to be found worthy of them; And likewise, to merit, and serve you, for them. But whether I shall be able to pay my vows, or no, I must leave that to God, who hath them in depositio. Whom also, I most instantly beseech, to give you fruit of your actions, beyond that your Heart can propound. Nam Deus major est corde. Even to the Environing of his Benedictions, I recommend your Lordship.
To Sir Robert Cecil, &c.

To Sir Thomas Lucy.

Sir, There was no Newes, better welcome to me this long time, than that, of the good Success of my Kinsman; wherein, if he be happy, he cannot be happy alone, it consisting of two parts. And I render you, no less kinde Thanks, for your Aid, and Favour, towards him, than if it had been for my Self? Affuring you, that this Bond of Alliance, shall, on my part, tye me, to give all the Tribute, to your good Fortune, upon all occasions, that my poor Strength can yield. I fend you, for required, an Abstract of the Lands of Inheritance; And one Leave of great value, which my Kinsman bringeth; with a Note, of the Tenures, Values, Contents, and State, truly, and perfectly, drawn; whereby you may perceive, the Land is good Land, and well currentained: by scope of Acres, woods, and Royalties: Though the Total of the Rents, be set down, as it now goeth, without Improvement: In which respect, it may somewhat differ, from your first Note. Out of this, what he will assure in Joiniture, I leave it, to his own kindnes; For I love not to measure Affection. To conclude, I doubt not, your Daughter, ought have married, to a better Living, but never to a better Life: Having chosen a Gentleman, bred to all Honesty, Vertue, and Worth, with an Estate convenient. And if my Brother, or my Self, were either Thrivers, or Fortunate, in the Queens Service, I would hope, there should be left, as great an House, of the Cooke, in this Gentleman, as in your good Friend, Mr. Attorney General. But 

To Sir Robert Cecil, at his Being in France.

It may please your Honourable Lordship,

I know you will pardon, this my Observation, in writing to you, empty of matter, but out of the fulnes of my Love. I am sorry, that as your time of Absence, is prolonged, above that was esteemed at your Lordships setting forth; So now, upon this last Advertisement, received from you, there groweth an Opinion, amongst better than the vulgar, that the Difficulties also of your Negotiation, are encreased. But because, I know the Gravity, of your Nature, to be, not to hope lightly, it maketh me to despair the less. For you are Natus ad Ardua: And the Indisposition, of the Subject, may honour the Skill of the Workman. Sure I am, Judgement, and Diligence, shall not want in your Lordships Self: But this was not my purpose; Being only to signify unto your Lordship, my continual, and incessant, love towards you, thirsting
To the Queen.

[It]ing after your Return, for many respects. So I commend you ever, to the good preservation, of the Divine Majesty. Gracious

At your Honours Commandment, ever, and particularly.

To Sir Robert Cecil:

My singular good Lord,

The Argument of my Letters, to your Lordship, rather encres-

feth, than spendeth; it being only the Desire, I have, to fa-
lute you: which by your absence is more augmented, than aban-
ted. For me to write your Lordship Occurrences, either of Sea-

sh Braggs, or Irish Plaints, or Spanish Ruffing, or Low-

Country States, were, (besides that it is alienum quidam, from mine own humour,) To forget, to whom I write; save that you, that know true Ad-

vertisments, sometimes desire, and delight, to hear common Re-

ports; As we, that know, but common Reports, desire to hear the

Truth. But to leave such, as write to your Fortunes, I write to

your self, in regard of my love to you; you being as near to me,
in Hearts Blood, as in Blood of Deceit. This day, I had the

Contentment, to see your Father, upon Occasion: And methought,
his Lordships Countenance, was not decayed, nor his Cough ve-

hement; But his Voice, was as faint, all the while, as at first.

Thus withing your Lordship, a happy, and speedy Return, I com-

mend you, to the Divine Majesty.

To the Queen.

It may please your sacred Majesty, I would not fail, to give your Majesty, my most humble, and due

Thanks, for your Royal choice, of such Commissioners, in the

great Starre-chamber Caufe; Being persons, besides their Honour,
of such Science, and Integrity. By whose Report, I doubt not,
but your Majesty, will finde that, which you have been heretofore
enformed, (both by my Lord Keeper, and by some much meaner
person,) touching the Nature, of that Caufe, to be true. This

preparatory Hearing, doth already assaile me, with new, and en-
larged Offers, of Composition; which if I had born a mind, to

have hearkned unto, this matter had been quenched long agoe,
without any benefit to your Majesty. But your Majesty's Benefit,
is to me, in greater regard, than mine own particular: Trusting
to your Majesties gracious disposition, and Royal word, that your
To the Queen.

Majesty, will include me, in any extraordinary Course, of your Sovereign pleasure, which your Majesty shall like, to take, in this Cause. The other Man, I spoke to your Majesty of, may, within these two Terms, be in the same Strights, between your Majesties Justice, and Mercy, that this Man now is, if your Majesty be so pleased. So most humbly craving pardon, for my presuming, to seek access, for these few Lines, I recommend your Majesty, to the most precious Custody, and best preservation, of the Divine Majesty.

Your Majesties, most humble, and entirely obedient, Servant, and Subject.

To the Queen.

It may please your Majesty,

I wrote great simplicity in me, to look for better, than that your Majesty, should cast away my Letter, as you have done Me; were it not, that it is possible, your Majesty, will think to find somewhat in it, whereupon your displeasure may take hold; And so Indignation, may obtain that of you, which favour could not. Neither thought I, in reason, presume to offer, unto your Majesty, dead Lines, my self being excluded as I am; Were it not upon this only Argument, or Subject; Namely, to clear my self, in point of Duty, Duty, though my State, I lye buried in the Sand; And my Favour, be cast upon the Waters; And my Honours, be committed to the Wind; Yet standeth surely built, upon the Rock, and hath been, and ever shall be, unformed, and unattempted. And therefore, since the World, out of Errors, and your Majesty, I fear, out of Art, is pleased to put upon me; That I have so much, as any Election, or Will, in this my Absence, from Attendance, I cannot but leave, this Protestation, with your Majesty; That I am, and have been, merely a Patient, and take my self, one to obey, and execute your Majesty will. And indeed, Madam, I had never thought it possible, that your Majesty, could have so disinterested your self of me; Nor that you had been so perfect, in the Art of forgetting; Nor that after a Quintessence of Wormwood, your Majesty would have taken so large a Draught of Poppy; As to have passed, so many Summers, without all feeling of my Sufferings. But the only Comfort I have, is this, that I know your Majesty taketh Delight, and Contentment, in executing this Disgrace upon me. And since your Majesty, can find no other use of me, I am glad yet, I can serve for that. Thus making my most humble petition, to your Majesty, that in Justice, (Howsoever you may by Strangeness, untye, or by Violence, our Absender all other Knotts,) your Majesty, would not touch me, in that which is indissoluble;
To my Lord Treasurer Burghley.

That is, point of Duty: And that your Majesty will pardon, this my un-warranted presumption, of writing, being to such an end: I cease in all Humbleness;

Your Majesty's poor, and never so unworthy Servant,

Essex.

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To my Lord of Essex.

I: may please your Lordship,

That your Lordship is, in statu quo prior, no Man taketh greater gladness, than I do; The rather, because I assure myself, that of your Eclipse, as this hath been the longest, it shall be the last; As the Comical Poet faith; Neque illam tuam facie nostras, neque te illa, hoc ubi fit, libi non vivitur. For if I may be so bold, as to say what I think: I believe, neither your Lordship looked to have found her Majesty in all points, as you have done; Neither her Majesty per case, looked, to find your Lordship, as she hath done. And therefore, I hope, upon this experience, may grow more perfect Knowledge; and upon Knowledge, more true Content; VVhich I, for my part, do infinitely with, as accounting these Accidents to be like the Fifth Remora; which, though it be not great, yet hath it a hidden propriety, to hinder the failing of the ship. And therefore, as bearing unto your Lordship, after her Majesty, of all publick persons, the second Duty; I could not but signifie unto you, my affectionate Gratulation. And so, I commend your good Lordship, to the best preservation, of the Divine Majesty.

