Reliquiae Wottonianaæ.

OR,

A COLLECTION

OF LIVES,

LETTERS,

POEMS;

with

CHARACTERS

OF

Sundry Personages:

And other

Incomparable Pieces

of Language and Art.

By The curious P e n s i l of

the Ever Memorable

Sr Henry Wotton Kt,

Late,

Provost of Eton Colledg.

L O N D O N,

Printed by Thomas Maxey, for R. Marriot, G. Bedel, and T. Garthwait. 1651.
To the Right Honorable
the Lady MARY WOLLTON
Exemplar, and Tape-Reader
Hope of the Human Race

KATHERINE SEAMARK
MINISTER OF THE WORD
AND THE HINT

Woolen, linen, or silk, as approved in the
prevailing fashion of the time

For Profit, to be sold (in)

This page is from an old book and contains text that is difficult to read due to the age of the paper and the style of writing. The text appears to be a message or a letter, possibly addressing a lady by name, and it contains historical references and language.
To the Right Honourable,
The Lady MARY WOTTON
Baronness, and To her Three
Noble Daughters,

Katherin Stanhop.
The Lady Margaret Tufton.
Ann Hales.

Since Books seeme by custome to Challenge a dedicatio, Justice would not allow, that what either was, or concern'd Sir Henry Wotton, should be appropriated to any other Persons; Not only for that nearnesse of Aliance and Blood (by which you may challenge a civil right to what
The Epistle Dedicatory.

what was his; but, by a title of that intireness of Affection, which was in you to each other, when Sir Henry Wotton had a being upon Earth.

And since yours was a Friendship made up of generous Principles, as I cannot doubt but these endeavors to preserve his Memory will be acceptable to all that lov'd him; so especially to you: from whom I have had such encouragements as hath imboldned me to this Dedicatign.

Which you are most humbly intreated may be accepted from

Your very real servant

J. W.
An Advertisement to
the Reader.

Reader,

Ouching the value and Mer-
rit of the Author, it being
farr above our abilities to
speake of him in Termes e-
quall to his deserving; it
shall be sufficient to acquaint thee with
these Testimonies.

I. That his Work of Architecture is
Translated into Latin, printed with the
Great Vitruvius, and this Elogy pre-
fixed,

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS
Anglo Cantianus, Thoma Optimi Vili
Filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo Jaco-
bo I, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, &c.
Rege, in Equestrem Titulum ascitus;
ejusdemque ter ad Remp. VENETAM
Legatus Odinarins; semel ad Confoede-
ratam
ratarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacens negotio; bis ad Carolum Emmanuelam Sabaudiæ Ducem; semel ad unitos Superioris Germaniae Principes in Conventu Heilbrunnensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wirtembergensem, Civitates Imperiales Argentinam Ulmannique, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum II. Legatus extraordinarius; Tandem hoc didicit,

ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES FIERI QUIESCENDO.

II. The second Testimony is that of the Great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancellor Bacon, who thought it not beneath Him to collect some of the Apothegmes and sayings of this Author.

III. Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of England sets to his seale also in a passage, thus; (Speaking of men of note in King James his Time)—Sir Henry Wotton was sent Embassador into Italy—and indeed the Kingdome yeelded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousnesse of the Italian wits. A man of so able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himselfe much wrong and the Kingdome
An account of the Worke.

a great deale more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Now of the worke it selfe, Thou shalt find in it many curious things about

Architecture. p.201.
Picture p.273.l.12.
Sculpture, p.273.l.25.
Landskip. p.413.l.20.
Magneticall experiments. p.318.l.13
Gardens. p.295.
Fountains ibidem.
Groves p.298.l.17.
Aviaries. p.299.
Conservatories of rare beasts. ibid.
Fish-ponds. ibid.

And also many observations of the Mysteries and Laberinths in Courts and States, delivered in Lives, Letters to, and Characters of sundry Personages, as,

Observations and Characters (which He tooke in his Employment abroad) of these Dukes of Venice.

Giovanni Bembo. p.176.l.5.
Priuli. p.182.l.3.
Giustiniano. p.182.l.1.
Nani.
An account of the Worke.

Nanni

Donato

Ferdinand Grand Duke of Tuscany

An Account of Foscarini

Of the Arch-Duke Leopold

Of Count Tampier

Artists and Famous men mentioned.

Tyco-brabe

Kepler

Aldrovandus

Albert Durer

Count Bevilacqua

Leon Alberti.

Philip D'Orme

Antonio Labaca cenfured

Palladio

Michael Angelo B.

Vassari

Sir Henry Fanshaw

Observations (at home) of the Courts of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, with Lives and Characters of

Earl of Essex.
An account of the Workes.

Duke of Buckingham  p.4 & p.73.
Of K. Charles  p.129

Characters and Observations of
Queen Elizabeth  p.45.1.9.
E. of Leicester  p.2. & p.23.1.11.
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M. Anthony Bacon  p.12.1.27.
The Cecillians  p.25.1.10.
Walter Devereux  p.20.1.5.
Sir Philip Sidney  p.304.1.20.
Sir Walter Raleigh  p.3.1.14.
Secretary Cuff  p.31.1.24.
Of K. James  p.5.1.3.p.417.1.11
p.94.1.22.
Q. Mary  p.86.1.12.p.148.1.20
Q. of Bohemta  p.156.1.7
Duke of Buck.  p.73.
Spanish Journey  p.81.1.20
L. Treasurer Weston  p.388.
L. Treasurer Juxon  p.304.1.10.
M. Bedell  p.422.
Isle of Rheez  p.28.
Of
An account of the Work.

Of the Dukes ominous presagements p.118
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  Countess of Denbigh       p.120.l.2.
  Arch-Bishop               p.118.l.24.
  B. of Ely                  p.120.l.17.

Part of the Authors Character.  p.387.

Censure of
  Felton         p.63.l.17. & p.112. l.18.
  D. Eggleatham   p.26.l.16.p.102.l.18
  Stamford        p.149.l.19.
  Scioppins      p.400.
Advice to the Reader.

If there shall be found some small Incongruities, either in time, or expression, in the Life of Sir Henry Wotton: The Reader is requested to afford him a gentle Censure, because it was by the Printer fetch'd so fast by pieces from the Relator, that he never saw what he had writ all together, till 'twas past the Press.

Errata of the Life.

Page 2. line 18. for of this, r. this. p 4. l. 29. for looke, r. look'd. p 6. l. 8. for of many, r. of the many. p 6. l. 7. for have, r. these have. p 6. l. 30. for he often, r. he as often. p 10. l. 4. for reverential, r. this reverential. p 17. l. 5. for com-and comprehensible, r. comprehensible. p 17. l. 6. for out, r. and out. p 20. l. 14. for security, r. secrecy. p 24. l. 10. for first, r. fifth. p 24. l. 17. for predece-sors, r. predecessor.

Of the Book.

The Life
Of
Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton (whose Life I intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568, in Boston hall (commonly called Boston or Boughton place) in the parish of Boston Malberbe, in the fruitful Country of Kent. Boston hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish Church of Boston Malberbe adjoyning unto it; both being seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a Hill as gives the advantage of large prospect and of equal pleasure to all beholders.
But, this House and Church are not so remarkable for any thing, as for that the memorable Family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now be buried in the other, as appears by their very many Monuments in that Church: The Wottons being a Family that hath brought forth many persons eminent for Wisdom and Virtue, whole heroic Acts, and honorable Employments both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves, and this Nation, which they have served abroad faithfully, in discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their Negotiations with several Princes; and also served it at home with much Honor and Justice, in their wise managing a great part of the publick affairs thereof in the various times both of war and peace. But lest I shall be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt of this truth, not to have observed moderation in this Commendation of that family, and also, for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded: I shall offer to the Consideration of the Reader, out of the testimony of their own Pedegree, and our owne Chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just Commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and then leave the indifferent Reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton of Bostone Mathewr Knight, was born in the year of Christ 1463. He living in the Raign of King Edward the fourth was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guernesay, to be Knight Porter and Comptroller of Callais, where he died, and lieth honorably buried.
Sir Edward Wotton of Botton Malherbe Knight, (Son and Heir of the said Sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ, 1489. in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. He was made Treasurer of Calais, and of Privy Council to King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England, but (faith Hollinshead) out of a vertuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton of Botton Malherbe Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir Edward, (and the Father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this relation) was born in the year of Christ, 1524. He was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the Liberal Arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very plentifull estate, and the antient Interest of his Predecessors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his Country Recreations and retirement for a Court Life, offering him a Knighthood (he was then with him at Botton Hall) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and profitable Imployment under Her, yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and simple heart, of an antient freedom, and integrity of mind. A Commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the Son of such a Father: From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity, that was always practis'd by himself, and which he ever both Commend'd and Chersh'd in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for Hospitality, a great Lover, and much beloved of his Country, to which may justly be added, that he
The Life of

He was a Cherisher of Learning, as appears by that excellent Antiquary Master William Lambert, in his perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four Sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of Her Majesties Household. He was (faith Camden) a man remarkable for many and great Implemments in the State during her Reign, and sent several times Ambassador into Foreign Nations: after her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of His Household, and called to be of His Privie Councell, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Morley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenent of that County.

Sir James (the second son) may be numbered among the martiall men of his age, who was in the 38 of Queen Elizabeth's Reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Von Christophoro Son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and Valour) Knighted in the Field neer Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches; besides a notable retaliation of Injuries by taking that Town.

Sir John being a Gentleman excellently accomplisht by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her look'd upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death, in his younger years, put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of those fore-named Wottons were in
Sir Henry Wotton.

in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed. But if I had looked to far back as Sir Nicholas Wotton, who lived in the reign of King Richard the second, or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious, yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named. This Nicholas Wotton was a Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean of Canterbury: a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his Country, as is testified by his several employments, having been sent nine times Ambassador unto foreign Princes, and being a privy Counselor to King Henry the eighth, to Edward the sixth, to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had (during the Wars between England, Scotland and France) been three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in Committees for settling of peace between this and those Kingdoms, died (faith learned Camden) full of commendations for Wisdom and Piety. He was, by the Will, of King Henry the eighth, made one of his Executors, and was chief Secretary of State to his Son, that pious Prince Edward the sixth. Concerning whom I shall say but this little more; That he refused (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and that he died not rich, though he lived in the time of the dissolution of Abbeys.

More might be added but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a Branch of such
a kindred as left a stock of reputation to their posterity, such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors. And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly, then my pen can express it, if of many of his surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employment, had been pleased to have commended him to posterity. But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the * Mr. Nic. Oudert's renewed request of one that still lives solicitous to see this duty performed, have had a power to persuade me to undertake it: which truly, I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident, my humble language shall be accepted, because I present all readers with a commixture of truth and his merits.

The father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth the daughter of Sir John Rudstone Knight, after whose death (though his inclination was averse to all connexions, yet necessitated he was to severall suits in law, in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time) he was by divers of his friends persuaded to remarry; to whom he often answered, That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons.
Sir Henry Wotton.

that had Children
namely, those
that had Law Suits
that were of his
kindred.

And yet, following his own law suit, he met in Westminster hall with one Millstffe Morton, widdow to Morton of Kent Esquire, who was engaged in several suits in Law, and observing her Comportment at the time of hearing of one of her causes before the Judges, he could not but at the same time both compassionate her Condition, and to affect her person, that although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection grew to strong, that he then resolved to solicite her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwell in Kent) he had Henry his yongest son. His mother undertook to be Tu
torels unto him during much of his childhood, for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signes of future perfection in learning, as turn'd her imployment into a pleasing trouble, which she was content to continue till his father took him into his more particular care, and disposed of him to a Tutor in his own house at Boston.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removall to a higher form, (which was very early) he was sent to Winche
ter School, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by rule; which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way, to make

b4 the
The future part of his life, both happie to himself, and usefull for the discharge of all busines, whether publick, or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that School, to New-Colledge in Oxford, both being founded by William Wickham Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queens College, where within that year, he was by the Chief of that Colledge, perswadively injoyned to write a Play for their private use, (it was the Tragedy of Tauredo) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the method and exact personing those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed; that the gravest of that Society declared, he had in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of future abilities. And though there may be some lower dispositions, which may think this not worth a Memoriall, yet that wise Knight Guarina Baptista (whom learned Italy accounts one of her Ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I passe to what will be thought more serious.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he did proceed Master of Arts, and at that time, read in Latine three Lectures de Oculo, wherein he having described the Form, the Motion, the curious Composure of the Eye, and demonstrated, how of those very many, every humour, and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion;
Sir Henry Wotton.

and all this, to the advantage of man; to whom it is given, not only as the bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul; this, in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After these Observations he fell to dispute this Optique Question, Whether we see by the Emission of the Beams from within, or Reception of the Species from without? and after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, in the Conclusion of his Lectures, he took a fair occasion to beautifie his Discourse with a Commendation of the blessing and benefit of Seeing: by which, we do not only discover Nature's Secrets; but, with continued Content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great Light of the World, and by it discover the Fabrick of the Heavens, and both the Order and Motion of the Celestial Orbs; nay, if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosome of the Earth, (our Common Mother) embroidered and adorned with numberlefe and various Flowers; which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those Flowers) decays, withers, and then quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both had their Origination.

These were so exactly debated, and so Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian Albericus Gentiles (then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford) to call him Henrice mi ocelli; which dear expression of his was also used by divers other persons of note during his stay in the University.
The Life of

But that was not long, at least, not so long as his Friends once intended: for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his Father (whom Sir Henry did seldom mention without reverential expression, as, That good man my Father; or, My Father the best of men:) about that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of one of his Manors of much greater value.

But though this good man be dead, I wish a Circumstance or two concerning him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do so, that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short Digression.

In the year 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in France, did dream that his Nephew Thomas Wotton was inclined to be a party in such a Project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his Family. The Dean knowing that Dreams, (common Dreams, that usually look the same way that our over-engaged affections, or the particular business of the day do incline us, and so are but a paraphrase on our waking thoughts) may be superstitiously considered, and yet that other Dreams ought not to be slight-ly cast away; did therefore resolve rather to lay it aside, then totally to lose it. But dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a doubled Dream, like that of Pharaoh, (of which Dreams the Learned have made many observati-
Sir Henry Wotton.

(b) and, that it had no dependance on his waking thoughts; much less on the desires of his heart; then he did more seriously consider it, and remembered that almighty God was pleased to reveal, and in a Dream to assure Monica the Mother of St. Austin, that he, her son (for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much) should at last become a Christian: This he considered, and considering also that almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these later times, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that humane wisdom could not foresee. Upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience to either party. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen (twas Queen Mary) and besought her that she would cause his Nephew Thomas Wotton to be sent for out of Kent, and that the Lords of her Councell might interrogate him in some such fained questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable Prison; declaring, that he would acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next be so happy as to see, and speak to Her.

'Twas done as the Queen desired; and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the Reader what followed.

At this time a Marriage was concluded between Queen Mary and Philip King of Spain; And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the perswasion of her privie Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation: yet divers persons (being of a contrary perswa-
The Sift of onid declare against it, and also raised forces to oppose it, believing it would be a means to bring England under subjection to Spain, and make those of this Nation slaves to strangers: And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat of Boxley Abbey, in Kent (betwixt whose Family, and the Family of the Wottons there had been an ancient friendship) was the principal Actor; who having persuaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned, condemned, and lost his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the Gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyats assistants. And of this num-
in all probability had Master Wotton been: For though he was not ignorant that another mans treason makes it mine by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his Uncle, when he came to visit him in prison, that he had more then an intimation of Wyats intentions, and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his Uncle had not happily dreamd him into a Prison, out of which when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his Commitment, they both considered the dream, and then both joyned in praising God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those, whom of his good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And this was the more considerable, because many of the Dreams of this Thomas Wotton did usually prove true, both in fore-telling things to come, and discovering things past: I will give the Reader but one particular, namely this: A little before his death, he dreamd that the University
Sir Henry Wotton.

The city Treasury was rob'd by Townsmen, and poor Scholers, and that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains, as by a Postscript in his Letter, to make a slight inquiry of it; The Letter which was writ out of Kent, came to his sons hands the very morning after the night in which the Robbery was committed; (for the Dream was true, and the circumstances, though not in the exact time) and when the City and University were both in a perplexed Enquiry of the Theives: then did Sir Henry Wotton shew his Fathers Letter, and by it such Light was given of this Work of Darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble, as the Casting of a Figure.

And it may be yet more Considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being both men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretell the days of their death: Nicholas did so; being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who being then in London, where he died, gave direction that his Body should be carried to Boston, and though he thought his Uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble Monument, which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, without any pomp at his Funerall.

But it is now more then time, That I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where after his Optique...
Optique Lecture, he was taken into such a bottom friendship with the learned Albericus Gen-tilis (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge both of the Mathematicks and Law into the breast of his dear Harry, (for so Gentilis used to call him;) and though he was not able to do that; yet there was in Sir Henry such a Propensity and Conaturalneffe to the Italian Language, and those Studies whereof Gentilis was a great Master, that during his stay in Oxford, this friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in severall Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a foreign Nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Watton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was betwixt him and Doctour Donne (sometimes Dean of Pauls) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he of this Nature that pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Doctour Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously cemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his Fathers death: at which time he was about the two
two and twentieth year of his age; and having to his great wit, added the ballast of learning, & knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aside his books, & took himself to the usefull Library of Travels, and a more generall Conversation with mankind, imploying the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of forraign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many Nations, their severall Laws and Languages, he was the poefleflor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following Narration of his Life.