From Greyes Inne.

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To my Lord Treasurer Burghley.

My Lord,

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

My singular good Lord,

Your Lordships comfortable Relation, of her Majesties gracious Opinion, and Meaning towards me; though at that time, your leisure gave me not leave, to shew how I was affected therewith; yet upon every Representation thereof, it entered, and struck me, more deeply into me, as both my Nature, and Duty, preslret me, to return some Speech of Thankfulness. It must be, an exceeding Comfort, and Encouragement to me; setting forth, and putting my Self, in way, towards her Majesties service, to encounter with an Example, to private, and domestical, of her Majesties gracious Goodness, and Benignity; Being made good, and verified, in my Father, so far forth, as it extendeth, to his Posterity; Accepting them, as commended by his service, during the Nonage, (as I may term it,) of their own Deserts, I, for my part, am very well content, that I take least part, either of his Abilities of Minde, or of his Wordly Advancement; Both which he held, and received, the one of the Gift of God immediately, the other of her Majesties Gift: Yet, in the loyal, and earnest Affection, which he bare to her Majesties Service, I trust, my portion shall not be with the least, nor in proportion with the youngest Birth. For methinks, his President, should be a silent charge, upon his Blessing, unto us all, in our Degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her Majesties Service, both the life, and spending, of our Lives. True it is, that I must needs acknowledge my self, prepared, and furnished therein, with nothing, but with a Multitude, of Lacks, & Imperfections; But calling to mind, how diversely, and in what particular providence, God hath declared himself, to render the State, of her Majesties Affairs, I conceive, and gather hope, that those, whom he hath, in a manner, prelft, for her Majesties Service, by working, and imprinting in them, a single, and zealous minde, to beflow their duties therein; He will see them, accordingly appointed, of Sufficiency convenient, for the Rank, and Standing, where they shall be employed: So as under this her Majesties Blessing, I trust, to receive, a larger allowance, of Gods Graces. And as I may hope for this, so I can assure, and promise, for my Endeavour, that it shall not be in fault: But what Diligence, can entitle me unto, that, I doubt not, to recover. And now feeling, it hath pleased her Majesty, to take knowledge of this my Mind, and to vouchsafe, to a appropriate me, unto her Service, preventing any desert of mine, with her Princely liberality; First, I am humbly, to beseech your Lordship, to present to her Majesty, my more than humble Thanks, for the same: And withall, having regard, to mine own unworthines, to receive such Favour; And to the small possibility, in me, to satisfie, and answer, what her Majesty concei-
To Sir Robert Cecil.

ceiveth: I am moved to become, a most humble Sucer to her Majesty, that this Beneficiall, may be affixed, unto the other: which is: That if there appear in me, no such Towardness, of Service, as it may be her Majesty, doth benignly value, and afflis me at, by reason of my sundry wants, and the disadvantage of my Nature, being unapt to lay forth, the Simple Store, of those inferior Gifts, which God hath allotted unto me, most to view; yet that it would please her Excellent Majesty, not to account my Thankfulness, the left, for that my Disability is great, to shew it. But to sustain me, in her Majesty's gracious opinion, whereupon I long rest, and not upon any expectation of Defert, to proceed from my Self, towards the Contentment thereof. But if it shall please God, to send forth an occasion, whereby my faithful Affection, may be tried, I trust, it shall save me labour, for ever making, more protestation of it hereafter. In the mean time, howsoever be not made known to her Majesty, yet God knoweth it, through the daily solicitation; wherein I address my self unto him, in unfeigned prayer, for the Multiplying, of her Majesties prosperities. To your Lordship also, whole Recommendation, I know right well, hath been material, to advance, her Majesties good opinion of me, I can be but a bounden Servant. So much may I lastly premise, and purpose to be, seeing publicke, and private Bonds, vary not, but that my Service, to her Majesty, and your Lordships, draw in a Line. I wish therefore, to shew it, with as good proof, as I can say it, in good faith, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

It may please your good Honour;
I am apt enough, to comemm Mendacia Fame: yet it is with this Diffention, As Fame walks among Inferiours, and not as it hath Entrance into some Ears. And yet, nevertheless, in that kinde also, I intend to avoid a suspeitious silence, but not to make any base Apology. It is blown about the Town, that I should give opinion, touching my Lord of Essex Cause; First, that it was a Premunire; And now last, that it reached to High Treason. And this Opinion, should be given, in opposition, to the Opinion, of the Lord Chief Justice, and of Mr. Attorney General. Sir, I thank God, whatsoever Opinion, my Head serveth me to deliver, to her Majesty, being asked, My Heart serveth me to maintain, the same honest Duty, directing me, and assisting me. But the utter untruth of this Report, God, and the Queen can witness: And the Improbability of it, every Man that hath Wit, more or lefs, can conceive. The Root of this, I discern to be, not so much, a light, and
To the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,  
I

Prentuce, according to the Ceremony, and good manner of the Times, and my accustomed Duty, in all Humbleness, to present your Majesty, with a suitable Gift; Almost as far as answering my Mind, as far as with your Greatness; And therewith with, that we may continue to reckon on, and ever, your Majesties happy years of Reign: And they that reckon upon any other Hopes, I would they should reckon short, and to their Cost. And so craving pardon, most humbly, I commend your Majesty, to the preservation, of the Divine Goodness.

To the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,  
I

Most humbly entreat your Majesty, not to impute my absence, to any weakness of mind, or unworthiness. But I assure your Majesty, I do find Envy bearing so strongly upon me, standing as I do, (if this be to stand,) as it were not Strength of Mind, but Stupidity, if I should not decline the Occasions; Except I could do your Majesty more Service, than I can, any wayes discern, that I am able to doe. My Course towards your Majesty, (God is my witness,) hath been pure, and unleavened: And never would Gentleman, (as I am persuaded,) had a deeper, and truer desire, and care of your glory, your safety, your Repose of Mind, your service: Wherein, if I have exceeded, my outward vocation, I most hum-
humbly crave your Majesty's pardon, for my presumption. On the other side, if I have come short, of my inward vocation, I most humbly crave God's pardon, for quenching the Spirit. But in this mind, I find such solitudes, and want of comfort; which I judge to be, because I take Duty too exactly, and not according to the Dreggs, of this Age; wherein the old Aniiternes, thought never be more truly sung; Totus mundus in maligno positus est. My Life hath been threatened, and my Name libelled, which I count an Honor, But these are the practices of those, whose despair is dangerous; But yet not so dangerous as their Hopes: Or else the Devices of some, that would put out, all your Majesty's lights, and fall on reckoning, how many years you have reigned; which I befeech our blessed Saviour may be doubled; And that I may never live, to see, any Eclipse of your glory, Interruption of safety, or Indisposition of your person; which I commend to the Divine Majesty, who keep you, and forthihe you.

To my Lord Hen. Howard.

My Lord,

There be very few besides your self, to whom I would perform this Respect. For I contemn Mendacia Fame, as it walkes among Inferiours; Though I neglect it not, as it may have entrance, into some Eare. For your Lordships Love, rooted upon good opinion, I esteem it highly, because I have raited of the Fruits of it; And we both have taifted of the best waters, in my account, to knit minds together. There is shaped a Tale, in London's Forge, that beateth apace at this time; That I should deliver opinion, to the Queen, in my Lord of Ejsx caue. First, that it was preeminens; And now laft, that it was High Treafon; And this opinion, to be in opposition, and Encounter, of the Lord chief Justices Opinion, and the Attorney Generals. My Lord, (I thank God,) my wit serve me not, to deliver any Opinion, to the Queen, which my Stomach, serve me not, to maintain: One, and the fame, Confidence of Duty, guiding me, and fortifying me. But the untruth of this Fable, God, and my Sovereign, can witneffe; And there I leave it: Knowing no more Remedy against lies, than others doe against libells. The Root, no question of it, is partly, some light-headed Envy, at my Accesses to her Majesty; Which being begun, and continued, since my childhood, as long as her Majesty, I shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those, that shall think the contrary. And another Reason is, the Aperition of this Tale; And the Envy thereof, upon some greater Man, in regard of my Nearneffe. And therefore, (my Lord,) I pray you, answer for me, to any person, that you think worthy, your own Reply, and my defence.
fence. For my Lord of Essex, I am not servile to him, having regard to my superiours Duty. I have been much bound unto him. And on the other side, I have spent more time, and more thoughts about his well-doings, than I ever did about mine own. I pray God, you his Friends, amongst you, be in the right. Nulla Remedia tam factum dolorem, quam quaesit salsatia. For my part, I have deferred better, than to have my Name, objected to Envy, or my Life, to a Ruffians violence. But I have the privy Coat, of a good Conscience. I am sure, these Courtes, and Brutes, hurt my Lord more than all. So having written to your Lordship, I desire exceedingly, to be preferred, in your good Opinion, and Love. And so leave you, to God's Goodness.

The Earl of Essex Letter, to the Councill, at his Embarkung for Spain. June 1596.

My very good Lords;

Having taken order, for all things, that belong to our Land-Forces; And staying onely, till the Shippes be ready, to take in our Souldiers, I am come aboard, as well to draw other Men, by my example, to leave the thore; As to have time, and leasure, to ask account of my self, what other duty I have to do, besides the Governing of those Troupes; And the using of them to good pur- pose. In which Meditation, as I first study, to please my most gracious Sovereign, as well as to serve her; So my next care is, to leave your Lordships well satisfied, of my past Carriage, since I was nominated to this Service; And apt, to make favourable Con- struction, of what I shall do hereafter.