In his Travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and Geneva; where he became acquainted with Theodor Beria, (then very aged) and with Izaak Gaujaban, in whose Fathers house, (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodg'd, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with his most learned Son.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy, (the Stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men both for learning, and all manner of arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chimistry, Architecture, and divers other manuall Arts, even Arts of inferior Nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the Thirtieth year of his age, being noted by many, both for his person and Comportments for
The Life of

for indeed he was of a choyee shape, tall of stature, and of a mott perswasive behaviour; which was so mix'd with sweet discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love with all persons with whom he entred into an acquaintance,

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a shapewit, and apt to jefl; that, by time, travel; and Conversation, was so polish'd and made usefull, that his Company seem'd to be one of the delights of mankinde. In so much, as Robert Earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of fortune and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledg of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being Master Henry Cuffe somtimes of Merton Colledg in Oxford, and there the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth; Master Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning, nor after his removal from thence for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the fatallness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his Councils and Implyments in Two voyages at Sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the Earls last) into Ireland; that wherein he did so much provoke the Queen to anger then, and worse at his return into England, upon whose Favour he had built luch landy hopes, as incouraged him to those undertakings which (with the help of a contrary Fa@ion) suddenly caused his Commitment. Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was no of that Fa@ion (for the Earls followers were also di-
Sir Henry Wotton.

divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings, which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his Confederation, yet knowing Treason to be so Com-prehensible, as to take in, even circumstances, out of them to make such conclusions, as subtle statesmen shall project either for their revenge or safety; Considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and plead his innocence in prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, quickly and privately glide through Kent, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Boston, and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore, where he heard shortly after, that the Earl was arraign'd, condemn'd, and beheaded; that his friend Master Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon him, as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, an assurance that his Annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went; happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his Content, in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation; and more particularly in Florence, which City is not more eminent for the great Dukes' Court, then for the great recourse of men of choicest note for Learning and Arts; of which number he there met with his old friend, Signior Vietta, then taken to be Secretary to the great Duke of Tuscany.
After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English College he had very many friends, whose humanity made them really so, though they knew Sir Henry Wotton to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion; and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some Curiosities that did partly occasion his Journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him, which did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but introduce him a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her Council) were never willing to declare her Successour; yet King James was confidently beleived by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble would be imposed; and the Queen declining so fast, both by age, and visible infirmities, those of the Romish persuasion in point of Religion, (even Rome it self, and those of this Nation) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing of her Successour were taken to be critical days, for destroying or establishing the Protestant Religion in this Nation, therefore did they improve all opportunities of preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the Pope's Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, did both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuited Papists, expose her to be warrantably destroyed; so that (If we may beleive an angry adversary, a Secular Priest against a Jesuite) then you may

\[\text{Watson in his Quodlibets.}\]
may believe, that about that time there were many
endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to
shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return
from Rome to Florence (which was about a year
before the death of the Queen,) the Duke of Flo-
rence had intercepted certain letters that dis-
covered a designe to take away the life of the then
King of Scots. The Duke, abhorring the fact,
and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it,
called his Secretary Vietta, to advise by what
means a caution might be best given to that King;
and after consideration, it was resolved to be done
by Sir Henry Wotton, whom the Duke had noted
and approved of above all the English that fre-
quented his Court. Sir Henry was gladly called
by his Friend Vietta to the Duke, who (after much
profession of friendship,) acquainted him with the
secret; and being well instructed, dispatch'd him
into Scotland with Letters to the King, and with
those Letters such antidores against poison, as the
Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took upon
him the name and language of an Italian; and
thinking it best to avoid the line of English intel-
ligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and
through that Country towards Scotland, and
finding the King at Sterling, he used means to Ber-
nard Lindsey, then one of the Kings Bed-chamber,
to procure him a private conference with his Ma-
jecty, advising him that the business was of such
consequence, as had caused the Duke of Tuscany
to exjoin him suddenly to leave his native Coun-
try of Italy, to impact it to the King.

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to
The Life of

the King, he after a little wonder and jealousy to hear of an Italian Ambassador, or Messenger, required his name; (which was said to be Octavio Baldi,) and appointed him to be heard privately at a first hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the Presence chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long Rapier, which Italian-like he then wore; being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber. At the sight of whom, he made a stand, which the King observing, bid him be bold, and deliver his Message, for he would undertake for the security of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his Letters and Message to the King in Italian, which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an English man, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty; and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation. This was promised and performed by the King during his stay there, which was three months, all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that Country could afford, from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

He returns to the Duke at Florence with a faire and grateful account of his employment, and within some few months there came certain newes to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James King of the Scots proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing, travail and business
Sir Henry Wotton.

finest to be the best schools of wisdome, and that
Sir Henry Wotton had been tutor'd in both; advifed him to return to England, and joy the King
with his new and better title, and there wait upon
fortune for a better imployment.

When King James came into England, he
found, amongst other of the late Queens Officers,
the Lord Wotton, Compoller of the House, and
shortly after demanded of him, if he knew one
Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in for-
raign Travell: The Lord replied, he knew him
well, and that he was his brother: then the King
asking where he then was? was answered, at
Venice, or Florence; but by late Letters from,
thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at
Paris.

Send for him, said the King, and when
he shall come into England, bid him repair to
me. The Lord Wotton after a little wonder,
ask'd the King, if he knew him? to which the
King answered, You must rest unsatisfied of that
till you bring the Gentleman to me.

Not many months after this Discourse, the
Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the
King, who took him in his arms, and bad him
welcome by the Name of Ottavio Baldi, saying,
hewwas the most honest, and therefore the best
dissembler that ever he met with; And said, see-
ing I know you neither want Learning, Travell,
or Experience, which are the best Schools of
Wisdom: and that I have had so real a Testi-
mony of your faithfulneffe, and abilities to ma-

age an Embassage: I have sent for you, to de-
clare my purpose, which is, to make use of you
in that kind hereafter; And indeed the King did
fo, most of those two and twenty years of His Reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Bardi from his present attendance, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton; by which he then knighthed him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his Motto, Beati pacifici, to have a friendship with his Neighbour Kingdoms of France, and Spain, and also to enter into an alliance with the State of Venice, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the Choice of these Employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best fitting with his Genius, who did ever love to joyne with Business Study, and a Trial of natural experiments; for which fruitful Italy, that Darling of Nature, and Cherisher of all Arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian World.

Sir Henry having, after some few days Consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large Allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a letted maintenance during his stay there; he left England, being nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by Gentlemen of the best Families and Breeding that this Nation afforded. They were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted: Sir Albertus Morton his Nephew, who went his Secretary, and William Bctell, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wildome, who went his Chaplain.
Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honor and gladness, both for that he delivered his Embassage most elegantly in the Italian Language, and came in such a juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seemed useful for that Republick: the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke; a wise and resolv'd man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement the eighth, some contests about the privileges of Church-men, and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of Common Readers, I shall say a little, for that it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the Republick of Venice made several injunctions against Lay persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the State; and in that inhibition, they expressed their reasons to be, for that when it once came into the hands of the Ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof, the people being charitable even to excess, the Clergy which grew every day more numerous, and at least pretended exemption from all publick services and taxes, the burthen did grow too heavy to be born by the Laity.

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two Clergy men, the Abbot of Nervesa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name; (nor name I these to the disgrace of any calling, for holiness is...
not tied to Ecclesiastical Orders, and Italy is ob-
serv'd to breed the most virtuous, and most vicious
men of any Nation: ) these two having been long
complained of at Rome, and no satisfaction given
to the Venetians, they seised their persons, and com-
mited them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such power, used by
the Venetians, had some calm debates betwixt Pope Clement the 8, and that Republic. But Cle-
ment dying, Pope Paul the first (who succeeded him) brought it to an high contention with the
Venetians; objecting those acts of that State to
be a diminution of his just Power, and limited a
time for their revocation; threatening, if he were
not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of
the Republic; who offered to shew both reason
and ancient custome to warrant their Actions.
But this Pope, contrary to his Predecessors, requi-
red absolute obedience without disputes. Thus
it continued for about a year, the Pope threatening
Excommunication, and the Venetians still answerv-
ing him with fair speeches, and no performance:
At last, the Pope did excommunicate the Duke,
whole Senate, and all their Dominion; then he
shut up all the Churches, charging the whole Cler-
gie to forbear all sacred offices to any of the Vene-
tians, till their obedience should make them capa-
ble of absolution.

Matters thus heightned, the State advised with
Father Paul, a holy and learned Fryer (the Au-
thour of the History of the Council of Trent) whose
advice was, Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose
their own right; he declaring publickly in print,
in the name of the State, That the Pope was trust-
ed to keep two Keys, one of Prudence, and the oth-
Sir Henry Wotton.

ther of Power; And that if they were not both used together, Power alone is not effectual.

Thus it continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were turned Protestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observed, the English Ambassador was so often in conference with the Senate, and his Chaplain more often with Father Paul. And also, for that the Republick was known to give Commission to Gregoryustiniano, their Ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King, and crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the mean time, the King's advice, which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement at his first coming to the Crown of England (the Pope then moving him to an Union with the Roman Church) namely, To endeavour the calling of a free Councell, for the settlement, of peace in Christendom: And that he doubted not but that the French King, and divers other Princes would join to assist in such a work; and in the mean time, the sin of this Breach, both with his, and the Venetians Dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door.

In this contention (which lasted several years) the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Master Bedell, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians then called to be one of their Consultors of State, and with his Pen to defend their cause: which was so performed, that the Pope law plainly, he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians Absolution upon very easy terms;
terms; which the Venetians still flying, did at last obtain it, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of desiring it.

These Contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo his knowledge and interest with King James, for whose sake principally Padre Paul compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of Trent; which was, as fast as it was written sent, in several sheets in Letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedell, and others, unto King James and the Bishop of Canterbury into England, and there first made publick.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton going into Italy he stood faire and highly valued in the Kings opinion; but at last became much Clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Embassadour into Italy, as he past through Germany, he staid some dayes at Augusta, where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingenuouſness (those that are esteem'd the vertuosa of that Nation) with whom passing an evening in Merriments, he was request by Christopher Flecamore to write some Sentence in his Albo, a book of white paper which for that end many of the German Gentry usually carry about them. Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motio, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Embassadour in these very words.

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentien- dum Reipublica causa.

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus English'd.

An Embassadour is an honest man sent, to lie abroad for the good of his Countrey.
Sir Henry Wotton.

But the word for lie (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so express'd in Latin as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a Construction as Sir Henry thought in English. But as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this Albo almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioptius a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen; who with books against King James prints this as a principle of that Religion profess'd by the King and his Embassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; in which place, it was presently after written in several glass windowes, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's. This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an overlight, such a weakness, or worse in Sir Henry Wotton, as caus'd the King to express much wrath against him; and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velletrus (one of the Chiefes of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caus'd to be given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an Antidote against the venomous books of Scioptius; and another to King James, which was so ingenuous, so clear, so choiceully eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure Judg of it) could not forbear at the receit thereof to declare publickly, that Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not onely recover, but was much more confirm'd in his Majesties estimation and favour then formerly he had been.
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And as that man (his friend) of great wit and usefull fancy, gave in a Will of his (a Will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends that in this time of triall labour'd to excuse this facetious freedome of Sir Henry Wottons, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, cau-
ed him by this error, to grow both more wise (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) and for the future to become most industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy, where (notwithstanding the accusation of Scioppius) his interest still increas'd with this Duke Leonardo Donato, after whose death (as though it had been an intail'd love) it was still found living in the succeeding Dukes, during all the time of Sir Henry Wottons employment to that State (which was almost Twenty years. All which time he studied the dispositions of those Dukes, and the Consultors of State. Well knowing, that he who nego-
giates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends, which Sir Henry Wotton did not. But by a fine sorting of fit Presents, curious and not costly Entertainments, always sweetned by vari-
ious and pleasant discourse; for which, and his choyce application of stories, and his so elegant de-
sivery of all these, even in their Italian Language, he first got, and still preserv'd such interest in the State of Venice that it was observ'd (such was ei-
ther his merit or his modesty) they never denied any request.
Sir Henry Wotton.

But this shows but his abilities, and fitness for that Employment: 'Twill therefore be needful to tell the Reader, what use he made of his Interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others, then to enrich himself; still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintain'd both in the German Empire, and Italy; where many Gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that Nation, received from him cheerfull Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity, which usually attend upon Travell.

And because these things may appear to the Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples, one of his merciful Disposition, and one of the Noblenesse of his Mind, which shall follow.

There had been many English brought by Commanders of their own Countrey to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk: and those English, having by Irregularities, or Improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives, and Inlargement; and his request was granted, so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of humane misery, by hard imprisonment, and unpitied poverty, in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God for their Lives and Liberty in their own Countrey. And this I have observ'd as a testimony of the compassionate Nature of him, who in those parts, was as a City of Refuge for the Distressed of this Nation.
And for that which I offer as a Testimonie of the Noblenesse of his mind, I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him that Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Embassadour to the Republick of Venice; and that at his second going thither, he was impoy'd Embassadour to severall of the German Princes, and to the Emperour Ferdinand the second, and this Impleyment to these Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the restauration of the Queen of Bohemia and her Descendants to their Patrimonial Inheritance of the Palatinate. This was by eight months constant Endeavours, and Attendance upon the Emperour, and his Court, brought to a probability of a successful Conclusion, by a Treaty; But, about that time the Emperours Army fought a Battell so fortunately, as put an end to the expected Treaty, and Sir Henry Wottons hopes; who, when he was departing the Emperours Court, humbly advised him to use his Victory soberly; which advice the Emperour took in good part, being much pleased with his carriage; all the time he resided in his Court; saying, that though the King his Master was look'd upon as an abettor of his Enemy, yet, he desired Sir Henry Wotton to accept of that Jewell, as a testimony of his good opinion of him, (which was a Jewell of Diamonds of more worth then a thousand pounds) this was received with all tears of honour by Sir Henry Wotton, but the next morning at his departing from Vienna, at his taking leave of the Countesse of Sabrina, an Italian Lady, in whose house he was lodged; he acknowledged her merit, and besought her to accept of that Jewell, as a testimoni
ny of his gratitude, presenting her with the same which was given him by the Emperor; which being afterwards discover'd, was by the Emperor taken for an affront: but Sir Henry Wotton acknowledging his thankfulness, declar'd an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his Royall Mistress; for so the Queen of Bohemia was pleas'd he should call her.

Many other of his services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be insisted upon; As his procuration of Priviledges and courtesies with the German Princes, and the Republick of Venice, for the English Merchants; & what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church of Rome.

But for the particulars of these and many more, that I meant to make knowne; I want a view of some papers that might informe me, and indeed I want time too; for the Printers Press stayes, so that I must make haft to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London.

To which place he came that yeare in which King James died, who having for the reward of his foreign service promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turn'd into present money, and granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolles place if he out-lived Sir Julius Caesar, who then posses'd it, and grown so old that he was said to be kept alive beyond natures Course by the prayers of those many poore which he daily reliev'd; but these were but in hope, and his condition required present support; For in the beginning of these imployments he sold to his elder brother the Lord Wotton, the Rent-charge left by his good
The Life of good Father, and (which is worse) was now indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employment; he had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian Artists. This was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day. For it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, (that it was the very measure of Congruity) he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, Care not for to morrow, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased God, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became Void by the death of Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerfull suiters to the King, Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Stichphus) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, and knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a College was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost three-score years) seemed to require; therefore did he use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure it. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

This was a faire settlement for his minde: but money was wanting to furnish him with those neces-
Sir Henry Wotton.
necessaries which attend removes, and settlement in such a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Master Nicholas Pay for his assistance, of which Nicholas Pay I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some thing that I shall say hereafter. He was in his youth a Clarke, or in some such way, a servant to the Lord Wotton, and by him, when he was Comptroller of the Kings Household, made a great officer in his Majesties house. This, and other favours being conferred upon Master Pay (in whom was a radicated honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged, and his gratitude express'd by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that Family till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at Court to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for lesse would not sete him in the College) and the want of it wrinkle'd his face with care ('twas his own expression): and that being procured, he should the next day after finde him in his College, and 

Irvinia remedium writ over his study door.

This money being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of Nicholas Payes Interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he as quickly in the College, the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning; the College being to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided in kind, where he was freed from corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the Waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calme, and looking down, behold the buffie
multitude tossed in a tempestuous Sea of dangers; and, (as the Poet hath happily express'd)

Laugh at the graver business of the State,
Which speaks men rather wise then fortunate.

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the Colledge: by which, he conceiv'd himself bound to enter into holy Orders, which he did; being made Deacon with convenient speed: shortly after, as he came in his Surplice from the Church service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joy'd him; to whom Sir Henry Wotton replyed, I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I now am in this condition: a condition, which that great Emperor Charles the Fifth, seem'd to approve: who, after so many remarkable Victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave his Crown and the cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloyster all life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God (which the rich or busy men seldom doe) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, that makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him: even from my God, whom I daily magnifie for this particular Mercy.

And now to speak a little of the employment of his times; After his customary publick devotions, his use was to retire into his study, & there to spend some hours in reading the Bible and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer: this was, for the most part, his employment in
in the forenoon: But when he was once fat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possess'd his mind: and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure: But some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of Angling; which he would usually call his idle time not idly spent, saying, he would rather live five May months, than forty December.

He was a great lover of his neighbors, and often entertain'd them at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopefull youths, which he pick'd out of Eton School, and took into his own domestick care; out of whole discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better compleating of his intended work of Education. Of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he liv'd to leave but a part to Posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of Religion; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and shew the readiness of his wit. Having in Italy made acquaintance with a pleasant Priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at Church, the Priest seeing Sir Henry standing obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy this question writ in a small piece of paper: Where was your Religion to be found before Luther? To which question Sir Henry Wotton presently underwrit, My Religion was to be found then where yours is not to be found now: in the written word of God.
To another that asked him, Whether a Papist may be saved? he replyed, You may be saved without knowing that. Look to your selfe.

To another that was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, Pray Sir, forbear, till you have studied the points better; For the wise Italians have this Proverb, He that understands amiss, concludes worse: And take heed of thinking, the farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God.

And to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose.

In my travel towards Venice, as I past through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entred into an acquaintance with Arminius, (then the professor of Divinity in that University) a man much talk'd of in this Age of Controversie: And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points; yet, I profess my judgement of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning; and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so, appears by his Proposals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose book, of the Order and Causes of Salvation, which was first writ in Latine, Arminius took the occasion of writing some quaries to him concerning the consequents of his Doctrine, intending them (tis said) to come privately to Mr Perkins own hands, and to receive from him a like private, and a like loving Answer: But Master Perkins died before those quaries came to him; and 'tis thought Arminius meant them to die with him.
Sir Henry Wotton.

him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, (but since his death his sons did not:) And 'tis pity (if God had been so pleased) that Master Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those Proposals himself: for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning: And though since their deaths, many (of high parts and piety) have undertaken to clear the Controversie; yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, then convinc'd the dissenting partie. And doubtless, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well;) many Scholers, that are not in the highest form for learning (which yet may preach well;) men that shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the Questions stick, will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the Controversie, and do therefore justly fall under the reproofe of Saint Jude, for being Busy-bodies, and for medling with things they understand not.

And here it offers itself, (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader, that a Friend of Sir Henry Wotton, being designed for the Employment of an Embassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimentall Rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiations; to whom, he smilingly gave this for an infallible Aphorisme. That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his Country, he should always, and upon all occasions speak the truth. (It seems a State Paradox.) For, saies Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believ'd; and by this means, your truth will secure your selfe, if you shall ever be called to any account: & 'twill also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a
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loft in all their disquisitions, and undertakings.

Many more of this nature might be observ'd; but they must be laid aside.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the Colledge; where he seem'd to have his youth renew'd by a continuall Conversation with that learned Society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding, and parts; by which that great blessing of a chearfull heart was still maintain'd; he being always free, even to the last of his dayes, from that peevishnesse which usually attends age; yet his minde was sometimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his forraign Implyments, for which his just Arrears due from the King would have made double satisfaction; but being still delayed with Court promises, and finding some decayes of health, he did (about two years before his death) out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by it, make his last Will: Concerning which, a doubt still remains, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscionable policy: But there is no doubt, but that his chief Designe was a Christian Endeavour that his debts might be satisfied; And that it may remain as such a Testimony, and a Legacy to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader.

In the Name of God Almighty and all mercifull, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesties Colledge by Eton, being mindfull of mine own mortality, which the sinne of our first Parents did bring upon all flesh. Do by this last Will and Testa-
Testament, thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortal God, my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediator, through his all sole-sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect; in the number of whom, I am one by his mere Grace, and thereof most unremovably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My Body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappell of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knowes) in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Boston, Malherbe, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful Resurrection with him in the Day of Christ.

After this Account of his Faith, and this Surrender of his Soul to that God that inspir'd it; and this direction for the disposall of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his Grave a Marble Stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even Marble to dust (for Monuments themselves must die) therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the Son of Sirac adviseth all men) by an usefull Apothegme, then by large enumerations of his descent, or merits, (of both which he might justly have boasted;) but, he was content to forget them; and did chuse onely this prudent, pious Sentence, to discover his disposition, and preserve his Memory.

Twas directed by him to be thus inscribed.
The Life of

Hic jacet hujus Sententiae primus Author,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS FIT ECCLESIAIRUM SCABIES.
Nomen alia quaer.

Which may be Englishted thus,
Here lieth the first Author of this Sentence.
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.
Inquire his Name elsewhere.

But if any shall object (as I think some have) that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first Authour of this Sentence; but, that this Sentence, or another like it, was long before his time; To him I answer, that Solomon says, Nothing can be spoken that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the Sun. But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like Sentence; yet reason will perswade all Readers to believe, That Sir Henry Wottons mind was then so fix'd on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy Lethargy did surprize his Memory; For doubtlesse, if he had not believed himselfe in what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and cenfure of every Critick (with which that Age abounded, and this more.) And questionlesse, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then so fix'd on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and in this sacred Extasie, his thoughts being only of the Church Triumphant (into which he daily expected his admission,) Almighty God was pleased to make him a Prophet to tell the Church Militant, (and parti-
particularly that part of it in this Nation) where the weeds of Controversie grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Piety; where men have consciences which boggle at ceremonies, and scruple not to speake and act such sinnes as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sinne to think; where (as our Reverend Hooker layes) Former Simplicity and softnesse of spirit is not now to be found, because Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meeknesse. These sad changes have proved this Epitaph to be a useful Caution unto us of this Nation: And the sad effects thereof in Germany have prov'd it to be a mournfull Truth.

This by way of Observation concerning his Epitaph: The rest of his Will followes in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton do constitute and ordain to be joynt Executors of this my last Will and Testament, my two Grand-nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave eldest son to Dr. Bargrave Dean of Canterbury, Husband to my right vertuous and only Niece. And I do pray the foresaid D. Bargrave, and M. Nicholas Pay, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison one of the Fellows of Eton Colledge, best acquainted with my Books and Pictures, and other Utensils, to be Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the foresaid D. Bargrave and Mr. Nicholas Pay to be Solicitors for such Arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesties Exchequer at the time of my death, and to assist my fore-named Executors in some reasonable and con-
scientious satisfaction of my Creditors, and discharge of my Legacies now specified, or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicel or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any Memorial with the aforesaid M. John Harison. And first, To my most dear Sovereign and Master of incomparable Goodness (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest Man) I leave four Pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a Table of the Venetian College where Ambassadors had their Audiences, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little well resembling the famous Duke Leonardo Donati, in a time which needed a wife and constant man. It The Picture of a Duke of Venice hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said Pieces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most humble Vassall.

I leave his said Majesty all the Papers and Negotiations of Sir Nich. Throckmorton Knight, during his famous Employment under Q. Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-Office, after they have been perused and sorted by Master Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposall by Sir Arth. Throckmorton his son; to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, then
then by assigning them to the highest place of Trust. It
I leave to our most gracious and vertuous Queen Ma-
rie, Dioscorides with the plants naturally coloured,
and the Text translated by Matthiolo in the best
Language of Tuscanie, whence her said Majesty is
lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankfull
devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my
private Study with her presence. I leave to the most
hopefull Prince the Picture of the elected and crown-
ed Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplen-
dent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To
my Lords Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave
my Picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one
in the Kings Galleries, of my presentation to his Maje-
stie; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my
humble reverence to his great Willsom. And to the most
worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord high Treasu-
er of England, in true admiration of his Christian
simplicitie, and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a
Picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus
laughing at the World: Most humbly beseeching the
said Lord Archbiship his Grace, and the Lord Bi-
shop of London, of both whose favours I have ta-
sted in my life time, to intercede with our most gra-
cious Soveraign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus
Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my long
Services (wherein I more studied the publick Ho-
nour, then mine own Utility) some Order may be ta-
ken out of my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such
satisfaction of my Creditors as those whom I have or-
dained Supervisors of this my last Will and Testa-
ment shall present unto their Lordships, without their
further trouble: Hoping likewise in his Majesties
most indubitable Goodness, That he will keep mee
from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by
any defect of formality in the Demand of my said Ar-ears. To— for a poor Addition to his Cabinet, I leave as Emblems of his Attractive Vertues and obliging Nobleness, my great Loadstone, and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of Concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Christall Sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhatian Alpes in the very place where it grew; re-commending most humbly unto his Lordship the Re-putation of my poor Name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the fore-named Spirituall Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured Person.

I: I leave to Sir Francis Windebanck, one of his Majesties principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of Necessity) the foure Sea-sons of old Basiano, to hang near the Eye in his Par-lour (being in little forme) which I bought at Venice, where I first entred into his most worthy Ac- quaintance.

To the above-named Dr. Bargrave Dean of Can-terbury I leave all my Italian Books not disposed in this Wil. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice in Italie, in which Country I first contracted with him an unremovable Affection. To my other Supervisor Mr. Nicholas Pay, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in* the lower box whereof, are some fit to be bequea-thed to none but so

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors; and things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his forrain Travell.
Sir Henry Wotton.

entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears, and am sorry that my ragged Estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my forraign Imployments. To the Library at Eton Colledg I leave all my Manuscripts not before desposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain ring of gold enameled black, all save the verge with this Motto within, Amor unit omnia.

This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall bee added by a schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the 1. of Oct. in the present year of our Redemption 1637. And subscribed by my selfe with the Testimony of these Witnesses.

H. Wotton.

Geo. Lath.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledg of events, I think fit to declare that every one that was nam'd in his Will, did gladly receive their legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joyned in affliting the Overseers of his Will, & by their joyned endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader, is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved Boston hall, where he would say,
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say, he found both cure for all cares, by the company (which he call’d the living furniture) of that place, and a restorative of his strength, by the Conaturalness of that which he call’d his genial aire.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the Summer before his death, he chang’d that for a journey to Winchester Colledg, to which Schoole he was first removed from Boc’ton. And as he return’d from that towards Eton Colledg, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, How usefull was that advise of a holy Monk, who perswaded his friend to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually meet with those thoughts which posses’d us at our last being there? And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my being at that Schoole, seeing that place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then posses’d me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixture of cares; and those to be enjoyed when time (which I therefore thought flow pac’d) had chang’d my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes. And though my days, which truly have been many, and mix’d with more pleasures then the sons of men do usually enjoy; yet, I have always found it true, as my Saviour did fore-tell, Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and questionless posses’d with the same thoughts. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.
Sir Henry Wotton.

After his return from Winchester (which was about 9. months before his death) he fell into a dangerous Fever, which weakned him much; he was then also much troubled with a continual short spitting; but that infirmity he seem'd to overcome in a good degree by leaving Tobacco, which he had taken somewhat immoderately; and about two months before his death (in October 1639) he again fell into a fever, which though he seem'd to recover, yet, these left him so weak, that those infirmities which were wont like Civill friends to visit him, and after some short time to depart; came both oftner, and at last took up their habitations with him, still weakning his body; of which he grew daily sensible, retiring oftner into his study, and making many papers that had past his pen both in the days of his youth and business, useless by fire. These and severall unusuall expressions to his friends, seem'd to foretell his death, for which he was well prepared, and still very free from fear, and cheerful; (as severall letters writ in his bed, and but a few dayes before his death may testifie;) And in the beginning of December following he fell again into a quartain Fever, of which he died in the tenth fit: being at peace with God and man.

Thus the Circle of his Life, (that Circle which began at Boston, and in the Circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom) That Circle of his Life, was by his Death clos'd up, and compleated in the seventy and second year of his Age, at Eton Colledge (where according to his Will) he now lies buried.) dying worthy of his Name and Family, worthy
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worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes, and Persons eminent for: Wisdome and Learning; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his Prince, and County. And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen to have preserv'd his Memory, and commend'd his Merits to the Imitation of Posterity.

Iz. Wa.
Robert Devereux Earle of Essex
OF
ROBERT DEVEREUX,
Earl of Essex;
AND
GEORGE VILLIERS,
Duke of Buckingham:

Some Observations by way of Para-
rell in the time of their estates of Favour.

Mongst those Histori-
call Imploymets, whereunto I have de-
voted my later years,
(for I read, that old men live more by me-
morie than by hope) we thought it would be a little time not ill spent, to

A con.
confer the Fortunes and the Natures of these two great personages of so late knowledge. Wherein I intend to doe them right with the truth thereof, and my self with the freedom.

The beginning of the Earl of Essex I must attribute wholly or in great part to my Lord of Leicester: but yet as an Introducer or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I goe along, it will easily appeare, that he neither lived nor dyed by his discipline. Alwaies certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Circle from a kind of resolved privatenesse at his house at Lampsie, in South-wales; where, after the Academical life, hee had taken such a taste of the Rurall, (as I have heard him say) and not upon any flashes or fumes of Melancholy, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could well have bent his mind to a retyrved course. About which time, the said Earle of Leicester bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour; which was diversely interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to doe nothing by chance, nor much by
by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himselfe the weight of time, and being almost tyred (if there be a satietie in power) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspeccion which a long indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envie.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in Sir Walter Raleigh, and having found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himselfe, he now meant to allie him with this young Earle, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said Sir Walter Raleigh was a little before this, whereof I now speake by occasion, much fallen from his former splendor in Court: yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billowes that sink by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them.

Thus runnes the discourse of that time
The Paralell.

time at pleasure; yet I am not ignorant that there was some good while a verie stiff aversation in my Lord of Essex from applying himselfe to the Earle of Leicester, for what secret conceite I know not; but howsoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother, and to the Court hee came under his Lord.

The Duke of Buckingham had another kind of Germination; and surely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amongst the Sponte Na­scantes, for he sprung without any help, by a kind of congeniall compofure (as wee may terme it) to the likeness of our late Soveraigne and Master of ever blessed memory, who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to please himselfe, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically to his owne Idea, delighting first in the choice of the Materials, because he found him susceptible of good forme; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects use to do, in the workmanship of his Regal hand; nor staying here, after he had hardned and polished him about ten years in the School.
School of observance, (for so a Court is) and in the furnace of tryall about himselfe, (for he was a King could peruse men as well as bookes) he made him the associate of his Heir apparant, together with the new Lord Cottington (as an adjunct of singular experience and trust) in forraine travailes, and in a businesse of Love, and of no equall hazzard (if the tendernesse of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world must confess) to kindle affection even betwixt the distanted conditions; so as by the various and inward conversation abroad (besides that before and after at home) with the most constant and best natured Prince, Bona si sua nôrint, as ever England enjoyed, this Duke becomes now secondly seized of favour, as it were by descent (though the condition of that estate be no more than a Tenancie at will, or at most for the life of the first Lord) and rarely transmitted: which I have briefly set down, without looking beyond the vaile of the Temple, I mean into the secret of high inclinations; since even Satyricall Poets, (who are
otherwise of so licentious fancie) are in this poynt modest enough to confess their ignorance.

_Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum._

And these were both their springings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not onely much difference between them; but in the Earle not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himself into the Portugal Voyage without the Queens consent, or so much as her knowledge; wherby he left his Friends and Dependants neer six moneths in desperate suspense what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason: For first, they might well consider, That he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight: Besides, that now he wanted a Lord of Leizester at home (for he was dead the year before) to smooth his absence, and to quench the
the practises at Court. But above all, it lay open to every man's discourse, that though the bare offence to his So-
veraigne and Missirs was too great an adventure, yet much more when she might (as in this case) have fairly dis-
charged her displeasure upon her Lawes. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this ex-
cursion was esteemed but a Sally of youth: Nay, he grew every day more and more in her Gracious conceit: whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection, or that having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeem it: Or that she had not received into her royall breast any shadows of his po-
pularity.

There was another time long after, when Sir Fulke Grevill (late Lord Brooke) a man in apperance intrinsical with him, or at the leaft admitted to his Melancholy houres, eyther belike espying some weariness in the Queen, or perhaps, with little change of the word, though more in the dangersome
marks towards him, and working upon the present matter (as she was dexterous and close) had almost superinduced into favour the Earle of Southampton; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of Essex chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voyce she took some pleasure; whereof the complot, me thinkes, had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet:

And if thou shouldest by Her be now forsaken,
She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken:

As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew Tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth
forth into certain sudden recesses; sometimes from the Court to Wansteed, otherwhiles unto Greenwich, often to his own Chamber, Doors shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse, divers Contestations (between) with the Queen herself (all preambles of ruine) wherewith though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press four Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the Counsell of a Wise, and then a Propheticall Friend, who told him, that such courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the stomack.

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strayns and precipices as these, but a fair fluent and uniform course under both Kings: And surely, as there was in his natural Constitution a marvellous equality, wherof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certain Rubs in Parliament.
wherof I am induced by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

When my Lord of Essex stood in Favour, the Parliaments were calm: Nay, I find it a true observation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King Henry the sixth until the eighteenth of King James, nor any interventient precedent of that Nature; not that something or other could be wanting to be sayd, while men are men: For not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very Ballads and Libels of Leicestrian time.

But about the aforesaid Year, many yong ones being chosen into the House of Commons more then had been usuall in great Councils, (who though of the weakest wings, are the highest Flyers) there arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitfull Spirit in some places; not sowing, but picking at every stone in the Field, rather then tending to the general
The Paralell.

The general Harvest. And thus far the consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the occasion of the subject,

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful Solicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earle in extrem and continuall Caution, like a Bow still bent, wherof the Dukes thoughts were absolutely free.

First, he was to wrastle with a Queens declyning, or rather with her very setting Age (as we may term it,) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of it selfe the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all Horizons are charged with certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other was a matter of more Circumstance, standing thus, viz.

All Princes, especially those whom God hath not blessed with naturall issue, are (by wisdome of State) somewhat shy of their Successors; and to speak with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in Queens Regnant, a little proportion of tenderness that way,
The Paralell.

way, more then in Kings. Now there were in Court two names of Power, and almost of Affection, the Essexian and the Cecilian, with their adherents, both well enough injoying the present; and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correspondence with some of the principall in Scotland, and had received advertisments & instructions, either from them, or immediatly from the King as induciat Heir of this Imperiall Crown.

But least they might detect one another; this was Mysteriously carried by severall instruments and conductes, and on the Essexian side, in truth, with infinite hazard: for Sir Robert Cecil who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publike Addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either part, as the story following shall declare.

The Earl of Essex had accommodated Master Antony Bacon in partition of his House, and had assigned him a noble entertainment: This was a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head,
head; and through his hand run all the intelligences with Scotland; who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother the Lord Viscount Saint Albons) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was neer of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be beleived) some great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signes of apparent discontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much Umbrage with the Queen) that he flies presently to my Lord of Essex (with whom he was commonly prima admissionis, by his bed side in the morning, and tells him, that unless that Gentleman were presently satisfied with some round summ, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time il-vided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were
were low) whereupon he was fain sud-
dainly to give him Essex-House; which
the good old Lady Walsingham did
afterwards dis-engage out of her own
store with 2500 pound; and before, he
had distilled 1500 pound at another
time by the same skill. So as we rate
this one secret, as it was finely carried,
at 4000 pounds in present mony, be-
sides at the least 1000 pound of annu-
all pension to a private and bed-rid
Gentleman: What would he have got-
ten if he could have gone about his
own business?

There was another accident of the
same nature on the Cecilian side, much
more pleasant, but lesse chargeable, for
it cost nothing but wit. The Queen ha-
vie for a good while not heard any
thing from Scotland, and being thrifty
of newes, it fell out that her Ma-
jefty going to take the ayre towards
the Heath (the Court being then at
Greenwich) and Master Secretary Cecill
then attending her, a Post came cro-
sing by, and blew his Horn; The Queen
out of curiosity asked him from whence
the Dispatch came; and being an-
swered
swered, From Scotland; she stops her Coach, and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were some Letters in it from his Correspondents, which to discover, were as so many Serpents; yet made more shew of diligence, then of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the Packet (forotherwise he might perhaps awakened a little apprehension;) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly coming out of a filthy Budget, and that it should be fit first to open and ayre it, because he knew she was averse from ill Sents.

And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.

These two accidents precisely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the Earl stood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the Historcall part (as,
(as it were) touching the difference between them in the rising and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their several endowments both of Person & Mind, and then a little of their Actions and Ends.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: But the Duke had the neater limbs and free delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comly motions; for the Earl did bend a little in the neck; though rather forwards then downwards: and he was so far from being a good dancer, that he was no gracefull goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his Father: For the general Ayre, the Earl had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more then at meals, when others are least: Insomuch, as he was wont to make his obser-
observation of himself, that to solve any knottie businesse which cumbred his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sate usually for a good while silent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention, which shewed that when he lifted he could licence his thoughts.

The Duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogie, which the malignest eye cannot deny him. That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity; wherein I insist the rather, because this in my judgment was on of his greatest vertues and victories of himself.

But to proceed, in the attyring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeness, and upon occasion costly, as in his Legations.
The Earl as he grew more and more attentive to business and matter, so lesse and lesse curious of clothing: Insomuch, as I do remember those about him had a conceit that possibly somtimes when he went up to the Queen, he might scant know what he had on; for this was his manner: His chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he gave his legs, armes, and brest to his ordinary servants to button and dresse him with little heed, his head and face to his Barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes, throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his Closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: on-ly in his Baths, he was somwhat delicate. For point of dyet and luxury, they were both very inordinate in their appetites, especially the Earl, who was by nature of so different a taste, that I must tel a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would stop in the midst of any physicall Potion, and after
after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the rest; but I am weary of such slight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at study in Cambridge very young by the Lord Burleigh, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the oversight of Doctor Whitgift, then Master of Trinity College, and after Archbishop of Canterbury: A man (by the way) surely of a most reverend and sacred memory, and (as I may well say) even of the Primitive temper, when the Church in lowliness of temper, did flourish in high examples, which I have inserted as a due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Master of Arts, and kept his publick Acts. And here I must not smoother what I have received by constant Information, that his own Father
Father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, some say through the affection to his second son Walter Devereux, who was indeed a dyamod of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seems, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; Nature sometimes delighting to play an after-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in course.

The Duke was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publike or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of
of his after proof; such a sudden influence therein had the Sovereign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen, the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it; & for his Writings, they are beyond example, especially in his familiar letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment; and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love; his Stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold Metaphors, and so far from Tumor, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Duke's delivery of his mind, I conceive not to be so sharpe as solid and grave, not so solid and deep as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my Lord of Essex in all his lifetime did build or adorn any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his means, or otherwise inclining to
to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud houf-keepers, then houf-raisers: They were both great cherishers of Scholers and Divines; but it seems, the Earl had obtained of himself one singular point, that he could depart his affection between two extremes: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards Dr. Whitgift, both before and after he was Archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender Master Cartwright, though I think truly, with large distinction between the Persons and the Causes, howsoever he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party.

They were both fair-spoken Gentle-men, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; and in this the Earl hath been most falsly blemished in our vulgar Story: only against one man he had forsworn all patience, namely Henry Lord Cobham, and would call him (per Excellentiam) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queen her self, though of no small insinuation with her; and
and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex sake) whom he used to term, the Spyder of the Court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures the Earl was the worse Philosopher, being a great Refenter and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace: And herein likewise, as in the rest, no good Pupill to my Lord of Leicester, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the swifter, and much the greater; for from a younger brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree wherof a Subject was capable either in Title or Trust. Therin I must confesse much more comfortable to Charles Brandon under Henry the Eight, who was equall to him in both.

For matter of Donative and addition of substance, I do not beleeve that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of Essex had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the disposition of great Summes of money in her Armies,
Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling in pure gift for his one-ly use, to the Earl of Dorset then Lord Treasurer; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was prosecuted with silence, and the other with murmur; so undoing a measure is popular judgment.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Names.

For the first, the Duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very sound and grave Personages. Whereas, except a Pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the Earl's breeding, but Sir Thomas Smith, having been his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble
The Tarall, then to the Clerk of the Counsell, and Register of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a Grammarian in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point the Cecilians kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little absence or dissaffiduity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the Other, in the managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; For the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands at large, though till his going to Ireland they were but airy objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kind of Service; He refused it with a pretty kind of thankfull scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errors; and that he saw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of discourse; which surely was a well settled Maxime. And for my own particular B (though
(though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expression of *Tacitus, Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good Contenance: And if I were, yet I would distinguish between Gratitude and Truth. I must bear him this Testimony, that in a Commission layed upon me by Soveraign Command to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accusation, grounded upon nothing but a few single names taken up by a Foot-man in a kennell, and straight baptized: A lift of such as the Duke had appoynted to be poysoned at home, himself being then in Spain: I found it to be the most malicious and franrick furmize, and the most contrary to his nature that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howsoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physician even in Print; and yet of this would not the Duke suffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services the Characters
raters of the Earls imployments were these, viz.

His forwardest was that of Portugal, before mentioned.

The saddest, that of Roan, where he lost his brave Brother.

His fortunatest piece I esteem the taking of Cadiz Malez, and no less modest; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his Omissions.

His jealousest imployment was to the relief of Calais besieged by the Cardinal Arch- duke: about which, there passed then between the Queen and the French King much Art.

His Voyage to the Azores was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voyage.

His blackest was that to Ireland, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the first in 88, at Tilbury campe, was in my judgement, the very poision of all that followed; for there whilst the Queen stood in some doubt of a Spanish
Spanish Invasion (though it proved but a Morrice dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court,) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of Leicester: the truth is, from thenceforth he fed to fast.

The Dukes employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the Action of the Isle of Reez, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Country, and of His Majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men; of that Action I dare pronounce, that all Circumstances pondered, A tumultuary banding on our part, with one thousand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horse, with neer two thousand foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descried stragling, but not in any bulk or body: their
their Cavalry not a Troop of Biscoigners mounted in haste, but the greater part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Resolution, and such as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very Sea; about six score of their two hundred horse strewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this their foot likewise coming on to charge, till not liking the business they fell to flinging of stones and so walked away:

I say, these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument that upon occasion we have not lost our Ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the Duke, who then in the animating of the soildiers shewed them very eminent assurance of his valour, had afterwards remembred that rule of Apelles, Manum de Tabula. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publique ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere Polybius, that great Critique of war,
war, observeth of yong Leaders whom fortune hath not before deceived. In this their Military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the Duke, saving his continuall vigilancie and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindnesse to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an Island where the troops had no scope to disband, and the Inferior Commanders were still in sight.

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hands out of a Ship; the other in Ireland, where he decimated certain troops that ran away, renewing a piece of the Roman Discipline.

On the other side we have many of his Lenitie, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespass of Sir Walter Raleigh, who before his own arrivall at Fylull, had banded there against his precise Commandment; at which time he let fall a Noble
Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martiall Court: That I would do (said he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act, which was written in the book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedom, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants one Henry Cuffe, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsells smothered under the habit of a Scholler, and fubbered over with a certain rude and clownish
clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This Person not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatall irruption into the City, was by the Earls Special Command suddenly discharged from all further attendance, or access to him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importune infusions, and out of a glimmering oversight, that he would prove the very instrument of his Ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from the Countesse of Warmick (a Lady powerfull in the Court) and indeed a vertuous user of her power, the best advice that I think was ever given from either Sex; That when he was free from restraint, he should closely take any out-lodging at Greenwich, and somtimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof she would give him notice) he should come forth, and humble himselfe before Her in the field.

This Counsell sunk much into him, and for some days hee resolved it.
but in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was restored to my Lords ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the finall destruction of his Master and himselfe, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in Westminster-hall did in generall disclose the evill persuasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related by his dismission and restitution, he buried in his own brest for some reasons apparent enough; Indeed, (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of Southampton, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible means from the person himselfe that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the discharge to Cuffe, who in a private Chamber was strucken
therewith into a Sound almost dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple, such Turrets of hope he had built in his own Fancy.

Touching the Dukes suddain period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confess from my Soul, that I never recall it to mind without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason.

First of the very horror and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government; but much more at the impudency of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assailnate would after the perpetration have honested a mere private revenge (as by precedent Circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publique respects, and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover howsoever. Thus these two great Peers were disroabled of their Glory, the one by judgment, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now
The Parallell.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities, (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody then Commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a Summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Forraign extraction: They were both of straight and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies: They were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privie-Councellours, and employed at home in the secretest and weightiest affairs in Court and State: They were both likewise Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by Sea as by Land: both Masters of the Horse at home, both chosen Chancellours of the fame University, namely, Cambridge: They were both indubitable strong, and high-minded men; yet of sweet and accu-
accountable Nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of Dependants and Suiters, which are always the Burres, and sometimes the Briers of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies. and sole Heirs, and left issue of either Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neither of them of Continency.

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as all Greatness and Splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnaturall ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of Life or Favour.

And so having discharged this poor Exercise of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit those two noble Peers to their Eternall rest, with their memorable abilities remaining in few, and their compassionate infirmities common to all.

The
The Difference and DISPARITY Between The Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, AND ROBERT Earl of ESSEX.

By Sir Henry Wotton Knight; And dedicated to the Earl of PORTLAND.

Though it shall appear an unseasonable itch of Wit to say, ought in this Subject, and an unskilful one, if invention reach not what is already said, with all the swelling Elogies that shall attend all that fall.
fall from that pen; yet I shall presume (disavowing only the vanities) to think that in the severest considerations of their Persons, in their Educations, in their Insinuations into favour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the eyes of their Princes) they were as distant, as unfit, as impossible for Paralels, as any two vertuous and great persons (for so they were both) we can direct our discourse to. Their engagements, incumberances, and disadvantages, being so different, that it was the just wonder (and yet continues) of the world that the Earl could ever fall (his whole fate being in the discretion of his own soul,) and the Duke (who all his life of favour stood the mark, shot at by the most petulant and malicious spirits this Climate ever nourished) could stand so long.

He that shall walk in a short survey of both their times, actions, and dependancies shall find them these.

Though the first approach of the Earl to Court was under the shadow of
of the Great Earl of Leicester, yet he owned him rather for his invitation thither, then his preferment there.

For no question he found advantage from the stock of his fathers Reputation; the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young noble man had yet surprised their hopes, or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pity; for they were nothing satisfied concerning his fathers death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the mediation of such as delighted not in his company.

As it was the mysterious wisdom of those times to poison with oil, & homines per honores ferire: & if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the son of an excellent man that died in her service, and had left a precious fame surviving.

In the Court he staid not above a year, but undertook that journey into the Low Countries with his father in law, and went Generall of the Horse in a great army, though the was not
not full nineteen years of age.

There being then no such Critisimes as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest dignity and command a conspiracy against the State; but all men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task by undertaking such an implantment.

From this first action he took a charter of the peoples hearts, which was never cancell’d; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the successe of his enterprizes, he was sure to return with triumph though the voyage miscarried: for amongst all his forraign undertakings, if they be weighed in the peoples usuall scale, the cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returnes, and as many that had sad and calamitous issues; yet he never suffered the least publick imputation or murmur; but was received with that joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any spoil or conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his faculties.)

He moved only in his proper orb;
out of it he was extraspheoram activitatis, and rather of much business, (as a man towards whom the Queen had directed some rayes of affection) then of much dexterity above other men.

Surely I by no means imagain him built or furnished for a Courtier.

For however the arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all sciences there are certain principles and maximes unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity and complacency in the maners, and a discreet subtilty in the compositio, without which (as those principles) no man in any age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulicall function.

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharpe enough, what ever stocioismes raved in his nature) well discern'd, when he said; Amorem & odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.

And I shall not impute it to his want of will (though that would be but an ill
ill argument, for his Courtship) nor of power, for he did many greater things; but only of skill to contrive conveniences of honours and preferments at Court for such friends as might have been good out-works to have fortifi'd and secur'd his own condition, except all his dependants were of another complexion then could have lived in that air.

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or desired the reputation of a Courtier, besides the preservation of himself, and the Queen's affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to master then to win;) but he seemed, though he had such places of honor and attendance as be the most significant badges of a Courtier, but in pace belli gerere negotium, and retired only from the war to prevent peace.

Then if we visit his correspondency abroad (which he rather maintain'd out of state, then contrived out of skill,) We shall see they were always with an eye upon actions, and his Intelligences had ever some hint of Tumult and Commotion, as if the
King of Spain was loud or frantick at his devotions, as when he vow'd at Maffe, that he would be reveng'd of England, though he sold all those Candlesticks upon the Altar.

This Information was given by the Earl; but it was observed then, that if there were ought intended against the Life or Person of the Queen, though it were in the Court of Spain, where the Earl had especially his Leigiers, the first notice came over by my Lord Cecill, for whom (indeed) it seemed as necessary there should be treasons, as for the State that they should be prevented.

Infomuch as it was then (how unjustly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty (having no other advantage as the Earl and others had in person) to justifie him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation; and therefore in the least
vacations from Treasons, he was ever busy to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger of those times, looked upon without much reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens heart of his fidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle withall (for I shall only look over his life without particular inquiry into his actions, which had all glorious ends, or glorious intentions) were fewer then ever any great man ever met withall, and his advantages more in number, and in weight.

'Tis true, he was rival'd by a strong and subtill faction, which cared and consulted for his ruine, as a foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and misinterpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publique and professed enemies,
mies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection happily might not be considered.

And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protecting factions (as that Queen almost her whole reign did with singular and equal demonstration of grace look upon several persons of most distinct wishes one towards another) was not the least ground of much of her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that men that were never so opposite in their good will each to others, nor never so dishonest in their projects for each others confusion, might yet be reconciled in their Allegiance towards her. Insomuch that during her whole reign, she never endeavoured to reconcile any personall differences in the Court, though the unlawfull emulations of persons of nearest trust about her, were even like to overthrow some of her chiefest designs. A Policy seldom entertaied by Princes, especially
ally if they have issues to survive them.
Among the advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will distinguish him from any man that hath, or is likely to succeed him) I shall rank the nature and the spirit of that time in the first place. For I shall not mention his Interest in the Queens favour, till the last, which shall appear greatest by the circumstances that lost it.

'Twas an ingenuous un-inquisitive time, when all the passions and affections of the people were lapped up in such an innocent and humble obedience, that there was never the least contests, nor capitulations with the Queen, nor (though she very frequently consulted with her Subjects) any further reasons urged of her actions, then her own will.

When there were any grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of the rest to her Princely discretion. Once they were more importunate and formal in pursuing the complaints of the Purveyers for provision, which without question was a crying and
and an heavy oppression. The Queen sent them word, they all thought themselves wise enough to reform the misdemeanours of their own families, and wisht that they had so good opinion of her as to trust her with her servants too. I do not find that the Secretary who delivered this message, received any reproach or check, or that they proceeded any further in their inquisition. In this excellent time the Queen's remarkable Grace in-deared the Earl to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation; neither was this affection of theirs ever an objec-tion against him, till himselfe took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her people without the least scruple of jealousie, nor was ever offended if he was the darling of their eyes, till he suspected he inclined to be the darling of their hearts.

In his Friendships he was so fortu-nate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as grievous
grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhandsomely to any ears that they were not intended to: and this, if he had not planted himself upon such whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate. Lastly, he had so strong an harbour in the Queen's breast, that notwithstanding these dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting matches to the public view of so many thousand Citizens which usually flocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own ears large reclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the Court divers persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in prison for suspicion of treason, as Captain Wainman; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he caused two thousand orangetawny Feathers in despight of Sr Walter Raleigh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even
even before her Majesties own face,
( all which would have found regret
in the stomacks of most Princes: ) yet
neither these nor any whispers that
were distill'd into the Queens ears (for
ought appears) ever lessened him in her
Highness regard, till he committed such
strange mistakes as ever have been pro-
secuted with most exemplary punish-
ments by the Laws themselves: which
(though in jealousy of Princes they oft
compound treasons out of circumstan-
ces and possibilites) yet are as tender of
the reputation of great men as in any
Commonwealth whatsoever.

If toward his period the Queen grew
a less merciful interpreter of his failings
and successes; 'twas when she beleaved
he grew too familiar, and in love with
his passions, and had a mind not to be
satisfied but upon his conditions, & too
insensible of his own errors. And(truly)
that would not be unfitly applied to
him, that was once said of the terrible
Mountford Earl of Leicester, in the reign
of Henry the Third; though nothing
be more horrible to me then the petu-
lancy of that wit, which for an un-
C hand-
handsome jest, would accuse him of a purpose to be King (for doubtless in his solemn purposes he was of a firm and unshaken allegiance) that he had a spirit too great for a subject. For besides that he look’d from above, and with a displeasure that had a mixture of scorn more then anger upon such as courted not his protection, his talk was in an high and usuall dialect; he took much delight to discover an hatred (like a contempt) of the King of Spain, and would often mention his person as familiarly as Luther did our Henry the eighth; & as Fox begins his book against the Pope with the first lines of Tullies Oration against Catiline: Quonque tandem, &c: and so he would write in his ordinary letters, and publish in his apology, I will teach that proud King to know, &c. Which founded possibly not so acceptable to the Queen her self, who though she were perfect enough in her dislike to that King, thought that the greatest subject ought not to approach the infirmities, or the mention of any King without some reverence. And the Earl in
his zeale to the Hollanders (when the great designe was to mediate a Truce between Spain and them, and almost the whole Counsel board inclin'd that way) would not only in the violence of his opposition shew a dislike to the insolency and tyranny of the Spaniards, but of the very Government of a Monarchy.

Then his carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usuall converse upon too bold terms, which proceeded not from any distemper but his passions, (though naturall choler be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes:) but 'twas a way of traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his end. Insomuch as upon his first restraint, (which was not many months before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens pardon because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his Leafe of the farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace up-
on the Physicians Maximes: *Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, leseris.*

Lastly, If ever that uncouth speech fel from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much conversant then in the secrets of the Court, That she was as crooked in her disposition as in her carcass (when haply there was a little unevenness in her shoulders) all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me: and I must needs confesse, I am nothing satisfied with that loose report which hath crept into our discourse, that shortly after his miserable end, (which indeed deserved compassion from all hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery of a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much reluctancy for his death. I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at Pauls Crosse, and set out by Command; or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most pestilent Libels against
against his Fame, that any Age hath
seen published against any Malefactor, and could not with that deliberation
have been contrived, and justified by
Authority, had not there been some
sparks of indignation in the Queen, that
were unquenched even with his blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards
to the view of those considerations, in
which will clearly appear the in-equa-
licity of the Dukes condition, to what
hath been said of the Earl: and it
may be, I have been at my distance too
bold an undertaker of these actions,
which were performed so many years
before my cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Dukes
Morning, being so different from that
of the Earls, as would discountenance
all purposes of bringing them into one
circle; he had no satisfaction in his
friendships, or pretence in his quality,
but was his own Harbinger at Court.
For though the Herauld may walk in
as large a Field of his Pedegree, as
shall concern any Subject, yet that
being no in-let to his advancements,
or occasion of his favour, I shall leave

C 3 to
to such as shall have the preferment to write his life. 'Tis true, that soon after his approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by him that had most power to bid him welcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others, as tenderness to him) yielded him rather assistance, then support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) Faber fortune sua; and all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning spirit of that King who first cherished him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate wisdom and virtue that was in him, with which he surprized, and even fascinated all the faculties of his incomparable Master.