In my past Carriage, I will neither plead Merit, nor Excuse Imperfections: For whatsoever I shall be able to do, I know, is leste than I owe; And besides, my Faults, my very Faith, and Zeal, (which are the best things in me,;) do make me commit Errors. But I would fain, approve the Matter it self, of undertaking this service, to have been good, howsoever my former have been erroneous; Or at least, my Intent, and Ends, unblame-able, though my Judgement were faulty. Your Lordships know, it hath been the Wisdome of all Times, rather to at- tempt, and do something, in another Country, than to attend an Enemy, and be in danger much, in our own. And if this Rule, among the Ancients, was generally held true, it might be better allowed of us, in particular cases, where a State, little in Territory, not extraordinarily rich, and defended onely with it self, shall have to doe, with another State, that hath Ma- ny, and ample Dominions, the Treasure of the Indies, and all the Mercenaries, of Christendome, to serve it. For we have, as the Athen-
en had, with the auncient usurping Philip's Prelium Facile, Bellum Difficile. Therefore, it is our Disadvantage, to draw the Warr into Length. And if any Man, in this Kingdom, should be allow-
ed, to perfwade to prevention; he might be one, that saw the Spaniard at home, apprehend an Invasion, with greater Terrour, than he makes it abroad: And that was a Witness, how an Handfull of Men, neither armed, victualled, nor ordered, as they should be, landed, marched, and had done what they lifted, if either the Ships had come up, or they had had any provisions, to make a Hole in a Wall, or to break open a Gate. But though the Counfel be good for some States, and for ours, at some times, yet the Oppor-
tunities ought to be watched, and it must appear; that this it is, which is now taken. The Opportunity, for such Service, I take to be, when either the Enemy, may receive the most hurt; Or when he is likelyest, to attempt against us, if he be not empa-
ached. The Hurt, that our Estate should seek, to doe him, is; To intercept his Treasure, whereby we shall cut his Sinners, and make Warr upon him, with his own Money; And to beat, or at least difcontinew him, from the Sea, whereby her Majesty shall be, both secured from his Invaions, and become Mistress of the Sea; which is the Greatnes, that the Queen of an Island, should most aspire unto. In matter of Profit, we may, this Journey, most hurt him, and benefit our Selves; Since he hath, (as is agreed on by all Men,) more Caracks, to come home now, than ever any year before. Besides many good Advantages, which will be offer-
ed, if we command the Coast. And to give him a Blow, and dis-
counrenance him by Sea, now is the Time, when he hath declared his Ambition, to command the Seas; And yet, so divided his Fleets; Some appointed to be set out, and yet scant in readiness; others upon point of Comming home, and not fit to defend them-
selves, if either they be met at Sea, or found in Harbour; And all so dispers'd, in several places, as if at any time, we might doe good, that way, it is now. And whether he will make Warr up-
on us, if we let him alone; Let his Solicitations, Offers, and Gifts to the Rebels of Ireland; His befeiging, and winning of Ca-
rais, and those parts of France, that front upon us; And his strengthening himself by Sea, by so many means; Let these things (I say,) tell us. So as, if we will, at any time, allow the Coun-
fel of prevention, to be reasonable, we must now confess it, to be opportune. But whatsoever the Counfel were, I am not to be charged with it. For as I was not the Contriver, nor Offerer, of the Project, so if I had refused to joyn with him, that did invite me to it, I should have been thought, both Incomparable, and Backward, in her Majesty's Service. I say not this, for that I think the Action such, as it were Disadvantage, to be thought the Projector of it; But I say, and say truly, that my Lord Admi-
ral devised it, presented it to her Majesty, and had as well the Ap-
pro
probation of her Majesty, and the Assent of such of your Lordsips, as were acquainted with it; as my Promise to goe with him. One thing, (I confes,) I above all Men, am to be charged withall: That is; That when her Majesties, the Cities of London, and the States of the Low-Countries charge was past, the Men levied, and marching, to the Rendez-vous; I could not see, how with her Majesties Honour, and Safety, the Journey might be broken. Wherein, although I should be carried with Passion, yet I pray your Lordsips consider, who, almost, that had been in my Cafe, named to such an Action, voiced throughout Christendom, and engaged in it, as much as I was worth; And being the Instrument, of drawing, more voluntary Men, of their own charge, than ever was seen thefe many years: Who (I fay,) would not have been fo affected? But farr be it from me, in an Action, of this importance, to weigh my Self, or my particular Fortunes. I muft befeech your Lordsips, to remember, that I was, from time to time, warrant- ed, by all your opinions, delivered both amongst your felvcs, and to her Majefy: Which riche you all, to allow the Counfcl. And that being graunted, your Lordsips, will call that Zeal, which make a Man confiant, in a good Counfcl, that would be Paffion, in an evil, or a doubtful. I confes, her Majesty, offered us Recompence, for all our charges and loffes. But, (my Lords,) I pray your Lordsips consider, how many Things, I fhould have fold, at once, for money. I will leave mine own reputation as too small a Matter to be mentioned. But I fhould have fold; The Honour of her Majesty; The Safety of the State; The Contentment of her Confederates; The Fortune and Hope, of many my poor Country-Men; And The Possibility, of giving a Blow, to that Enemy, that ought ever to be hateful, to all true English Hearts. I shou'd have fold all this, for private profit. Therefore, though I ask pardon of her Majesty, and pray your Lordsips, to meditate it for me, that I was carried by this Zeal so far, that I forgot those Reverend Forms, which I fhould have used; yet I had rather, have my Heart, out of my Body, than this Zeal, out of my Heart. And now, as I have laid before your Lordsips, my past carriage, and entering into this Action; So I befeech your Lordsips, give me leave, to prepare you, to a favourable Conftitution, of that, which I shall doe hereafter. In which Sure, I am refolved, neither to plead the Hazarding of Life, nor spending of my Subfance, in a Publick Service; To the end, that I might find your Lordsips, (who are publick Persons,) more favourable Judges: But will con- fefs, that I receive, fo much Favour, and Honour, by this Truth, and Employment, as when I have done all I can, I fhall still be behind hand. This Sure only I make, that your Lordsips, will neither have too great an Expectation, of our Actions, nor too little; Left all we doe, seem either Nothing, or to be done by Chance. I know, we muft be try'd, to doe no more, than that be
for her Majesty Service, nor less. In which straight way, though it be hard for so weak a Man as my Self, to walk upright, yet the Example of our raw Souldiers, may comfort, an insufficient General. For they, till they grow perfect, in all their Orders, and Motions, are to afraid to be out, and with such a continual heedfulness, observe, both themselves, and those that are near them, that they doe keep, almost, as good order, at the first, as ever after. I am sure, I am as distrustful of my Self, as they. And because I have more Sense of Duty, I shall be more Industrious. For Sea Service, the Judgement of my Honourable Companion, shall be my Companys. And for Land, his Affront, and the Advice of those her Majesty hath named, as Counsellors at Warr, shall be my Warranties. It will be Honour to her Majesty, and a great Affront to her State, if we either bring home wealth, or give the King of Spain, a blow by Sea. But to have made a continual Diversion, and to have left, as it were, a Thorn, sticking in his Foot, had been a Work worthy, of such a Queen, and of such a Preparation. For then, her Majesty should have heard no more, of his Intentions for Ireland, and Attempts upon the Coast of France; Or his drawing, of Ships, or Galleys, into thefe Narrow Seas; But should at once, have delivered all Christendom, from his fearfull Subversion. Wherein, as She had been great in Fame, for such a general preservation; So she had been as great in Power, in making, all the Enemies of Spain, in Christendom, to depend upon Her, She should be Head of the Party; She onely might be said, to make the Warrs with Spain, because the made them to purpose; And they all, but as her Assistants, and Dependants, And lastly, as the End of the Warrs is Peace; So she might have had Peace, when she would, and with what Conditions she would, and have included, or left out, whom she would. For the only, by this course, shoulel force him, to with for Peace, and she had the means in her hands, to make the Conditions. And as easie it had been, to have done this, as to have performed letter Services. The Objections against this, will be, Hazard, and Charge. Hazard, to hold any Thing of his, that is so Mighty a King; And Charge, to lend such Supplies, from time to time, as will be needfull. For Hazard, It is not the Hazard, of the State, or the Whole, as are the Hazards, of a Defence Warr, whensoever we are enforced to fight: But it is onely, a Hazard of some few, and such Commanders, as shall be set out, for such a Service. And those also, that shall be so hazarded, shall be in leffe danger, than if they were put, into any Frontie Places, of France, or of the Low Countries. For they should not be left, in any part of the Main, or Continent of Spain, or Portugal, where the Enemy might bring an Army, to attempt them; (Though I doubt not, but after he had once tried, what it were, to besiege two or three thoufand English, in a place, well fortified, and where they had a Port open, he would grow quickly
quickly weary, of those Attempts; But they should be so lodged, as the Seat, and Strength, of the place, should warrant their Safety; So that, to pull her Majesty's Men, out of it, should be a harder Task, than to conquer any Country, that stands on firm land, by him: And to let English quietly posse, it, should so much prejudice him, as he were not able to endure it. And for Charge, there need not so much be expended, but that it might easily be born. And the Places being well chosen, and the War well conducted, in a short time, there would not onely arise enough, to pay the Charge; But great Profit to her Majesty, and wealth to our Country, would grow, from the place, that should be held. For in a short time, a great part, of the Golden Indian Stream, might be turned, from Spain, to England; And her Majesty be made, to give Law, to all the World by Sea, without her Charge. Besides, this Fearsfull Enemy, which is now a Terror, to all Christians, should be so weakened, in Strength, Reputation, and Purse, as her Majesty should, for ever after, have an easie Enemy of him. It may be your Lordships will desire, to know the Place, that should be attempted; The Means, first to take it, then to hold it; The Commodity, or Advantage, that might grow, to this Estate by it. But that, with your Lordships leave, shall be reserved till my Next. This is onely to beseech you, for our dear Sovereigns sake, for the Glory, and Welfare, of Her, and her Estate, that you will think upon this general Propoition. And if your Lordships find it reasonable, that you will move it to the Queen: By whom if I be commanded, to set down the Hypothesis, or to descend unto particulars, I will offer my Project, with this Condition, that if I advise any Thing, that the Council of War, shall think dangerous, it may be rejected: Or if my self be Actour in any Thing, belonging to this Project, wherein her Majesty receives dishonour, that I may answer it, with my Life. And yet your Lordships know, I am matched with those, in whom I have no particular Interest; But I must attribute, their Assenting to me, to my good hap, to take the better part. In my Lord, with whom I am joyned, I find so much Honour, and Service, as I doubt not, but our Unity in Affection, will make an Unity in Counsel, Action, and Government. I have troubled your Lordships, with a tedious Letter, begun in a Day of Leasure, and finished in the midst, of our troublesome Business. I pray your Lordships, pardon the Errors in it; And keep so honourable an Opinion of me, as I be not condemned by you, upon any Complaints, Advertisements, or Reports, till I have given anwer to them. For as the Nature of my Place, is subject to Envy, and Detraction; So a little Body, full of sharp Humours, is hardly kept in Temper. And all the discontented Humours, of an Army, do make their greatest Quarrell, to him that commands the Army; Not so much for his Faults, as for because he bridles theirs. And so com-
To my Lord of Essex, from Mr. Bacon.

Mending your good Lordships, to God's Divine protection, I rest;

At your Lordships commandment,
Robert Essex.

To my Lord of Essex, from Mr. Bacon.

My singular Lord;
I will no longer, deliver part of that, which I meant to have said, to your Lordship, at Barnhome, from the Exordium, which I then made. Whereunto I will only add this; That I humbly desire your Lordship, before you give audience, to my poor Advice, to look about, even jealously a little, if you will, and to consider: First, whether I have not reason to think, that your Fortune comprehended mine: Next, whether I shift my Council, and do not confide in the; For I am persuaded, there are some, would give you the same Council now, which I shalld, but that they should derogate from that, which they have said heretofore: Thirdly, whether you have taken a hurt, at any time, by my carefull and Devoted Council: For although, I remember well, your Lordship once told me, that you having submitted, upon my well-meaned Motion, at Nonfuch, (the place, where you renewed a Treaty, with her Majesty, of oblique kindnefs), the had taken advantage of it; yet I suppose, you do since believe, that it did much attempt a cold Malignant Humour, then growing upon her Majesty, toward your Lordship, and hath done you good in consequence. And for my being against it, now lately, that you should not estrange your fel, although I give place to none, in true Gratitude; yet neither do I repent me of late Council; Neither do I judge of the whole Play, by the First Act. But whether I counsel you the best, or for the best, Duty bindeth me, to offer you, my wishes. I said to your Lordship, last time; Marths, Marths, attendis ad phalma, unus sufficit. Winr the Queen; If this be not the Beginning, of any other Course, I see no end. And I will not now speak, of Favour of Affection, but of other Correspondences, and Agreeableness; which, whensoever it shall be conjointed, with the other of Affection, I durst wager my life, (let them make what Pro- fopoppus they will, of her Majesty's Nature;) That in you, she will come to the Question of; Quid sit Homo, quem Rex vult honorare? But how is it now? A Man, of a Nature, not to be ruled: That hath the Advantage, of my Affection, and knoweth it; Of an Estate, not grounded to his Greatness; Of a popular Reputation; Of a Military Dependence: I demand, whether there can be a more dangerous Image, than this, repreftented to any Monarch living; Much more to a Lady, and of her Majesty's Apprehension; And...
is it not more evident, than Demonstration itself, that whilst this Impression continues, in her Majesty's Breast, you can find, no other Condition, than Inventions, to keep your Estate, bare, and low; Crosting, and Disgracing your Actions; Extenuating, and Blatting of your Merit; Carping with Contempt, at your Nature, and Fashions; Breeding, nourishing, and fortifying, such Instruments, as are most Factious against you; Reputes, and Scorns, of your Friends, and Dependents, that are true, andheedful; winning, and inveigling away from you, such as are Flexible, and wavering: Thrusting you into odious Employments, and Offices, to supplant your Reputation; Abusing you, and Feeding you, with Dalliances, and Demonstrations, to divert you, from Descending, into the serious Consideration, of your own Cafe, yea, and perhaps Venturing you, in perilous, and desperate, Enterprises. Herein, it may please your Lordship, to understand me; For I mean nothing less, than that these Things, should be plotted, and intended, as in her Majesty's Royal Mind, towards you; I know the Excellency, of her Nature, too well. But I say, wherefoever the formerly described Impression, is taken, in any Kings Breast, towards a Subject, these other recited Inconveniences, must of necessity, of politic consequence, follow; In respect, of such Instruments, as are never failing, about Princes: which spy into their Humours, and Conceits, and second them; And not only second them, but in seconding encroafe them: Yea and, many times, without their knowledge, pursuie them, further than Themselves would. Your Lordship, will ask the Question, wherewith the Athenians, were wont to interrupt their Orators, when they exaggerated their dangers; Quid eigitum agendum est?