He was no sooner admitted to stand there in his own right, but the eyes of all such as either look'd out of judgement, or gazed out of curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a man in the delicacy and beauty of his colour, decency, and grace of his motion,
on, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld, whilst some that found inconveniences in his neerness, intended by some affront to dis
countenance his effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so
terrible a courage as would safely pro-
tect all his sweetnesse.

And now he quickly shewed the
most glorious Star that ever shined in
any Court; insomuch that all Na-
tions prosecuted him with love and won-
der, as fast as the King with Grace;
and to his last he never lost any of
his lustre.

His swiftness and nimbleness in rising,
may be with lesse injury ascribed to a
Vivacity, then any Ambition in his
nature; since it is certain the Kings ea-
gernesse to advance him, so surprized
his youth, that he seemed only to sub-
mit his shoulders, without resistance to
such burdens as his Highnesse would
be pleased to lay on him; and rather
to be held up by the violent inclina-
tion of the King, then to clime up by
any art or industry of his own: yet
once seated, he would not affront that
judgment that raised him, by an unseasonable diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding boldness to manage those Employments which his modesty would never suffer him to court.

During the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, he enjoyed an indifferent calme in his Fortune and Favour; for though there were some boisterous interruptions by the clamour of the people, yet shortly again their affections were as violent (and almost as senseless) toward him, as ever their accusations were before or after; Insomuch as the Chief-Rulers among them performed frequent visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his health, and out of a zealous care of him, would have begot in him some jealousie, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants about him, being (perhaps) of the same religion with the King of Spain, had a purpose by poison to revenge some injuries (these people had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Personages met,
met, when they were both the Favourites of the Princes, and Darlings of the people. But their affections to the Duke were but very short-lived.

And now 'tis reasonable to say, somewhat of the disposition and spirit of this time, since the Disparity of those we treat of will be in that discerned, and the Earl be found by so much to have the advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their lives. 'Twas a busy querulous sroward time, so much degenerated from the purity of the former, that the people under pretences of Reformation, with some petulant discourses of Liberty (which their great Impostors scattered among them, like false glasses to multiply their fears) began Abditos Principis sensus, & quid occultius parat exquirere: extended their enquiries even to the chamber and private actions of the King himself, forgetting that truth of the Poet, Nusquam Libertas gratior extat, quam sub Rege pio: 'Twas strange to see how men afflicted themselves to find out calamities and mischiefs, whilst they
borrowed the name of some great persons to scandalize the State they lived in. A generall disorder throughout the whole body of the common wealth, nay the vital part perishing, the Laws violated by the Judges, Religion prophaned by the Prelats, Heresies crept into the Church and countenanced: and yet all this shall be quickly rectified without so much as being beholding to the King, or consulting with the Clergy.

Surely had Petronius now lived, he would have found good cause to say. *Nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est numinis, ut facilius possis deum quam hominem invenire*: For my part whether the frenzy was nourish'd in the warm brest of yong men (who are commonly too much in love with their own time to thinke it capable of reformation); or whether it was fomented by riper heads that had miscarried in their propositions of advancement, and are violent in the successees of Queen Elizabeth; or whether it was only the revolution of time that had made them unconcerned in the loyall fears that governed
The Disparity.

governed sixty years since, I shall not presume to guess; but shall rather wish for the spirit and condition of that time, as he did for wars and commotions: Quoniam acerbissima Dei flagella sunt quibus hominum pertinaciam punit ea perpetua oblivione sepelienda, potius quam memoria mandanda esse.

King James being no sooner dead, but such as had from his beginning impertinently endeavoured to supplant him, and found that he was so deeply rooted in his Soveraigns acceptance, that there should be no shaking him with clamorous objections, found some means to commend over his condition and transcendent power, as they termed it, as a matter of publique consequence to the people: and from this instant to his fatall end he stood as it were exposed, notwithstanding all the shelter of the Soveraigns regard, to all the calumnies & obloquies the impudent malice of the rabble could fling on him: and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their end were only his shame, not amendment, they rather cudgell then reprehend him. Of this wilde rage (not within
within the main purpose of an Apology) I shall give one or two instances, insisting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigested noise of the people, not as they were marshalled with other employments in any publick Declaration or Remonstrance.

There were two errors chiefly laid to his charge, and so eagerly urged that in them he was almost concluded an enemy to the King and Countrey; which certainly in the next age will be conceived marvellous strange Objections; the one being a strong argument of his Worth, the other a piece of its Reward: the first was the plurality of Offices, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesties own allowance, to acquire to the which there was no condition but his Majesty was a witness, if not a surety for the performance; and yet for the execution of them, never man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner arts to give general content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth to see his Ambition persecuted.
cuted of some, who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The other was the Preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious expression of his affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any branch that grew from the same Stock) conferr both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of offence in the Dukes conscience, that he thought he should have sinned against the law of Nature, & a generous disposition, that it would have been an eternal brand to his Name and Memory, if being so seized of his great Kings favour, he had no regard but to his own advancement.

And 'tis not improbable, that his noble care of his Family, confirm'd him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour Brooks, and could have hoped for little effects, from his service, whose care was only directed for himself.

Now whether the importunate clamour upon these two faults (whereof he found no regret, but comfort in himself),
himself) made him so to esteem of the popular discretion, and honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same ignominy to have his Allegiance exalted with blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of Spain) he was called our Redeemer; or to have his misfortunes mistaken into disloyalty, when his Enterprizes succeeded not according to the impossible expectation of the people: certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrutinious enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least blemish of dislike towards any great man, but such as were in the immediate regard and estimation of the King: As if all misdemeanours had been committed within the Verge of his Majesties own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these particulars with the Earl. When the noise of the people had disquieted him into action from Court (which was his Orbe), though he could not put off the place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing
willing Pupill to the directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that nature; and here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative part, so he improved the courage of the whole Army by his example.

And surely there is no cause to doubt, he would in short time have made so glorious a progress in his profession, (however he seemed shaped for easier skirmishes) as the World should have seen that promptness and alacrity in his nature, that could happily have travelled in any path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it: and had he not been marvellously secure in the tranquillity of his own soul from any of that guilt the Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortifi'd himself against the knife of a Villain, though it were sharpened in the lewdest forge of revenge the great patron of murder hath countenanced since the spilling of the first blood. But he that
that was unsafe only in the greatnesse of his own spirit, could not be persuaded to wear any Privie-coat, but (which he never put off) of a good conscience. And the same providence that conveyed him into grace, with so different marks from other men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the world; and which had been seldom acted, but upon the most eminent and honourable Persons of their times.

And here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, that they both died by the people, though by very different affections, which continued so preposterous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy: And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; And yet one had the Royall Sacrifice of his Soveraigns sorrow, which the other wanted.

In contriving and contracting his Friendships he was provident and circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked
his House;) and in the observation of them he was so severe and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the poison of Noble minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the affections of those he chose, then the testimony of their own hearts, though this Confidence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the day too: For his friends were Skreens between him and envie, and his own infirmities taken from him and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease, or being discharged of the burden that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his friends, kindred, and dependants; as if he were the mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in that paradox of charity, loving their enemies: And yet the Dukes easiness to reconcilement, and too soon forgetting the circumstances of Grudges, betrayed him often to the injuries of such as had not the same spirit.
Concerning the parts and endowments of his Mind, if the consideration of learning extend itself not further then drudgery in books, the Dukes employments forbids to suspect him for any great Scholar: but if a nimble and fluent expression, and delivery of his mind (and his discourse was of all subjects) in a natural & proper dialect be considered, he was well letter'd: But if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that baffled the other two) the pity and benevolence of his hearers; insomuch that his words and speeches were never entertained with that candor or common charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all delinquents: witness that Speech in the fulness of his joy, he let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his people, which was immediately perverted and carpt at as an aggravation of his other imaginary and fantastick offences.

He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning, in conferring dignities
nities and rewards upon the most learned men; either of which is seldom without judgment; and he was the Governour in a Province of Learning, which was an argument he confuted the people by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of Cambridge, even at the time when they had concluded his destruction, as a man odious to all Subjects.

In his Liberalities and rewards of those he fancied, he was so cheerfully magnificent, and so much at the mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved improvident or immodest in their Suits, the inconveniency and mischief was surely his; insomuch as he seemed wholly possesst from himself, and to be only great for their use; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his favours, and conferred them with so many noble circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.

If the Earl sided him here, his boun-
ty fell upon more unthrifty men; for there are many Families owe their large possessions only to the openness of the Dukes hand, though much be lost too in the ingratitude of the receivers.

But that which shined with most lustre in him, and which indeed flowed in his nature much above its proportion in other men, was an admirable affability and gentleness to all men. And this was the pomp and glory of all his Titles; Insomuch as though his Memory were a place so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with that familiarity, as if they had been stairs by which he ascended to his Greatness.

He had besides such a tendereness and compassion in his nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too mercifull; but his charity was grounded upon a wiser Maxime of State: *Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia, quam Medico multa Funera.*

And
And he believed doubtlesse, that Hanging was the worst use man could be put to.

And now, me thinks, to believe a man drest in all these reall ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, to his Countrey, is as ingenuous as to believe a man of a solemn friendlinesse to ten thousand men, and of a resolved hatred to mankind.

Of all imputations, that was the most unskilfull, which accused him of a purpose and designe to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his vows; and possibly the Auditours of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his first Master, though he enjoyed a glorious Harvest of almost four years, which if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious addition.

Since then, till their Evenings, these two great Persons can hardly meet: Let not the violence of their deaths reconcile them, since the same consideration might as well unite the great King of France, and the Marshall By-
ron, and many others of more different conditions.

He that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Paralell after their deaths; and not unfitly: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories and Families as unrecompensed by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, left they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, & find disadvantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew strangers to their houses, left they might find the Tract of their own footsteps, that might upbraid them with their former attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend Savour with all Posterity, and all Nations. He may tell you many more particulars which I dare not do.

FINIS.
A VIEW
Of the
LIFE
AND
DEATH
Of
Geo. Villiers,
Duke of
BUCKINGHAM.
Determine to write the Life and the End, the Nature and the Fortunes of GEORGE VILLIERS late Duke of Buckingham: which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own pen; Nor truly without often pondering with my self before hand what Censures I might incur. For I would not be ignorant by long observation, both abroad and at home; That every
where all greatness of power and Favour is circumvexsted with much prejudice. And that it is not easie for Writers to research with due distinction (as they ought) in the Actions of eminent Personages, both how much many have been blemished by the envie of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unless after the period of their Splendor, which must needes dazell their beholders, and perhaps oftentimes themselves, we could as in some Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked Ghosts. However, for my part, I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labor, which may on either side restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment. I wil therefore steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deepe and lubrick wayes of State and Court, till he was swallowed in the Gulfe of fatality.

I finde him borne in the yeere of our Saviour 1592. on the 28. of August, at Brookshy in Leicester-shire, where his Ancestors had chiefly continued about
about the space of four hundred yeers, rather without obscurity, then with any great luster, after they had long before been seated in Kinalton in the County of Nottingham. He was the third son of George Villiers Knight, and Mary late Countess of Buckingham, & Daughter to Anthony Beaumont of Coleorton Esquire, names on either side well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wild Pamphlet which he published, besides other pittifull Maligni- nities, would scant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first Rudi- ments, till the years of ten; and from thence sent to Billifden School in the same County, where he was taught the principles of Musicke, and other flight Literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his Father dyed. Then his beautifull and provident Mo- ther, (for those Attributes will not be denied her) took him home to her house at Goodby, where she had him in especiall care; so as he was first, (as we may say) a Domestick favo- D2 rite.
The Life and Death of

rit. But finding him (as it should seem) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like: Not without aym then perchance (though far off) at a Courtiers life: To which lessons, he had such a dexterous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to th'end that his brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the Language, for one that had so little Grammatical foundation; but more in the exercises of that Nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms (the ordinary disease of Travellers.) After his return, he passed again one whole year (as before) at Goodby under the Wing and Counsels of his Mother: And then was forward to become a Suter at London to Sir Roger Athison's Daughter, a Gentleman of the
the Bed-chamber to King James, and Master of his Robes. About which times, he falls into intrinsicall society with Sir John Greham, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privie Chamber: who, I know not upon what Luminaries he spyed in his face, dissuaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woe Fortune in Court. Which advice sank well into his fancy; for within some while, the King had taken by certain Glances, (whereof the first was at Apthorppe, in a Progress) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a Master-piece, and to mould him as it were Platonically to his own Idea. Neither was his Majesty content only to be the Architect of his fortune, without putting his Gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself. Insomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to avail his goodness, even to the giving of his foresaid friend Sir John Greham secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession.
of the Kings heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous then a favorite, especially towards the wayning time and suspect of fociety. So as many Arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affliction, (which lye out of my Road, being a part of another mans story). All which notwithstanding (for I omit things interventient) there is conveyed to Master Villiers an intimation of the Kings pleasure to waite, and to be sworn his servant; And shortly after, his Cup-bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in Ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him, (liker main Showers, then sprinkling Drops or Dewes) for the next Saint Georges-day he was Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber; and the same very day had an annual Pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At Newyeers-tide following the King chose him Master of the Horse. After this he was installed of the most Noble Order. And in the next
next August he created him Baron of Whaddon, and Viscount Villiers. In January of the same year he was advanced Earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his Majesties Privie Counsell; as if a Favorite were not so before. The March ensuing he attended the King into Scotland, & was likewise sworn a Counsellor in that Kingdom, where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate men) he did carry himself with singular sweetness and temper; which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate stile among those generous Spirits.

About Newyeers-tide after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him, as if Kings did chuse remarkable dayes to inaugurate their favours, that they may appeare acts as well of the Times, as of the Will) he was Created Marques of Buckingham, and made Lord Admirall of England, Chiefe Justice in Eyre of all the Parks and Forrests on the South-side of Trent, Master of the Kings-Bench Office none
The Life and Death of

of the unprofitablest pieces) Head-Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor-Castle.

Here I must breathe a while to satisfie some that perhaps might otherwise wonder at such an Accumulation of benefits, like a kind of Embroidering or lifting of one favour upon another. Certainly the hearts of great Princes, if they be considered as it were in abstract, without the necessity of States, and Circumstances of time, being besides their natural extent, moreover once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at first they give only upon Choice and love of the person, yet within a while themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no lesse then Parents do their Children. But let us go on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed, and these of the like nature which I shall after-let down in their place, were (as I am ready to say,) but the facings or fringes of his Greatnesse,
Greatnesse, in comparison of that trust which his most gracious Master did cast upon him in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, when he made him the chiefe Concomitant of his Heir apparent, and only fonne, our dear Soveraign, now being in a journey of much Adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacie) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most reserved Counsellors at home, being carriied with great closenesse, liker a busines of Love then State; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have been the more desirous to research with some diligence, the severall passages of the said Journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tewsiday the 18. of February, from the Marquess his house of late purchase, at Newhall in Essex, setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of Thomas and John Smith. 

D. 5 And
And then attended with none, but Sir Richard Grehan Master of the Horse to the Marquess, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the River against Gravesend, for lack of silver they were faine to give the Ferry-man a piece of two and twenty shillings, which struck the poore fellow into such a melting tendernesse, that so good Gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrell beyond Sea, as he could not forbeare to acquaint the Officers of the Towne with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French Embassador, with the Kings Coach and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten Road, and teach Post-hackneys to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whether some voice, (as it should seem,) was run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himselfe to seise on them, as they were taking fresh Horses
Horses, in a blunt manner, alleging first a Warrant to stop them from the Councill, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner Master of the Ceremonies, and lastly from Sir Henry Marnaring, then Lieutenant of Dover Castle. At all which confused fiction, the Marquess had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such flight company, to take a secret view (being Admiral) of the forwardnesse of his Majesties Fleet, which was then in preparation on the Narrow Seas: This, with much ado, did somewhat handsomely heal the disguisement. On the way afterwards, the baggage post-boy, who had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad Horses, and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of Hanworth, and Master Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a Vessell for their Transportation.
The foresaid Knight was enjoyned for the nearnesse of his place on the Princes affairs, and for his long Residence in the Court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious Nation, by the temper of his Carriage. Master Porter was taken in, not only as a Bed-chamber servant of Confidence to his Highnesse, but likewise as a necessary and useful Instrument, for his natural skill in the Spanish Tongue. And these five were at the first the whole Parada of this journey. The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the 19. of the foresaid Moneth, taking ship at Dover about six of the clock, they landed the same day at Bulloyn in France, near two hours after Noon; reaching Monstrewell that night (like men of dispatch;) and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one and twentieth. But some three posts before, they had met with two German Gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had seen at Newmarket the Prince and the Marques's taking Coach together, with the King,
and retained such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Graham, who would needs persuadethem they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter; for the very strangeness of the thing it selfe; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and Favourite so suddenly metamorphized into Travellers, with no greater traine, was enough to make any man living unbelievethis five senses. And this, I suppose, next the assurance of their own well resolved Carriage against any new accident, to have been their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At Paris the Prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous City and Court, which was a neighbour to his future Estates. But for the better veiling of their Visions, his Highness and the Marquesse bought each of them a Perriwig, something to overshadow their foreheads. Of the King they got a sight after dinner in a Gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar plea-
pleasures. And of the Queen-Mother as she was at her own Table; in neither place descried, no not by Mounfier Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately Ambaffadour in England. Towards Evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though under-lined with a providence, they had a full sight of the Queen Infanta, and of the Princess Henrietta Maria, with other great Ladies, at the practife of a Masquing Dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two Gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they press'd, and were let in by the Duke De Mont Bafon, the Queens Lord Chamberlain, out of humanity to ftrangers, when divers of the French went by. Note here, even with the point of a Diamond, by what oblique steps, and inimma-ginable preparatives, the high Dispofer of Princes Affections doth sometimes contrive the secrets of his will. For by this casuall curiosity, it fell out, that when afterwards the Marriage came in motion between our Sovereign Lord and the aforesaid most Amiable
Amiable Princesse; it must needs be (howsoever unknown) no small spur to the Treaty, that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his Eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from Paris, the 23. of February, were spent six days to Bayon, the last Town of France, having before at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding Coates, all of one colour and fashion, in a kinde of Noble simplicity. Where Sir Francis Cottington was employed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the Duke De Espernon, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little Courtship; who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the World) have pierced somewhat deeper than their out-side.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their Innes. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may insert it by the way among more serious:) There was neer Bayon, an Herd
of Goats with their yong ones, upon which sight, the said Sir Richard Gre-
ham tells the Marquefs, he would snap one of the Kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodg-
ing. Which the Prince over-hearing, Why Richard, sayes he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they first gave the Goat-herd good contentment, and then while the Marquefs and his servant (being both on foot) were chafing the Kid about the stacke, the Prince from Horse-back killed him in the head with a Scottish Pistol. Set this Feare for a Journall Parenthesis, which yet may shew how his Highness even in such flight and sportfull damage had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At Bayon, the Count De Gramont, Governour of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, &c opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth then their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And foure dayes.
dayes after they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday the fifth of March. Thus have I briefly run over transitions; as if my pen had bin postling with them. Which done, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young Nobles and others from hence into Spaine, after the voyce of our Prince his being there had been quickly noyfed, and at length beleived; neither will I stay to consider the Arts of Rome, where now all Engines were whetted (though by the Divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a Prince of great Britaine upon Catholick ground, as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the Apprehensions on both sides, the appearance on neither; And in sum, all the circumstances and respect of Religion and State intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royall History, or a Councell Table, then a single life. Yet I cannot omit some things which
intervened at the meeting of two Pleiades, me thinkes not unlike that which Astrologers call a conjunction of Planets, of no very benigne Aspект the one to the other; I mean the Marquess of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had some sharper, and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an interveen of Grandees, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon a supposition of the Condees, (as fancies are cheape) that the Marquess had intimated unto her some hopes of the Prince his Conversion, which coming into debate, the Marquess so roundly disavowed this guilded dreame, as Olivares allledged he had given him La-Mentida, and thereupon formes a Complement to the Prince himself; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares persisting in the said Complement, the Marquess, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his Honour and the Truth at Stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heate, that the Condees
Condees asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tied in terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the hardest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the Dukes fault; Nor his fault neither (as it should seem) that it went no further.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The Conde d'Olivares tells the Marquess of a certain flying noise that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone. To which the Marquess gave a well tempered answer, that though Love had made his Highnesse steal out of his own Countrey, yet Fear would never make him run out of Spain in other manner then should become a Prince of his Royall and generous Vertues. In Spain they stayed near eight intire moneths, during all which times, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at
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at the Prince his safe arrivall in the West did die, and vanish here and there into praises and Elogies, according to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now to sum up the fruit of the Journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest Observers. It was said, that the Prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his Religion, had by the sight of Forraign Courts, and observations of the different Natures of people, and Rules of Government, much excited and awaked his Spirits, and corroborated his Judgement. And as for the Marqueses, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained: First, he was returned with encrease of Title, having there been made Duke, by Patent sent him, which was the highest degree whereof an English Subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though closer; for by so long, and so private, and so various consociation with a Prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune and Greatness; whereas
whereas otherwise the estate of a Favourite is at the best but a Tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the Spanish Commission which in publick conceit was the main scope of the Journey, that was left in great suspense, and after some time utterly laid aside; which threw the Duke amongst free Wits (wherof we have a rank Soil) under divers Censures. The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his Councils; Neither was there wanting some other that thought him not altogether void of a little Ambition, to shew his power either to knit or dissolve. Howsoever, the whole Scene of affairs was changed from Spain to France; there now lay the prospective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of State being ever attributed to the powerfulest under Princes (as the manner is where the eminency of one obscureth the Rest;) the Duke became suddenly and strangely Gracious among the multitude, and
and was even in Parliament highly exalted; so as he did seem for a time to have overcome that natural Incompatibility, which in the experience of all Ages hath been noted between the Vulgar and the Soveraign Favour. But this was no more then a meer bubble or blast, and like an Ephemerall fit of applause, as eftsoon will appear in the sequell and train of his life. I had almost forgotten, that after his return from Spain, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports (which is as it were a second Admiralty) and Steward likewise of the Mannour of Hampton-Court; Dignities and Offices still growing of trust or profit. And the King now giving not only out of a beneficent disposition, but a very habituall and confirmed custom. One year, six moneths, two days after the joyfull reception of the Prince his Son from Spain, King James of immortall Memory (among all the lovers and admirers of divine and humane Sapience) accomplished at Theobalds his own days on Earth. Under whom the
the Duke had run a long Course of calm and smooth prosperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible Eclipse or Wave in himselfe, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his Marriage, for mediate establishment of the Royall Line. Wherin the Duke having had an especiall hand, he was sent to conduce hither the most Lovely and Vertuous Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon, of whom his Majesty (as hath been said) had an ambulatory view in his Travells, (like a stollen taste of something that provoketh appetite). He was accompanied with none of our Peeres, but the Earl of Mountgomerie, now Lord Chamberlain, a Noble Gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature, and truly, no unsuitable Associate, for that he himself likewise at the beginning of King James, had run his Circle in the wheeling vicissitude of Favour.
And here I must crave leave in such of high quality, or other of particular note as shall fall under my pen (whereof this is the first) not to let them pass without their due Character, being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this Ambassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formality then matter (for all the essentiaall Conditions were before concluded) could howsoever want no Ornaments or bravery to adorn it. Among which I am neer thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the Duke one solemn day Gorgeously clad in a Sute all over-spread with Diamonds, and having lost one of them of good Value, perchance as he might be dancing after his manner with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning in a Court full of Pages. Such a diligent attendant was Fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all civill honours having showred on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action,
tion, a breach first with Spain, and not long after with France it self, notwithstanding so frighten an affinity, so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other. As if indeed (according to that pleasant Maxime of State) Kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the Duke in business enough to have over-set a lesser Vessell, being the next Commander under the Crown of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those Overtures of publick employment. For at the Parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in Maritime service had somewhat bin shrewdly touch'd, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open. So as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majesties untroubled and serene Commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layen oyled; The Magazines of Munition are veiwed;
The Officers of Remaines called to account, frequent Counsells of War, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a Fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain.

The Duke himself personally employed to the States Generall; and with him joined in full Commission the Earl of Holland, a Peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable vertue for publick use.

These two Nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundred, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the Ministers of divers allied and confederate Princes, about a Common diversion, for the recovery of the Palatinate, where the Kings only Sisters Dowry had been ravished by the German Eagle mixed with Spanish Feathers. A Princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune here.
Here it were injurious to overflip a Noble act in the Duke during this Employment, which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his expences, There was a Collection of certain rare Manuscripts exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent Linguist: These had been left to the Widow of the said Erpenius, and were upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp, licourish Chapmen of such Ware. Whereof the Duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secretary Doctor Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being much out of his natural Element. These were they, which after his death were as Nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the University of Cambridge by the Dutchesse Dowager, as soon as she understood by the aforesaid Doctor Mason, her Husband's intention, who had
a purpose likewise (as I am well instructed) to raise in the said University (wherof he was Chancellour) a faire Case for such Monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts, of his own charge; perchance in some emulation of that famous Treasury of knowledge at Oxford, without parallel in the Christian world. But let me resume the file of my relation, which this Object of books (best agreeable to my course of life) hath a little interrupted. The aforesaid Negotiation, though prosecuted with heate and probable apparance of great effects, took up a Month before the Dukes return from his excentricity (for so I account favourites abroad,) and then at home he met with no good News of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much solicitude ex officio, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late setting out, and by some Contrariety of Weather at Sea; whereby the particular designe took vent before-hand, a point hardly avoydable
in actions of noyfe, especially where the great Indian Key to all Cabinets is working. Not long after this, the King pondering in his Wildomr the weight of his forraign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at Westminster; this was that Assembly where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the Dukes Case, from the most exalted, (as he had been both in another Parliament, and in common Voyce before) to the most depressed now, as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshely returned out of the Low-Country Provinces, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the single example that our Annals have yeelded, from the time of William de la Pool Duke of Suffolke, under Henry the Sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short time, by most of the same Commenders and Disprovers (like the naturall breath of man, that can
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both heat and cool) would require no flight memorial all of the particular Motives of so great a change, but that the whole Case was dispersed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgess of Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any at pleasure, out of the Parliament Registers. Besides that, I observe it not usual among the best patterns, to fluffe the report of particular Lives with matters of publick record, but rather to dive (as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my pen) into secret and proper afflictions; howsoever somewhat I must note in this strange Phænomenon. It began from a travelled Doctor of Physick, of bold Spirit, and of able Elocution, who being returned one of the Burgess of Towns (which was not ordinary in any of his Coat) fell by a Metaphorickall Allusion) translated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke as a main cause of divers infirmities in the State, or near that purpose; being sure enough of Seconds, after the first On-set, in the Lower House. As for any close intelligence
ligence, that they had before-hand with some in the Higher (though that likewise was said) I want ground to affirm or believe it more then a generall conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envie amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in naturall, and morall causes. The Dukes Answers to his Appeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched; and though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble spirit one way, equitable consideration, which could not but possesse every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure, and white and fine Meal, but must needs have withall among it a certain mixture of Padar and Bran, in this lower age of humane fragility. Howsoever this tempest did only shake, and not rent his Sailes. For his Majesty considering that almost all his Ap-
peachments were without the compass of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing alleged against him, had, or could be proved by Oath, according to the Constitution of the House of Commons, which the Duke himself did not forget in the preface of his Answers.

And lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity, and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participations of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own naturall goodness, to support him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimonies of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to His Majesty while he was Prince. The Summer following this Parliament, (after an Embark of our trading Ships in the River of Bourdeaux, and other points of Soveraign affront) there did succeed the action of Rheez, wherein the Duke was personally imployled on either Element, both as Admirall and Generall, with hope in that service to
to recover the publick good will, which he saw by his own example might quickly be won and lost. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much learning and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which in truth he greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure even from some of the French Writers, then it had generally amongst our selves at home.

Now because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes, and these only touching the Dukes own deportment in that Island, the proper subject of my quill; for in the generall survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if fortune had meant we should quickly be friends again. Wherein let their names that were bravely lost, be rather memorized in the full table of time; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The Dukes carriage was surely Noble throughout: to the Gentlemen of
fair respect, bountifull to the Souldier, according to any speciall value which he spied in any, tender and carefull of those that were hurt, of unquestionable Courage in himself, and rather fearfull of Fame, then Danger: In his countenance, which is the part that all eys interpret, no open alteration even after the succours which he expected did fail him; but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsecally, according to the nature of suppressed passions. For certain it is, That to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor Mason, whom he layed in a Pallet neer him, for natural Ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate Eruptions, protesting, That never his Dispatches to divers Princes, nor the great business of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, That some at home, under his Majesty, of whom
whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures. Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but in the general Town he maintained a seisure and possession of the whole three full months and eighteen days; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden Vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat. Where succeeded such a defeat of neer two Hundred Horse (and these not (by his ghefs) mounted in haste, but the most part Gentlemen of Family, and great resolution) seconded with 2000 Foot, as all circumstances well ballanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest Impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kinde of improvident conscience, having brought off that with him to Camp, perchance too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him. Bes-
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sides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of Arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the Cause. At his return to Plimouth, a strange accident befell him, perchance not so worthy of memory for itself, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of prelude to his final period.

The now Lord Goring, a Gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sends to the Duke in all expedition an express messenger, with adviement to assure his own person, by declining the ordinary Road to London, for that he had credible Intelligence of a plot against his life to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the Court. The Duke meeting the messenger on the way, read the Letter, and smothering it in his pocket without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards: His Company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence, then with ordinary swords. After this, the Duke had advanced three
three miles before he met with an old woman near a Town in the Road, who demanded whether the Duke were in the Company; and bewraying some especiall occasion to be brought to him, was led to his Horse side, where she told him that in the very next Town where He was to passe, she had heard some desperate men vow his death. And thereupon would have directed him about by a surer way. This old womans casuall access joyn'd with that deliberate advertisement, which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the said Letter, and all the circumstances, with his Company, who were joyntly upon consent that the woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved not to wave his way upon this reason; perhaps more generous then provident, that if, as he said, he should but once by such a diversion make his Enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Viscount Fielding
Fielding being then in his Company, out of a noble spirit besought him, that he would at least honour him with his Coat and blew Ribbon thorow the Town, pleading that his Uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole Family, was of all things under heaven the most precious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the Dukes manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him, from him; and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet Proposition, the Duke caught him in his armes, and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer in that case, from a Nephew, whose life he tendred as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good will. After some short directions to his Company, how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entred into the Town, but a scrambling Soldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a
begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drunken fashion; yet a Gentleman of his train that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premises it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his Horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quickly through the Town: neither for ought I can hear was there any further inquiry into that practice, the Duke peradventure thinking it wisdome not to reserve discontentments too deep. At his return to the Court he found no change in Fates, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant Gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. After the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rheez, the Dukes fame did still remain more and more in obloquie among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successs; so as he saw plainly that he must
must abroad again to rectifie his best endeavour under the publick Service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindfull in his civill course to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such as have been of principall credit in the Lower House of Parliament, applying lenitives, or subduing from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surprized with a fatall stroke, written in the black Book of necessitie.

There was a yonger brother of mean fortunes, born in the County of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent and glomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a Souldier: and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenent to a foot-Company in the Regiment of Sir James Ramsey. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the Dukes death. But what may have been the immediate or
or greatest motive of that fellonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his Captains place who dyed in *England*; whereof thus much indeed is true, That the Duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his Colonell, he found him to interpose for one *Powell*, his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to military custome, the place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonels Company might well pretend to the next vacant Captainship under the same Regiment. Which *Felton* acknowledged to be in it self very usuall and equitable, besides the speciall merit of the person. So as the aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured upon this deniall had no true ground. There was an other imagination, that between a Knight, of the same County (whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the said *Felton*, there had been ancient quar-
rels, not yet well healed, which might perhaps lye festring in his brest, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect. But that carries small probabi-

lity, that Felton would so deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more then an oblique sacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third per-
son. Therefore the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the do-
ing, he studied other incentives, al-
leadging not three hours before his ex-
ecution to Sir Richard Gresham, two only inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book written by one Eggle-
ston a Scottish Physician, which made the Duke one of the foulefl Monsters upon the earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King; but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predi-
citions had the least semblance of truth.

The second, was the Remonfrance it self of the Lower House of Parlia-
ment
ment against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place. Whatsoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine but the Prince of darkness itself; he did thus prosecute the effect. In a by-Cutlers shop on Tower-hill, he bought a ten-penny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket) that he might at any moment draw forth the Blade alone with one hand, for he had maymed the other. This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on horse back, and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth; for he was indigent and low in mony, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth on Saturday, being the 23. of August of that currant yeer, he pressed without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to Employment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with Monsieur-
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de Soubes, and Sir Thomas Fryer. And there a little before the Dukes rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kinde of Lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker then the Chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, this Assasinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body. Which the Duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Certain it is, that some good while before, Sir Clement Throckmorton, a Gentleman then living, of grave Judgement, had in a private conference advised him to wear a Privie-Coat, whose Counsell the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, That against any popular fury, a shirt of mayle would be but a silly
silly defence; and as for any single mans assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is Destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I must confess, to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured: That within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the Chambers, no more then if it had lien in the Sands of Ethiopia; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murthrer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the House below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed,
Life and Death of

deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembred by a vertuous Fame, or an illustrious Infamy.

Thus died this great Peer in the 36 yeer of his age compleat, and three dayes over, in a time of great recourfe unto him, and dependance upon him, the House and Town full of Servants and Suters, his Durtchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of her bed, and the Court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the Stage of his Greatness.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous prelagement before his end. Wherein though both ancient and modern Stories have been infected with much vanity; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kinde which may bear a sober construction, whereof I will glean two or three in the Dukes case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the Kings unchangeable affection by his own great abilities; after courtesies of
of course had passed between them: My Lord, sayes the Duke, I know your Lordship hath very worthily good access to the King our Soveraign, let me pray you to put his Majesty in minde to be good, as I no way distrust, to my poor wife and children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my Lord Bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No (replyed the Duke) but I think some adventure may kil me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the King was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, and after much serious and private discourse, the Duke at his Majesties departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and in like sort his friend the Earl of Holland, as if his soule had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatall ends, had been observed by some Authors of no light authority.
On the very day of his death, the Countess of Denbigh received a Letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears: And after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yeeld no reason, but that her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoond. Her said Letter endeth thus:

*I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.*

The day following, the Bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visite her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should a-wake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, Her brother seeming to pass thorow a field with her in her Coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was sick. Which naturall
naturall Impression the scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bedchamber for a chosen Messenger of the Dukes death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgment, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of fancy.

He took to Wife, eight yeers and two months before his death, the Lady Katherine Manners, Heir generall to the Noble House of Rutland; who besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three Sons and a Daughter, called the Lady Mary, his first born; his eldest Son died at Nurse, before his journey at Rheeze; and his third, the Lord Francis, was born after his Fathers death; so as neither his first nor his last were participant of any sense of his misfortunes or felicities: His second Son, now Duke of Buckingham, was born to cheer him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no les for the unquestionable vertues of her Person and Mind, he loved her dearly,
and well expressed his love in an act &
time of no simulation towards his end,
bequeathing her all his Mansion-houses
during her natural life, and a power
to dispose of his whole personall Estate,
together with a fourth part of his Lands
in Joynture: He left his elder Brother
of the same womb a Viscount, and his
younger an Earl; Sir Edward Villiers,
his half brother on the fathers side, he
either preferred or removed (call it
how you will) from his step-mothers
eye to the Presidentship, where he lived
in singular estimation for his justice and
hospitality; and died with as much
grief of the whole Province, as ever a-
ny Governour did (before his Religi-
ous Lady of sweet and Noble dispositi-
on) adding much to his honour. The
eldest of the brethren, and Heir of the
Name, was made a Baronet, but ab-
stained from Court, enjoying perhaps
the greater Greatness of self fruition.

He left his Mother a Countess by Pa-
tent, in her own person, which was a new
leading example, grown before some-
what rare since the dayes of Queen
Mary. His Sister of Denbigh (that right
right character of a good Lady) he most humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a discharge of some French in her Court that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular Branch of those private presents, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the name of Villiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully with Earls' sons and heirs, or at least with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, and of plenifull condition: He did not much strengthen his own subsistence in Court, but stood there on his own feet; for the truth is, the most of his Allies rather leaned upon him, then shoared him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to soli-
cite his Causes: He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame:

Things very seldom confociated in the instruments of great Personages.