I will tell your Lordship, Que mibi nunc in mentem veniunt; Supposing, nevertheless, that your Self, out of your own Wisdom, upon the Cafe, with this Plainness, and Liberty, represented to you; will finde out, better Expedients, and Remedies. I with a Cure applied, to every, of the five former Impressions, which I will take, not in order, but as I think, they are of weight.

For the removing the Impression, of your Nature, to be Opinionable, and not Rutable: First, and above all things, I wish, that all Matters pass, which cannot be revoked, your Lordship would turn altogether, upon Infatisfaction, and not upon your Nature, or proper Disposition. This String you cannot, upon every apt occasion, harp upon too much. Next, whereas I have noted you, to fly, and avoid, (in some respect mildly,) the Resemblance, or Imitation, of my Lord of Leicester, and my Lord Chancellor Hatton; yet I am persuaded, (howsoever I with your Lordship, as distant, as you are, from them, in Points of Favour, Integrity, Magnanimity, and Merit;) That it will doe you much good, between the Queen, and you, to allege them, (as oft as you finde occasion,) for Authors, and Patterns. For I doe not know, a readier mean, to make
make her Majesty think, you are in your right way. Thirdly, when at any time, your Lordship, upon occasion, happen in Speeches, to doe her Majesty right, (for there is no such Matter, as Flattery, amongst you all,) I fear, you handle it, Magis in speciem adorna-tis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris. So that a Man, may read Formality, in your Countenance; Whereas your Lordship should doe it, familiarly, Et oratione fidè. Fourthly, your Lordship, should never be, without some Particulars afoot, which you should seem to pursue, with Earnestness, and Affection; And then let them fall, upon taking Knowledge, of her Majesties Opposition, and Dislike. Of which, the weightiefar Sort may be, if your Lordship offer to labour, in the behalf of some, that you favour, for some of the Places, now voyd; Chusing such a Subject, as you think her Majesty, is like to oppofo unto: And if you will say, that this is, Conjuníitum cum aliena Invidia; I will not answer; Hac non aliter coniubunt; But I say; Commendation from so good a Mouth, doth not hurt a Man, though you prevail not. A lefs weighty Sort of Particulars, may be, the Pretence of some Journeys, which, at her Majesties request, your Lordship mought relinquiqui; As if you would pretend a Journey, to see your Living, and Estate, towards Wales, or the like; For as for great Foreign Journeys, of Employment, and Service, it standeth not with your Gravity, to play, or Stratageme, with them. And the lightest sort of particulars, which yet are not to be neglected, are, in your Habits, Apparel, Speeches, Gestures, and the like.

The Impression, of greatest prejudice, next, is that, of a Militar Dependance. VVherein, I cannot sufficiently wonder, at your Lordships course; That you say, the Wars are your Occupation; And goe on, in that course: Whereas, if I mought have advised your Lordship, you should have left that Person, at Plymouth; More than, when in Courfe, or in commending fit persons, for service for Wars, it had been in feafon. And here, (my Lord,) I pray miftake me not. I am not to play now, the Part of a Gown- man, that would frame you best, to mine own turn. I know what I owe you. I am infinitely glad of this last Journey, now it is past: The rather, because you may make, so Honourable a full Point, for a time. You have Property good enough, in that Greatnes. There is none can, of many years, ascende, near you, in competition. Besides, the Dispoiling of the Places, and Affairs, both, concerning the Wars, (you encreasing in other Greatnes,) will, of themselves, flow to you; which will preserve that Depen-dance, in full measure. It is a Thing, that of all Things, I would have you retain, the Times considered: And the Necessity of the Service, for other reason, I know none. But I say; Keep it in Substance, but abolith it in shewes, to the Queen. For her Majesty loveth Peace. Next she loveth not Charge. Thirdly, that kind of Dependance, maketh a Suspected Greatnes. Therefore
To my Lord of Essex, from Mr. Bacon.

Quadruplus agamem. Let that be a sleeping Honour a while; And cure the Queen's mind in that point. Therefore again, whereas I heard your Lordship designing to your self, the Earl Marshall's place, or the place of Master of the Ordinance, I did not, in my mind, so well like of either; Because of their Affinity, with a Maritall Greatness. But of the Place, now void, in my Judgment, and discretion, I would name you, to the place, of Lord Prizy Seal. For first, it is the Third Person, of the great Officers, of the Crown. Next, it hath a kind, of Super-Intendence, over the Secretary. It hath also an Affinity, with the Court of wards, in regard of the Fees, from the Liceries. And it is a fine Honour, quiet place, and worth a Thousand pounds by year. And my Lord Admiral's Father, had it, who was a Maritall Man. And it fits a Favourite, to carry her Majesty's Image in Seal, who beareth it, most express, in Heart. But my chief Reason is, that which I first alleged, to divert her Majesty, from this Impression, of a Maritall Greatness. In concurrence whereof, if your Lordship, shall not remit any thing of your former diligence, at the Star-chamber; If you shall continue, such Intelligences, as are worth the cherishing; If you shall pretend, to be as Bookish, and Contemplative, as ever you were; All these Courses, have both their Advantages, and uses in themselves otherwise, and serve exceeding aptly to this purpose. Whereunto, I add one Expedient more, stronger than all the rest; And for mine own confident Opinion, void of any prejudice, or danger of Diminution, of your Greatness; And that is, the Bringing in, of some Maritall Man, to be of the Council; Dealing directly with her Majesty in it; as for her Service, and your better assistance; Chusing nevertheless some Person, that may be known, not to come in against you, by any former Division. I judge the fittest, to be, my Lord Mount-joy, or my Lord Villoughby. And if your Lordship, see deeplier into it, than I do, that you would not have it done, in effect; Yet in my Opinion, you may serve your turn, by the pretence of it, and stay it nevertheless.