FINIS.
CAROLUS D. G. Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Rex, Fidei Defensor
A PANEGYRICK TO King CHARLS;

Being OBSERVATIONS Upon the Inclination, Life, and Government of our late SOVEREIGN.

Written in Latin By
Sir Hen. Wotton Knight, (Provoft of Eton Colledg) a little before his death.

And now Englished by a Friend of the Authours.

LONDON, Printed by T. M. for Richard Marriot, in St Dunstans Church-yard. 1651.
TO OUR YOUNG CHARLS DUKE OF CORNWALL, EARL OF CHESTER, &c.

HENRY WOTTON wisheth long life.

These following Vows and Acclamations wherewith Your Father (the best of Kings) was received at his Return from Scotland, I dedicate not unadvisedly to Your
Your Highness: that when you shall be seasoned with Erudition (now your Ornament from many Ancestors) you may draw from this (whatever) small memorial, a Treasure more glorious than a triple Diadem, namely, AN HEREDITARY IMAGE OF VER-TUE.
TO

THE KING,
at His RETURN from SCOTLAND;

Sir Henry Wotton's
Vows and Acclamations.

Imperial Charles my King and Master;

Custom it was anciently, among the civiller Nations, so oft as they enjoyed a just and a Gracious King, (that their mute felicity might not contract a dulness in their breasts) to pour forth their affections and joyes in elogies, wishes, and applauses; But chiefly then, when any nobler occasion invited the rejoaycers expressions. Which sacred customs Emulation in some sort, having
having transported me, and dispell'd the chilnesse from my brest, which the weight of age hath introduced; I shall with flagrant confidence betake my self to celebrate this Day, whereon your Majesty doth restore your Self to us, and us unto our selves. So far indeed am I from being discouraged by the weaknesse of mine own elocution, that I am even ready to esteem my self thereby the abler. For, what need is here of dressings rhetorical? Wherefore over-solicitously ballance the weight of words? Suffice it this day simply to rejoyce. Sincerity is a plain and impolite thing, the lesse tricked, the more cheerfull; and Eloquence while it adorneth, corrupteth our gladness. Nor is it my fear, that this shall seem a flatterers act, (as it were) ambitiously prostrate at Fortunes feet, which in truth were unworthy of that ingenuous modesty, derived from my Parents, unbefitting that blessed Rest of mind. I drew from liberall Studies. Yet doth one solicitude at the very entrance, I confesse, surround me, lest (namely) even with true praisés I offend
offend that modesty, wherewith Your Majesty useth so sweetly to season your other Vertues: for whereas you are most stout in all things else, that requires Validity of Body, or Constantness of Mind, I only doubt, left you should bear this days Applauses and Elogies, by so much the more tenderly, by how much they are the more justly due.

We read that Germanicus (and yet how great a Personage) not long before the battle against the Chatti; did under the disguise of a beast's skin, (that he might not be observed) by night approach his soldiers' tents, to catch up by dark what they conceived of him. So do those commonly with most tenderness admit their own commendations, who most deserve them.

Whence I sufficiently foresee the necessity of assuring my access to your Sacred Ears, not by Arguments drawn from the slight Magazines of Rhetorick, but by others of a soberer sort. I shall therefore affirm it most equitable, that neither the gallant, nor the baser lives of
of Princes be pressed down in ignoble silence. But that both good and bad be transmitted equally to the knowledge of Posterity, in a like freedom of writing, as living: And with no lesse reverence of Truth, then of Majesty. Those least virtuous Examples failing, Vertues themselves by degrees decay: These, that evading the power of Laws, yet may be bridled through some awe of Record. This to you, I may dare to speak (my most Gracious Master) and even that I may dare, I owe to your self alone, who now have so lived 33 years, and so reigned near to nine, That you dread not Truth.

Most famous was of old, and will live for ever, that answer of Virginius Rufus, to Cluvius: You know Virginius (faith he) what credit is due to History: wherefore if you read any thing in my books, otherwise then you would have it, pardon me. To whom Virginius, Thou canst not (Cluvius) be ignorant of this, That therefore I did what I have done, that it might be free for you to write what you pleased. This was
was indeed the confidence of a gallant, but yet of a private man.

How much more eminent may the joy be of this day, for a King returned, of whose Life and Morals we may speak both openly and safely. Yea, let me add this with confidence, that if Nature her self (the first Architectress) had (to use an expression of Vitruvius) windowed your breast: if Your Majesty should admit the eys of all men, not only within the privatest parts of your Bed-chamber, but even into the inwardest closets of your heart: no other thing at all would there appear, save the splendor of your Goodness, and an undistemper'd serenity of your Vertues. What said I? if you would admit? As if those whom the Supreme Power hath set on high, and in the light, could be hid from our eys? or cover, as it were by a drawn cloud, the ways of their Lives and Government? Herein, no doubt, Obscurity and Solitude it self, is more vailed then Majesty. Thinks that Abyssine Emperour (whom men report to appear to publick view, but once a year)
year) that therefore it is lefse known what he doth in secret? Know we not at this day, that Domitian even in his closet Cabinet, wherein each day he shut up himself, did nothing but flick flies with a pointed bodkin? Lay Tiberius hid in his recess to the Islands of Caprea, when among so many wounds and tortures of his conscience (which as so many furies tormented him) many tokens of a distracted mind did daily break forth? Surely no.

Your Majesty hath taught the Princes of your own, and future times, the only and most wholesome way of self-concealing, in that you indeavour nothing to be concealed. There are certain creatures of ingratefull aspect, as Bats and Owls, condemn'd by nature to hate the light. I know also that some in power have held it among the secrets of State, and as a great mystery of craft, to be served at a distance: as if reverence did only dwell in Dens, and Caves; not in the light. Whence then these Subtilties of Government? In a word, and freely; they walked in crooked paths, because they
they knew not (the shortest way) to be good. But, your Majesty doth not shun the eys and access of your Subjects, delight not in covert; nor withdraw your self from your own people: you do not catch at false veneration with a rigid and clouded countenance; yea, sometime you vouchsafe to descend even to some familiarity without offence to your dignity: for thus you reason with your self in the clearness of your own bosom; If it were not above our power to lie concealed, yet were it below our goodnesse to desire it; then which nothing surely can be in effect more popular; for good Kings all good men openly revere, and even the worst do it silently: Whil'st Vertues beauty, not unlike some brightest Rayes, strikes into the most unwilling eys. Wherefore as of late, I took in hand Tranquillus Suetonius, (who hath laid open the very bowels of the Cefars) to beguile in the time of your absence with some literate diversion, the tedious length of those days, and fell by chance upon that passage, so lively describing the wail-
ings of Augustus, after the Varian de-
fect, often crying out, Render me,
Quintilius Varus, my Legions; my de-
sires of Your Majesty instantly flamed
out, and my wishes glowed for your
Return: for it seemed then much just-
er for England to have solicited her
SISTER with these panting suspira-
tions, then Augustus the Ghost of Quin-
tilius: Restore to me, Scotland my Si-
ster, our King; Restore the best of men,
Whom none but the wicked love not;
none but the ignorant praise not: Re-
store both the Director and Rulfelfe
of Morality, whereby we may become
not the gladder only, but the better too,
while at hand we may contemplate (a
thing most rare) One in highest Place,
not indulging to himself the least excesse.
Since therefore, such you are (O best
of Kings;) suffer I humbly pray, if ra-
ther by Prayers then Arguments you
choose to be inclined, That the nine
Nations of different Language (for I
reckon them no fewcr) over which you
gently reign, may glory in your being
such: and may each declare it not in
their native Dialects alone (which
would.
would not give sufficient compasse to our joys) but however, in this also more publick Tongue; That even Foreigners may know your Britany, which formerly bestowed upon the Christian World their first and most renowned Emperour, is not become so barren yet as not to afford, even at this day, a Type of the Higheft Famed King.

Having now thus (I hope) somewhat smooth'd the way to your patience, in hearing: good it will be henceforth out of the whole state of your Life & Carriage thus far, summarily to pick up some particulars, as those do who make their choice of Flowers. For I please my self more in the choice, then in the plenty of my Matter. Although I am not ignorant neither, that in this kind of speaking, the diligence, or ambition of the Ancients was so profuse, that perhaps Timæus said not unwittily, That Alexander the Macedonian sooner subdued all Asia, then Ifocrates did write his Panegyrick. Certainly there seems then to have been too great an indulgence to Art, while the Wits of Orators were wanton in that fertile age of Eloquence: but
but it becometh me (mindfull both of my simplicitie and age) to touch ra-
ther the heads of your prayses, then to prosecute them all; that even the
succintnesse of my speech, may as it were, resemble the passage of my fleet-
ing years. In the first place is offered the eminent Noblenesse of your Ex-
traction: whereby in a long Order of antecedent Kings, your luster is above
them all, your Father himself not ex-
cepted. This in brief I will deduce
more clearly: Your Great Great-
Grand-father Henry the Feventh,(whe-
ther more valiant, or fortunate, I know
not) being almost at once an Exile,
and a Conqueror, united by the Mar-
riage of Elizabeth of York, the white
Rose, and the red, the Armories of
two very powerfull Families; which
being in division, had so many years
polluted their own Countrey with
bloud and deadly Fewds. The more
blessed Colligation of the Kingdoms,
then that of the Roses, we owe to the
Happinesse of your Father, who even
for that alone were to be remembred
ever with highest veneration. But, in
you
you singly (most Imperial Charls) is the conflux of the glory of all Nations, in all Ages, which since the Romans have possessed Brittany, either by right, or by Arms; in you, I say, alone: whom the Cambrians first, the English-Saxons, Scots, Normans, and finally the Danes do acknowledge with us, to be the branch of that Stock that hitherto hath worn the Crown. In this perchance (if the meanness of the comparison be not rejected) not unlike to Europe's famous Ister, which rolling along through vast Countries, is ennobled with the waters of so many famous streams. One not obscure among our Authors, hath written, that our Ancestors would not acknowledge the Norman Rule in England for legitimate (which had so weak a beginning) until Maud marrying with Henry the First had brought into the world a child of the blood of the ancient Saxon Kings: she was Sister to David, Nephew twice removed off King Ethelred, your Progenitor.

How much is there now a nobler cause for our imbracing your Majesty with
with open arms, who are descended unto us from so plentiful a Race of Kings? since the accession of the most ancient Cambrian Blood to the rest of your Nobility, by Queen ANNE your Mother, a Lady of a great and masculine Mind. And how much the more truly may we now repeat, that which in the former Age Buchanan (a Poet, next the Ancients, of most happy invention) sang to your Grandmother (I wish with happier fate!)

*From numberless Progenitors you hold Transmitted Scepters, which they sway'd of old.*

But all these hitherto you scarcely account your own. I passe then to such as are your own peculiar, which confer no lesse of luster, then they admit.

Three particulars we observe (O best of Kings,) which Appellation I now again willingly, and shall often use) in your Beginnings, of no small importance to your succeeding Progress; as for the most part the first favour of Principles, continues in the after-growths.

First, That you were not born to the suprem hope of Soveraignty, so as flattery
flattery (though an evill swift and watchfull) which attends the Cradles of Potent Heirs, more gently pressed on your tender years. And the whiles your native goodnesse drank in with a draught more uncompounded the generous liquour of Integrity; for no doubt, how the earlyest dispositions of private persons (much more of Princes) be at first formed, and as it were instilled, that I may so speak, is of highest Importance to the Commonwealth; whereof they are to become afterwards not only the Props, but also the Precedents.

Next, That you succeeded a Brother of no small Naturall Endowments, which begat thenceforward in your Parents a more industrious and closer sedulity (for it surpassed care) for the accomplishment of their only Son: Nay, your own spirits daily grew the more intent, when now the weight of so vast an expectation was lodged on your self alone. Then were advanced to you such who faithfully instructed in learning that youth of yours, as yet unapt for Businesse. Then such were sent
sent for, who, as your strength increased, dressed you in the exercises of the Horse; which I call to mind with how gracefull a dexterity you managed, until afterwards at a solemn Tilting, I became uncertain whether you strook into the beholders more Joy or Apprehension.

In the third place, It comes to mind, that for some time, while Nature was as it were in strugling, you were somewhat weak of limbs, and far below that vigour, which now with gladnesse we admire: which I may judge to have befallen by the secret Counsell of Providence, thereby at that time to render more intense the care of furnishing your mind, as became the Heir then secretly designed of a King; whom Malignants themselves deny not to have been the wisest of all Princes from many Ages past. From your first Essays I shall haften to your stronger times, not unmindful of my promised businesse.

After your forraign Travels, obnoxious to many hazards, you came unto the Crown, whence it appeared, how much your self then dared to adventure,
venture, when the while at home each one was trembling for your sake. But the Favour of Heaven brought you back safely to us; not so much as coloured with out-landish Dye; not unlike another Ulysses, who accounted it sufficient (even by Homers witness) To have known the Morals of Men and Cities:

When you had assum'd the Crown, before all other things, there was resplendent in you a Religious mind: the Support of Kingdoms: the Joy of good men. The Chappell Royall was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increased. Sermons in no age more frequented, In none more learned; And the example of the Prince more effectual then the Sermons. No execrations rashly proceeded from your mouth. Your ears abhoring, not only any wanton, but even the least fordid word: which perchance under Edward the 4th, while toyish Loves did reign, passed for Courtly eloquence; Neither stopped this piecy within the Walls of Court, but was diffused also through the Kingdom.

The
The Church Revenues were not touched; Temples here and there new founded; Dilapidations repaired; And, (which Posterity will chiefly speak of) the Riches of your Kingdom, excited by your most religious exhortation, for restauration of the Church consecrated to the Apostle of the Nations, (out of question the amplyest and equally ancient of the Christian world) which had sustained the injuries of time. Where your Majesties care was greatly conspicuous in demolishing those private dwellings which disgraced the aspect of so goodly a Fabric: And not less in imposing the management of that whole business upon that most vigilant Prelate, who for his singular fidelity and judgement, hath lately merited far higher place.

Now (next to God) how tender was your affection to your People? When the Sickness raged, by your Command recourse was had to publick Fastings. When we were pressed with greater fear then evil of Famine, the Horders of Provisions were constrained to open their Garners, and the price
prices of grain abated. Among these most pious cares, I cannot omit one peculiar Elogie, proper to your own providence, whereof I must repeat the Originall a little higher.

There were hatched abroad some years agone, or perhaps raked up out of Antiquity, certain Controversies about high points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of Wit are easily diffused) left hereabout also both Pulpits and Pens might run to heat and publick disturbance; Your Majesty with most laudable temper by Proclamation suppressed on both sides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleaseth them; In my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) The Itch of disputing will prove the Scab of Churches. I shall relate what I have chanced more then once to observe. Two (namely) arguing about some subject so eagerly, till either of them transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had lost first their Charity, and then also the Truth. Whither would
restlesse subtilty proceed, if it were not bounded? there is of captiousness no end: but reasonable provision was made against it.

To these praises of Piety, I will add a very great evidence of Gratitude: and almost a greater of Constancy, towards George Villiers Duke of Buckingham: him, when amidst the dangers of the Spanish Journey, he had been the nearest of your Attendants, your Majesty afterwards, as in requitall, bore safely with you at home, through all the rocks of either Fortune, till an unforeseen day was his conclusion.

We observed also no ordinary beams of your Favour to be cast upon another of your trusty Associates in the same Journey, a Person of approved Judgment. Neither do I recount these only among the arguments of an heart mindfull of faithfull offices (which indeed is Kingly) but likewise of singular obsequiousness towards your Father, even when deceased; to whom the Duke of Buckingham had been for many years a Favourite: as if Your Majesty had reputed your self as much the
the Heir of his Affections, as you were of his Kingdoms; An Example rare among the Memorials of all Ages. This Duke was indeed amiable in many respects, which seldom are concurrent. Each limb of his body almost very exactly composed: yet doubtfull it was, whether his shape, or gracefulness excelled: undoubtibly of an undaunted spirit; equally intent upon his cares, whether imposed, or assumed: There was present with him in the midst of so many distractions an incredible temper and equability. I will not deny his appetite of glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from; but, above all, the most pleasing was, That he had no austerity of behaviour, nothing outwardly tumorous: but was obvious, affable, and almost to all men free and open: as if in so high a felicity, he had scarce been sensible of his happiness: for which alone he may seem to have deserved a more gentle end.

Hence forward there began to be powerfull, and so daily holds on in your Majesties most important cares, a person unquestionably of an habituall mo-
derate life, and sober counsell: and the oftner tried, the more acceptable; not sway'd to vanity, born to a solid prudence, whom to name might be injurious: for he that is described ingenuously, may be known without a name.

But the highest Empire over your affections, is deservedly challenged alone by the most worthy Confort of your Royal Bed, Her self likewise proceeding from a long descent of Kings But sufficient it is to know she is THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY THE GREAT, AND THE SISTER OF LEWIS THE JUST; Whom, for dearest pledges already of either Sex; for the comeliness of chasteft graces, and (which chiefly blesseth the nuptial bed) For congruity of dispositions, Your Majesty so religiously and so particularly doth love, that justly you appeare to have passed from the Title of the best Patron to that of the best Husband.

To Chastity, you have added Temperance, her nearest Companion: which in miserable and impotent men,
to King Charls.

who would not pass by with silence? but these in a King! in one so young! of such vigourous age! and in such a promptness of satisfying all desires, I know not whether we should more commend or admire them. Now, after these Elogies (which in part beget affection, in part also astonishment) to doubt once of the justness of your times, were most unjust. Yet shall I not think amiss to repeat a little at large a thing of noble example, in a person of obscure condition. There fell out at London, I know not what tumult, for one rescued from the Serjeants hands, whom for debt they were leading to prison. Amidst those confusions, one or other (as oft it chances) died of sudain hurts; whereupon one John Stamford, a man of a ready hand (who had fattally run into the broyle) was apprehended as guilty of mutther; He wanted not intercessors of great power about your Majesty; and there seemed an assured hope of obtaining his pardon (as the vulgar beleived) because he had attended on the Duke of Buckingham in his G 3 Chamber
A Chamber, and among the followers of his own condition, had been for some time very acceptable to his Lord, for his singular ability of body, and skill in wrestling, whereof the remembrance as then was fresh, which perchance had made the poor man the more audacious. But neither the intercessions of the living, nor the man's own well known valour, nor finally the remembrance of such a Favorite but lately, whom he had served, could prevail with Your Majesty above Justice, but that (which is glorious to speake) he concluded his life at the Gallows. Fresher is the remembrance of that Noblemans Death, a Baron of very ancient linage, who suffred publicly for a fact, unworthy of his Birth. But, if a witty Authors old observati-
on may yet have place, that some examples are nobler, others greater, I should verily beleve the Barons Nobler, but Stamfords Greater.