The Third Impression is, of a Popular Reputation; which, because it is a Thing, good in itself; being obtained as your Lordship obtained it, that is, Bonus Annum; And besides, Well governed, is one of the best Flowers, of your Greatness, both present, and to come; It would be handled tenderly. The only way is, to quench it Verbis, and not Rebus. And therefore to take all Occasions, to the Queen, to speak against Popularity, and Popular Courses, vehemently; And to take it in all others: But, nevertheless, to go on, in your Honourable Common-wealth Courses, as you do. And therefore, I will not advise you, to cure this, by dealing in Monopolies, or any Oppressions. Only, if in Parliament, your Lordship be forward for Treasure, in respect of the Wards, it becometh your Person well. And if her Majesty object Popularity to you at any time, I would say to her, A Parliament will shew that; And so feed her with Expectation.
To Sir Robert Cecil.

The Fourth Impression, of the Inequality, between your Estate of Mesnes, and your Greatness of Respect, is not to be neglected. For believe it, (my Lord,) that till her Majesty find you, careful of your Estate, she will not only think you, more like to continue, chargeable to her, but also have a Conceit, that you have higher Imaginations. The Remedies are; First, to profess it, in all speeches to her. Next, in such Sutes, wherein both Honour, Gift, and Profit, may be taken, to communicate freely with her Majesty, by way of enduring her, to grant, that it will be this Benefit to you, Lastly, to be plain with your Lordship; (for the Gentlemen are such, as I am beholding to;) Nothing can make the Queen, or the world, think so much, that you are come, to a provident Care, of your Estate, as the Altering of some of your Officers: Who, though they be as true to you, as One Hand to the Other; Yet Opinio Veritatemajor. But it, in respect of the Bonds, they may be entred into, for your Lordship, you cannot so well dismiss your self of them, this cannot be done, but with Time.

For the Fifth, and Last, which is, of the Advantage of a Favourite; As severed from the rest, it cannot hurt; So joyned with them, it maketh her Majesty, more fearfull, and shadowy, as not knowing her own strength. The only Remedy to this, is; To give way, to some other Favourites, as in particular you shall find, her Majesty enclin'd; So as the Subject hath no ill, nor dangerous Aspect, towards your self. For otherwise, who soever shall tell me, that you may not have singular use, of a Favourite, at your Devotion; I will say, he understandeth not the Queen's Affection, nor your Lordships Condition. And so I rest.

October 4, 1596.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

SIR,

Forbear not to put in Paper, as much as I thought, to have spoken to your Honour, too day, if I could have stay'd; Knowing, that if your Honour, should make other use of it, than is due to good meaning; And then I am perswaded you will; Yet to persons of Judgement, and that know me otherwise, it will rather appear, (as it is,) a precise Honesty, and this name, Suum cuique tribuere, than any Hollowness to any. It is my luck still, to be a kinsman to such Things, as I neither like in nature, nor would willingly meet with, in my Course; But yet cannot avoid, without shew of base Timorousness, or else of unkind, or suspicious strangeness.

Some Hiatus in the Copy.

And
To my Lord of Essex.

And I am of one Spirit still, I ever liked the Galenists, that deal with good Compositions; And not the Paracelsians, that deal with these fine Separations: And in Music, I ever loved easie Ayres, that goe full, all the parts together; And not these strange points, of Accord, and Discord. This I write not, I assure your Honour, officiously; Except it be, according to Tallies Offices; that is, Honestly, and Morally. For though, I thank God, I account upon the proceeding, in the Queen's Service, or not proceeding, both ways; And therefore, neither mean to fawn, nor retire; yet I naturally desire good opinion, with any Person, which for Fortune, or Spirit, is to be regarded; Much more with a Secretary of the Queen, and a Cousin Germain; And one, with whom, I have ever thought my Self, to have some sympathy, of Nature, though Accidents have not suffered it to appear. Thus not doubting of your Honourable Interpretation, and usage, of that I have written, I commend you, to the Divine preservation. From Grayes Inn.

To my Lord of Essex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I Pray God, her Majesty weighing, be not like the weight, of a Ballance; Grazia deossum, Lexia sursum. But I am as far, from being altered, in Devotion towards Her, as I am from Distraint, that she will be altered, in opinion towards me, when she knoweth me better. For my Self, I have left some Opinion, some Time, and some Means; This is my Account: But then, for Opinion, it is a Blast, that goeth, and commeth; For Time, it is true, it goeth, and commeth not; But yet I have learned, that it may be redeemed. For Means, I value that most; And the rather, because I am purposed, not to follow, the Practice of the Law: (If her Majesty command me, in any particular, I shall be ready, to do her, willing Service;) And my Reason is only, because it drinketh too much Time, which I have dedicated, to better purposes. But even, for that point of Estate, and Means, I partly lean, to Thales Opinion; That a Philosopher may be rich, if he will. Thus your Lordship seeth, how I comfort my Self: To the Encrease whereof, I would fain please my Self, to believe that to be true, which my Lord Treasurer writeth; Which is, that it is more, than a Philosopher, morally can digest. But without any such high Conceit, I esteem it, like the pulling out, of an Aching Tooth, which I remember, when I was a Child, and had little Philosophy; I was glad of, when it was done. For your Lordship, I doe think my Self, more beholding to you, than to any Man. And I say, I reckon my Self, as a Common; (Not Popular, but Common;) And as much, as is lawfull,
To my Lord of Essex.

My singular good Lord,

Your Lordships, so Honourable minding my poor Fortune, the last year, in the very Entrance, into that great Action, (which is a time of less leisure;) And in so liberal an Allowance, of your Care, as to write three Letters, to stir me up Friends, in your absence; Both, after a sort, warrant me, not to object to my Self, your present Quantity of affairs, whereby to silence my Self, from Petition of the like Favour. I brake, with your Lordship, my self, at the Tower; And I take it, my Brother, hath since renewed, the same Motion; Touching a Fortune, I was in thought to attempt, in Genere Oeconomico. In Genere Politico, certain Cross Winds, have blown contrary. My Sute to your Lordship is, for your several Letters, to be left with me, dormant, to the Gentlewoman, and either of her Parents. Wherein, I do not doubt, but as the Beams of your Favour, have often dissolved, the Coldness of my Fortune; So in this Argument, your Lordship will doe the like, with your Penn. My Desire is also, that your Lordship would vouchsafe unto me, as out of your care, a general Letter, to my Lord Keeper, for his Lordships holding me, from you, recommended; Both, in the Course, of my Practices, and in the Course, of my Employment, in her Majeistrys Service. Wherein, if your Lordship shall, in any Antithesis, or Relation, affirm, that his Lordship shall have no less Fruit of me, than of any other, whom he may cherish, I hope, your Lordship shall engage your Self, for no Impossibility. Lastly, and chiefly, I know not, whether I shall attain, to see your Lordship, before your Noble Journey: For Ceremonies, are Things, infinitely, inferior to my Love, and to my Zeal. This let me, with your allowance, say unto you, by Penn. It is true, that in my well-meaning Advices, out of my love to your Lordship, and, perhaps, out of the State, of mine own mind, I have sometimes periwaded, a Course differing: Ac tibi pro tua insigne falla placunt: Be it so: yet remember, that the Signing of your Name, is nothing, unless it be, to some good Patent, or Charter; whereby your Country may be endowed, with Good, and Benefit. Which I speak, both to move you, to preserve your Person, for further Merit, and Service of her Majesty, and your Country; And likewise, to refer this Action, to the same end, And so, in most true, and fervent,
To my Lord of Essex.

To my Lord of Canterbury.

To my Lord of Essex.

vent, prayers, I commend your Lordship, and your Work in hand, to the Preservation, and Conduct, of the Divine Majesty; So much the more watchful, as these Actions, doe, more manifestly, in them, though alike in Truth, depend upon his Divine Providence.

It may please your Grace;

I have considered the Objections, perused the Statutes, and framed the Alterations; Which I send; Still keeping myself, within the Brevity of a Letter, and Form of a Narration; Not entering, into a Form of Argument, or Disputation: For, in my poor Conceit, it is, somewhat, against the Majesty of Princes Actions, to make too curious, and striving Apologies; But rather, to let them forth plainly; And so, as there may appear an Harmony, and Constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another. And so I wish your Grace all prosperity. From my poor Lodging, this, &c.

Your Grace, most dutifully,

Pupil, and Servant.

My singular good Lord,

The Message, it pleased your Lordship, to send me, was to me delivered doubtfully. Whether your Lordship said, you would speak with me, at the Stare-chamber, or with Mr. Philip. If with me, it is needless; For Gratitude imposeth upon me Satisfaction; If with Mr. Philip, it will be too late; Because somewhat must (perchance) be done that day. This Doubt not solved, maketh me Write again; The rather, because, I did liberally, but yet privately affirm, your Lordship would write; Which if I make not good, it may be a Discouragement. Your Lordships letter, though it have the Subject, of Honour, and Justice, yet it shall have the Secrecy, of a Thing done, upon Affection. I shall ever, in a firm duty, submit my Occasions, though great, to your Lordships Respects, though small; And this is my Resolution; That when your Lordship doth for me, you shall encrease my Obligation; When you refuse to doe for me, you shall encrease my Merit. So leaving the Matter, wholly, to your Lordships pleasure, I commend your Lordship; to the preservation of the Divine Majesty. From Graves Inc.

Your Lordships ever most humbly bounden.
A CONFESSION OF THE FAITH:
WRITTEN,
By the Right Honourable,
FRANCIS BACON,
BARON of VERULAM,
VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

LONDON;
Printed by F. Leach, for William Lee, at the sign of the Turks-Head, in Fleetstreet, 1657.
A CONFESSION OF THE FAITH.

WRITTEN

By the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of Verulam, &c.

Believe, that Nothing is without beginning, but God: No Nature, no Matter, no Spirit, but one, onely, and the same God. That God, as he is Eternally Almighty, Onely Wife, Onely Good, in his Nature; So he is Eternally Father, Sonne, and Spirit, in Persons.

I believe, that God, is so Holy, Pure, and Jealous, as it is impossible for him, to be pleased in any Creature, though the Work of his own Hands: So that, neither Angel, Man, nor World, could stand, or can stand, one Moment, in his Eyes, without beholding the same, in the Face of a Mediator: And therefore, that before Him, with whom all Things are present, the Lamb of God, was slain, before all worlds: Without which eternall Counsell of his, it was impossible for Him, to have proceeded to any Work of Creation; But He should have
have enjoyed, the Blessed, and Individual Society, of three Persons, in Godhead, only, for ever.

But that, out of his Eternal, and Infinite, Goodness, and Love, purposing to become a Creature, and to communicate to his Creatures, He ordained, in his Eternall Counsell, that one Person, of the Godhead, should be united, to one Nature, and to one Particular of his Creatures; That so, in the Person, of the Mediator, the true Ladder, might be fixed, whereby God might descend to his Creatures, and his Creatures might ascend to God: So that God, by the Reconciliation, of the Mediator, turning his Countenance towards his Creatures, (though not in equal Light, and Degree,) made way, unto the Dispensation, of his most holy, and secret Will; whereby some of his Creatures, sought stand, and keep their state; Others sought, (possibly) fall, and be restored; And others sought fall, and not be restored, in their Estate, but yet remain in Being, though under Wrath, and Corruption: All with Respect, to the Mediator: Which is the great Mystery, and perfect Center, of all Gods wayes, with his Creatures: And unto which, all his other works, and Wonders, doth serve, and refer.

That he chose, (according to his good pleasure,) Man, to be that Creature, to whose Nature, the Person, of the Eternall Son of God, should be united: And amongst the Generations of Men, elected a small Flock, in whom, (by the Participation of Himself,) He purposed, to express, the Riches of his Glory: All the Ministration of Angels, Damnation of Devils, and Reprobates, and Univerfal Administration of all Creatures, and Dispensation of all Times, having no other End, but as the VVayes, and Ambages of God, to be further glorified in his Saints; who are one with their Head, the Mediator, who is one with God.

That by the Virtue of this his Eternall Counsell, He condescended of his own good pleasure, and according to the Times, and Seasons, to himself known, to become a Creature: And by his eternall Word, created all things: And by his eternall Spirit, doth comfort, and preserve them.

That he made all things, in their first Estate, Good: And removed from himself, the Beginning of all Evil, and Vanity, into the Liberty, of the Creature: But reserved, in himself, the Beginning, of all Reconciliation, to the Liberty of his Grace: Using, nevertheless, and turning, the Falling, and Defection of the Creatures, (which to his Preference was eternally known,) to make way to his eternall Counsell, touching a Mediator, and the VVork he purposed to accomplish in Him.

That God created Spirits, whereof some kept their standing, and others fell. He created Heavens, and Earth, and all their Armies, and Generations: And gave, unto them, content, and everlasting, Laws, which we call Nature; which is nothing, but the
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Laws of the Creation: which Laws, notwithstanding, have had three changes, or times; and are to have, a Fourth, or Last. The First, when the Matter of Heaven, and Earth, was created without forms: The Second, the Interim of Perfection, of every Days work; The Third, by the Curse; which, notwithstanding, was no new Creation; And the Last, at the End of the world, the Manner whereof is not yet fully revealed: So as the Laws of Nature, which now remain, and govern inviolably, till the end of the world, began to be in force, when God first rested from his works; and ceased to create; But received, a Revocation, in part, by the Curse; Since which Time, they change not.

That notwithstanding, God hath rested, and ceased from Creating, since the first Sabbath, yet notwithstanding, he doth accomplish, and fulfill his Divine Will, in all Things, great and small, singular, and general, as fully, and exactly, by Providence, as he could by Miracles, and new Creation; Though his working be not immediate, and direct, but by compas; Not violating Nature, which is his own Law, upon the Creature.

That, at the first, the Soul of Man, was not produced by Heaven, or Earth, but was breathed immediately from God; So that the Ways, and proceedings of God, with Spirits, are not included in Nature; That is, in the Laws, of Heaven, and Earth; But are referred to the Law, of his secret Will, and Grace; where-in God worketh still, and resteth not, from the Work of Redemption, as he resteth from the Work of Creation; But continueth working, till the end of the V world; What time, that work also, shall be accomplished, and an eternal Sabbath shall ensue. Likewise, that whenever God doth transcend, the Law of Nature, by Miracles, (which may ever seem, as new Creations,) He never commeth, to that point, or pass, but in regard of the work of Redemption, which is the greater, and whereto all God’s Signs, and Miracles, doe refer.

That God created Man in his own Image, in a Reasonable Soul, in Innocency, in Free-will, and in Sovereignty: That he gave him a Law, and Commandment, which was in his power to keep, but he kept it not: That Man made a total Defection from God, presuming to imagine, that the Commandments, and Prohibitions of God, were not the Rules, of Good and Evil; But that Good, and Evil, had their own principles, and beginnings: And lusted, after the Knowledge, of those imagined Beginnings: To the end, to depend no more upon God’s will, revealed, but upon himself, and his own Light, as a God: Than which, there could not be a Sin, more opposite, to the whole Law of God. That yet, notwithstanding, this great Sin, was not originally moved, by the Malice of Man, but was inflaminated, by the Suggestion, and Inditigation, of the Devil; who was the First Defected Creature; and fell of Malice, and not by Temptation.
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That upon the Fall of Man, Death, and Vanity, enter'd, by the Justice of God; And the Image of God, in Man, was defaced; And Heaven, and Earth, which were made for Mansuie, were subdued to Corruption, by his Fall; But then that instantly, and without Interruption of Time, after the word of Gods Law, became, through the Fall of Man, frustrate as to obedience, there succeed the greater words of the Promise; that the Righteousness of God, might be wrought by Faith.

That as well the Law of God, as the Word of his Promise, endure the fame for ever: But that they have been revealed, in several manners, according to the Dispensation, of Times. For the Law was first imprinted, in that Remnant of Light, of Nature, which was left after the Fall, being sufficient to accuse: Then it was more manifestly expressed, in the written Law; And was yet more opened, by the Prophets; And lastly expounded, in the true perfection, by the Son of God the great Prophet, and perfect Interpreter, as also Falsifier of the Law: That, likewise, the word of the Promise, was manifested, and revealed; First by immediate Inspiration, and Inspiration; After by Figures, which were of two Natures: The one, the Rites, and Ceremonies, of the Law; The other, the Continuall History, of the Old World, and Church of the Jews, which though it be literally True, yet is, pregnant of a perpetual Allegory, and Shadow, of the Work, of the Redemption; to follow. The former Promise, or Evangel, was more clearly revealed, and declared, by the Prophets; And then by the Son himself; And lastly, by the Holy Ghost, which illuminateth the Church, to the end of the world.

That, in the Fulness of Time, according to the Promise, and Oath, of a Chosen Lignage, descended, the blessed Seed of the woman, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and Saviour of the World: who was conceived, by the Power, and Overfadowing, of the Holy Ghost; And took Flesh of the Virgin Mary: That the word, did not only take Flesh, or was joyned to Flesh, but was made Flesh, though without Confusion of Substance, or Nature; So as the Eternal Son of God, and the ever-blessed Son of Mary, was one Person; So one, as the Blessed Virgin, may be truly, and Catholically called, Deipara, the Mother of God: So one, as there is no Unity in Universal Nature, not that of the Soul, and Body, of Man, so perfect: For the three Heavenly Virtues, (whereof that is the second,) exceed all Natural Virtues: That is to say; The Virtue, of the three Persons, in Godhead; The Unity, of God, and Man, in Christ; And the Unity, of Christ, and the Church; the Holy Ghost, being the worker, of both these latter Virtues; For by the Holy Ghost, was Christ Incarnate, and quickned, in Flesh; And by the Holy Ghost, is Man regenerate, and quickned, in Spirit.

That Jesus the Lord, became, in the Flesh, a Sacrificer, and Sacrifice for Sin; A Satisfaction, and Price, to the Justice of God; A Meriter
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riter, of Glory, and the Kingdom; A Pattern, of all Righteousness; A Preacher of the Word, which Himself was; A Finisher of the Ceremony; A Corner-Stone, to remove the Separation between, Jew, and Gentile; An Intercessor for the Church; A Lord of Nature, in his Miracles; A Conqueror, of Death, and the Power of Darkness, in his Resurrection; And that he fulfilled the whole Counsel of God; Performed all his Sacred Offices, and Anointing on Earth; Accomplished the whole Work of the Redemption, and Restitution of Man, to a State, Superior to the Angels; (whereas the State of Man, by Creation, was Inferior;) And reconciled and established, all Things, according to the Eternal Will, of the Father.

That in time, Jesus the Lord, was born, in the dayes of Herod; And suffered, under the Government, of Pontius Pilate, being Deputy of the Roman; And under the High Priesthood, of Caiaphas; And was betrayed by Judas, one of the twelve Apostles; And was crucified at Jerusalem; And after a true, and natural, Death, and his Body laid in the Sepulchre, the third day, He raised Himself, from the Bonds of Death, and arose, and shewed Himself, to many chosen Witnesses, by the space of divers dayes; And at the end of those dayes, in the light of many, ascended into Heaven; where he continueth his Intercession; And shall from thence, at the day appointed, come in greatest glory, to judge the world.

That the Sufferings, and Merits of Christ, as they are sufficient, to do away the Sins, of the whole world; so they are openly effectual to those, which are Regenerate by the Holy Ghost; Who breatheth where he will, of Free Grace; which Grace, as a Seed Incorruptible, quickeneth the Spirit of Man, and conceiveth him anew a Son of God, and Member of Christ: So that Christ, having Mans flesh, and Man having Christ's Spirit, there is an open passage, and Mutual Imputation; whereby Sin, and Wrath, was conveyed to Christ, from Man; And Merit, and Life, is conveyed to Man, from Christ: Which Seed of the Holy Ghost, first figureth in us, the Image of Christ's Spirit, or crucified, through a lively Faith; And then renewed in us, the Image of God, in Holiness, and Charity; though both imperfectly, and in degrees farre differing, even in Gods Eled; As well, in regard of the Fire of the Spirit, as of the Illumination thereof, which is, more, or lesse, in a large proportion; Asnamely, in the Church before Christ; Which yet, notwithstanding, was partaker, of one, and the same Salvation, with us. And of one, and the same Means, of Salvation, with us.

That the work of the Spirit, though it be not tyed, to any Means, in Heaven, or Earth, yet it is ordinarily dispensed, by the Preaching of the Word; The Administration of the Sacraments; The Covenants of the Fathers, upon the Children; Prayer; Reading; The Ceremonies of the Church; The Society of the Gods; The Cross, and Afflictions; Gods Benefits; His Judgments upon others; Miracles; The Contemplation of his Creatures; All which, (though some be more prin-


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cipall, yGod with, as the Means of Vocation, and Conversion of his Elect; Not derogating from his power, to call immediately by his Grace; and at all Hours and Moments, of the Day; (That is, of Mars Life,) according to his good pleasure.

That the Word of God, whereby his will is revealed, continued in Revelation, and Tradition, until Moses; And that the Scriptures, were from Moses Time, to the times of the Apostles, and Evangelists; In whose Age, after the coming of the Holy Ghost, the Teacher of all Truth, the Book of the Scriptures, was shut, and closed, so as not to receive any new Addition; And that the Church, hath no power, over the Scriptures, to teach, or command any Thing, contrary to the written Word; But is as the Ark, wherein the Tables of the First Testament were kept, and preserved; That is to say, the Church, hath only the Calf-Body, and Deliverer, or, of the Scriptures, committed unto the same; Together with the Interpretation of them, but such Only, as is conceived from themselves.

That there is an Universal, or Catholic Church of God, dispersed over the face of the Earth; which is Christ's Spouse, and Christ's Body; Being gathered, of the Fathers of the Old World, of the Church of the Jews, of the Spirit, of the Faithfull, Dissolved, and the Spirit, of the Faithfull, Militant, and of the Names, yet to be born, which are already written, in the Book of Life. That there is also, a Visible Church, distinguished by the outward Works of God's Covenant, and the Receiving of the Holy Doctrine, with the Life of the Mysteries of God, and the Invocation, and Sanification of his Holy Name. That there is also an Holy Succession, in the Prophets, of the New Testament, and Fathers of the Church, from the time, of the Apostles, and Disciples, which saw our Saviour in the Flesh, unto the Consummation, of the work of the Ministry, which persons, are called from God, by Gift, or inward Anointing; And the Vocation of God, followed by an outward Calling, and Ordination of the Church.

I believe, that the Souls of those that dye in the Lord, are blessed, and rest from their Labours, and enjoy the Sight of God; yet so, as they are in Expectation of further Revelation of their Glory, in the last Day. At which time, all Flesh of Man, shall arise, and be changed, and shall appear, and receive, from Jesus Christ, his Eternall Judgement; And the Glory, of the Saints, shall then be full; And the Kingdom, shall be given up, to God the Father; From which Time, all things shall continue for ever, in that Being, and State, which then they shall receive; So as there are three Times, (if Times they may be called,) or parts of Eternity. The first, the Time before Beginnings, when the Godhead was only, without the Being, of any Creature; The Second, the Time of the Mystery, which continueth from the Creation, to the Dissolution of the World; And the Third, the Time, of the Revelation, of the Sons of God; which Time is the last, and is everlasting without change.

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