But whither doth this pleasent medita-
tion transport me, while I revolve these things? At Common Law your Majesty hath in the Courts of strict Ju-

stice,
Sir, able Judges, which pronounce severely: you have also a most learned Chancellor for right and equity (not inferior to the ancient Pretors) who, for the peoples relief, qualifieth that severity; But these are in distinct Courts placed apart. And if one should ask by chance, Why not together, since that might seem the more dispatching way? I will deliver my opinion: It was the Wish of our Ancestors (out of a most grave providence) that Justice and Lenity, which have their seat dis-joyned in the inferior Magistrate, might be consociated in the only breath of the Soveraign. And truly so it is; for your Majesty being composed as it were, according to the wishes of those our Fore-Fathers, hath so tempered these together, that neither the evil presume, nor the good repine. Hitherto I would be understood to have only spoken of the restraint of common vices, which swarm in all parts of the world; for of more hainous transgressions among our selves (by God's goodness) we have not a word, no not so much as a dream: we suffer under an
excellent ignorance: we know not what a Rebell is; what a plotter against the Common-weal: nor what that is, which Gramarians call Treason: the names themselves are antiquated with the things: and (in truth) no marvel; for, what wretch (unless he were of all mortall men the most stupid and wicked, and as foolish as malicious) would violate the quiet of so just and pious a Moderator.

Now as you maintain your Justice, (which I may call the health of your Kingdom) in a most even ballance, that is neither too much stretching, nor slackning the Reins; so neither do you omit what concerneth security; The like else would befall Empires that happens to our bodies, which subsist dangerously, if nothing but meer health sustain them. Wherefore after a war with two mighty Kings together, with various event (as it chances in humane affairs) and quieted by new Confed-erations on either side; your principall care at home, was to repair the Maritime strength, as became the Defender of Insular Kingdoms. Hence was the Navy
Navy Royal yearly more increased and furnished; and more commodious Harbours chosen for the Ships, and of readier issue upon sudden occasion; Your Majesty not only commanding, but with your own eyes surveying the places, as if in a matter of that moment you might scarce trust another man: Then a more exact view of Arms then formerly had been used, and generally the Militia at set times much better trained.

Amidst these things it were unhand-som to passe by with silence, that which the prudent of the time have noted; namely, that Your Majesty is more frequent at the Counsels of State (as we call them) then any of our former Kings, except happily we cast back our eyes upon Edward the Sixth, whom they say, even in his childhood, to have been seldom absent.

In that Assembly of your Councille, the chief Prelats add reverence, the Nobles chosen out of both Kingdoms, dignity.

Some are there, whom foreign experience, some whom the knowledg
of our Laws adorns: and the learned and faithfull Sagacity of your Secretaries watcheth over all accidents; but above these, the presence it self of the Soveraign breathes alwaies, I know not what of happiness. Your Presence only, have I said? That is little; yea of those who participate in your Counsels, have I many times heard (not uninquii-stive I acknowledg, for which pardon me, I beseech you) how attentively (as often as you are pleased to be present) you revolve things propounded; how patiently you hear, with how sharp judgment you ponder the particulars; how stiff you are (for I wil use no milder word) in good resolutions, and how stout in great.

Finally, in secret affairs, what a close secrecy you command, and how severely you exact an account therof; in this also, your own example leading your Commandement. For besides other, there are two things which Your Majesty hath most blessedly bound together; namely, There was never Prince since the Constitution of Empires, a safer preserver of a secret, and yet
yet none whose secrecie and silence we less may fear; which we read anciently noted of that excellent man Julius Agricola, who was the first Roman that invaded the skirts of your Caledonia: for Your Majesty doth not nourish secretly in your bosom fierce and crafty thoughts, nor cover the embers of offence till they break forth into heat; but out of a High and most Noble Candor, if any chance to be conceived, Your Majestie vents them, and (as I may say) exhales them. Truly I confess; I do not more willingly insist in the reverence of any of your Vertues, then in this very attribute of your heroical ingenuity: for as the supreme Character of the MOST HIGH is Verity: so what can more become or more magnificently deck his REPRESENTANTS on earth, then Veracity itself?

Hitherto we have observed your obsequiousness towards your Parents, constancy towards your Friends, fidelity towards your Consort, and towards cherishing of the Commonwealth, not only the affection of a King...
King, but of a Father. Neither amidst these (as the condition of the times, and the perplexed state of things would bear) did you neglect the offices of an excellent Brother towards your only Sister, whom I have always thought the only Person of her Sex, greater than all troubles, and even by her obscurity the more resplendent: indeed, placed within the chances of Fortune, but out of her commands: Whom how much Your Majesty loves, nay, how much you esteem, did appear by a late Ambassage, when in the depth of her Widow mournings, your Majesty, to carry her consolations, sent the chief of your Nobility, and him a Personage of most ancient vertue and behaviour; that to a most affectionate Legation, some addition might be made of Dignity, from the choice it self of the Ambassador. This of Consolation.

Concerning her Support: did not Your Majesty give leave to a Marques of the chief Nobility in Scotland, though tied here to your Person by near and assiduous Attendance, to exercise his valour abroad? through intricacies most studied, in such a stop of passages; through
through hazards by Sea and Land; through Places and Towns beset with Plague and Famin: where it was almost easier to conquer, then to get entrance, and harder to suffer, then to act. If after this, Success was wanting, yet was not the generous affection of a King; not the valour of his Subjects, not expences of divers kinds; not Legations (the while) upon Legations, to appease (if it were possible) by equall conditions, and by friendly Treaty, the frenzie of the time: for the rest, we must repose our selves in Solon's advice, Let no man glory before his End.

Now amongst so many cares (wherewith even the best of Kings are chiefly opprest) it will not be unpleasant to enquire a little, how elegantly Your Majesty doth dispose your vacant hours.

You delight in the use of the great Horse, whom already dressed, no man doth more skilfully manage; or better break, if rough and furious: Insomuch as I doubt whether it were more aptly or deservedly done of him who hath lately erected an Equestrian Statue to Your
Your Majesty of solid brasse, the lively work of Lisierius.

To this I must adde Musick, both instrumentall and vocall, which under you grows every day more harmonious and accurate, as being fitted to the judgment of your ear. This (left it should seem too tender a delight) you temper as it were with hunting. In which Image of War you do so exercise your vigorous Spirits, that it is hard to say whether you love the pleasure more, or the labour; or whether you had rather with the killing, or the long standing of the Game.

But the most splendid of all your entertainments, is your love of excellent Artificers, and Works: wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your Palaces, that Italy (the greatest Mother of elegant Arts) or at least (next the Grecians) the principall Nursery may seem by your magnificence to be translated into England.

What can be more delightfull then those sights? nay I am ready to ask, what more learned then to behold the
the tonguelesse eloquence of lights and shadows, and the silent poesie of lines, and (as it were) living Marbles? Here would the spectator swear the limbs and muscles design'd by Tintoret to move; there the birds of Bassano to chirp, the oxen bellow, and the sheep to bleat: Here the faces of Raphael to breathe, and those of Titian even to speak: there a man would commend in Correggio delicatenesse, in Parmesano concinnity. Neither do the Belgians want their praise; who if they paint Land-skips, all kind of vegetables seem in their verdure; the flowers do smile, the hils are raised, the vallies in depression: In your Statuary works the like learned variety; of which some glory in a kind of vivacity, some in tendernessse of parts. But those are the entertainment of your eye. Now to recreate your mind somtimes, a Book of choisest subject: but oftnest, Men you read, knowing full well how much it doth import a Prince to understand the conditions of his people. There are times also when you refresh your thoughts in the rehearfall of some ancient
ancient Epigrams, with no lesse acute-nessse then they were compos'd.

Thus have I cursoryly run over your serious times, and your remissions: but the very pleasure I have taken in passing through these, though but very lightly, doth (I know not how) infuse into my pen now in motion, a new spirit, to represent (with Your Majesties leave) though it bee but to my self, your true portraiture in little, and (as it were) in one short view together, which I thus conceive in my fancie.

I may say your feature is next a just proportion; your body erect and active; your colour or complexion hath generally drawn more from the white Rose of Yorke, then the red of Lancaster; your haire neerer brown then yellow; your brow proclameth much fidelity; a certain verecundious generosity graceth your eyes, not such as we read of Sylla, but of Pompey; in your gestures nothing of affectation; in your whole aspect no swelling, nothing boysterous, but an alluring and well becoming suavity: your alacrity and vigour the celerity of your motions discovers...
discovers: otherwise your affections are temperate, and demeanour well settled; most firm to your purposes and promises. Loving Truth, hating Vice; Just, Constant, Couragious, and not simply so, but knowingly Good.

Such you are; and being such; with what applause shall we receive you! Me thinks I see, when sometimes I compare together horrid and quiet Times, as often as Richard the Third return'd, perchance from his Yorke, or further off, to London, and assembled his Peeres about him; how the heads of Noblemen did hang! how pale their cheeks! what solicitous suspicions and murmurs they conferred together; as if suddenly some dismal Comet or inauspicious Starre had risen above the Horizon! But contrariwise, the return of a just, and a good Prince, is in truth nothing else but the very approach of the Sun, when with his vernall beams hee doth expell the deformed Winter, and with a gentle heat doth comfort and exhilarate all things about us.

Live therefore, O King, to all that are
are good, most grateful. But in what wishes shall I end? After Trajans times there was among the ancients (with whose example smitten, I have too boldly undertaken this small Labour) under every renowned Emperor a form of Acclamation in this kind, Long maist thou live Antoninus; Long maist thou reign Theodosius; happier then Augustus; better then Trajan: but let this be the concluding Character of Your Majesties time; That the things we can wish, are fewer then those we praise.

Wherefore when I have out of an ardent zeale only wished this, that Charles our excellent King and Master may reign and live like himself alone, and long:

Be this the Conclusion,

In what transcendent happiness were we, If know we would how fortunate we bee.
A CONCEPT
Of some
OBSERVATIONS
INTENDED
Upon Things most Remarkable in the
Civil History of this Kingdom;
And likewise in the State
of the Church,
From the NORMAN Invasion, till the
Twelfth year of our vertuous
SOVEREIGN,
CHARLES
The FIRST,
Whom God have in his precious Custody.

Of William the First.

William the first was a
Child of Fortune from
his Cradle. We do Com-
monly and justly stile
Him The Conqueror:
For he made a general Conquest of the
whole
whole Kingdome and People either by Composition or Armes. And he suppressed in great part the former Customs and Laws; and introduced new Behaviours and Habits, which under shew of Civilitie, were in effect but Rudiments of Subjection. Lastly, he was near the Imposing, and (as I may terme it) the Naturallizing here of his own Language: At least, he both made it and left it Currant in all Courts of Plea; wherof is yet remaining no small Impression.

Besides his Achievements by Force, I note a great Secret of State silently wrapped in his high Tenures of Knight Service. For, those drawing as well Marriage as Wardship, gave him both power and occasion to Conjugate at pleasure the Norman and the Saxon Houses, which by degrees might prove a second Conquest of Affections, harder then the first.

Rarely had been seen for such a Prize an evener Tryall by Battle then that at Hastings: Both Commanders well acquainted before with Adventures and Perill: Both animated and edged
edged with Victories. In their Numbers (through confused Report) I can collect no enormous disparity. In their Persons equally valiant. And for any Right or merit in the Cause, no difference but this: That either the One must keep a Kingdom ill gotten, or the Other get it as ill.

What were the maine Errors, and what principally gave the Day, so long after is hard to affirm. Well we may conclude, that on either side the Fight was constant and fierce: And surely undeterminable without the death, at least, of one of the Chiefs. For the English would not run away, and the Normans could not.

After this Success, His not Marching immediately to the Head-Citie, when Terror would have swept the ground before him: but Casting about (for so the most have delivered) more like a Progress then a Pursuit, as if one single Battall had given him leave to play with his Fortune, may seem strange, according to the Maximes of War at this Day: But, let all Discourse cease, States have their Conversions and Period's
riods as well as Naturall Bodies, And we were come to our Tropique.

In his farther Proceedings I note Him somtimes most helped, And another while most hindred by the Clergy, then of mighty persuasion with the Temporall Lords and People: which taught him afterwards a lesson when he was fast in the Throne, how to Rivet his own Greatness, by Changing the Natives into Normans or other Aliens of his proper choice in the Higheft Ecclesiasfical Dignities.

Then was Stigand the Metropolitan, in a Synod formally & fairly Depofed, being too stiffe for the times: Which was indeed the wringing Point, though other Objections made more noise.

He was Crowned on Christmas Day, in the year of our Saviour 1066. At which Time He would faine have Compounded a Civil Title of I know not what Alliance or Adoption, or rather Donation from Edward the Confessor: As if Hereditarie Kingdoms did pass like New-years Guifts: The truth is, He was the Heir of his Sword. Yet from those Pretences howsoever, there
there sprang this good, That he was thereby in a sort engaged to Cast his Government into a middle or mixed nature, as it were between a Lawful Successor and an Invader; though generally (as all new Empires do favour much of their Beginings) it had more of the Violent then of the Legall.

One of the first Things in his Intent, but in effect one of the last, was the perfecting of that which we call the Winchester Book: being a more particular Inquisition then had been before, of every Hide of Land within the precincts of his Conquest, and how they were holden: whenceforth we may account a full Resettlement of Lordship and Propriety through the Realm. Quo-re (for I finde it obscure) whether Possessions for the most part, had not remained all the while before, in a kind of Martial Disposure, or perchance little better.

We have at this day more knowledge of whom he doubted, then of whom he trusted, (which I believe were very few.) Certainly, his Reign must needs be full of strong Apprehensions; And his
his Nature was prone enough to entertain them, as may well appear by the Event, in two Personages of all other the likeliest to sit fast about him; namely, *Fitz Aubert*, alias, *Fitz Osbern*, (for he is diversly termed) and *Odo*, one of his own brothers by the same womb. These two had each of them Contributed towards his Enterprize about forty Ships a piece, and were the first Foundation of his Fortunes, both in Strength, and in Example. But what became of Them? Mary, after they had been dignified here with Earldoms, the one of Hereford, the other of Kent; *Fitz Osbern* (as some report) was Executed under him: Or (as the most) was discarded into a Forraign Service, for a pretty shadow of Exilement. And *Odo* his Brother was a Prisoner even at the time of his own death: So heavy with some High Mindes is an over-weight of Obligation: Or otherwise, Great Deservers do perchance grow intolerable Presumers. Or lastly, Those that help to Raise, stand ever in some hazard to be thought likewise the fittest to Depresse.
I have been sometimes tempted to wonder, how among these Jealousies of State and Court, Edgar Atheling could subsist, being then the Apparant and Indubiate Heir of the Saxon Line: But he had tried and found Him a Prince of limber vertues: So as though he might peradventure have some Place in his Caution, yet he reckoned Him beneath his Fear.

He was contemporall with three Popes, Victor, and Alexander the Second of that Name, and Hildebrand, alias, Gregory the Seventh. Victor took the first hold of him, by Ratifying his Nuptiall Contract within the Degrees forbidden (which is none of the least Arts in the Roman Hierarchy, for the chaining of Princes and their Issue to a perpetual Dependance.) Alexander drave it somewhat further, By lending his Banner to this Invasion: As they have been always frank of their Blessings to Countenance any Great Action: and then (according as it should prosper) to Tissue upon it some Pretenice or other. As here first of all came in a Challenge of Homage, forsooth, by
by Promise: which though the Conquerour ever eagerly disavowed, Yet, I know not how, by the cunning Incroachments of Hildebrand (that famous Intruder) who succeeded, He did abase and avale the Sovereignty into more Servitude towards that See (as our Authors charge his Time) then had been since the Name of a State or a Church among us.

Now for the Constitution and Character of his Person and Mind: He was not of any delicate Contexture: His Limbs rather sturdy then dainty: Sublime and almost Tumorous in His Looks and Gestures: yea, even in His Oaths; for they say, He used to swear *By the Resurrection of the Son of God.* By nature far from Profusion, and yet a greater Sparer then a Saver; For though he had such means to accumulate, yet His Forts, Castles, and Towers which he built, and His Garrisons which he maintained, and his Feastings (wherein he was only Sumptuous) could not but soak His Exchequer. Besides, the multiplicity of Rewards which hang upon such Acquests;
Kings of England. 171

Acquests; And likewise certain secret waste Pipes of Espials through the Realm, no lesse Chargeable, then Necessary for New Beginners. But above all, I must note the Popes Legats and Dreyners, which began here to be frequent in His Time; and are no where cheap.

One strange and excellent Fame doth follow Him: That the Land had never been before so free from Robberies and Depredations, as through His Reign: scarce Credible in such a Broken and Ruffling Time, if it were not so constantly delivered. But, it should seem, That to ingratiate himselfe with the Vulgar (with whom there is nothing more popular then Security) He made it a Master-Piece of his Regiment. And perchance Action had pretty well evacuated the idle People; which are the Stock of Rapine.

His Wife, the Lady Magdalena, brought him four Sons, and six Daughters; And (besides her natural Fertility) we may almost account her pregnant of a Conquest: For, her Father Earl Baldwin of Flanders had then
then the French King in Tutelage: So as (no doubt) by her Mediation he drew a great Concurrence from that Kingdom, and the adjacent Provinces. For these Reasons He loved Her well: And I find his life little tainted with extravagant Lust; for, his pleasures were more of the Field, then of the Chamber. Yet, he had one Illegitimate Child (to keep it in fashion) namely, Peverel, Lord of Nottingham and Derby.

He left the Succession to his second Son, not because he bare his Name (though that perhaps might have been some Motive): nor, because he thought him the best timbred to support it. But Robert his eldest, having openly Rebelled against him; and having (as they write) at a casuall Encounter given him his Life (which was too great a Guift to be either forgotten or acknowledg-ed) he had reason to prefer the more obsequious Child. And I think we shall need to seek no further.

As for Henry his third Son, albeit he was born after his Father was a King; and the two former were but the
the Issue of a Duke of Normandy; so as by some ancient Examples (if Examples could carry Diadems) he might, and perchance did expect the Crown; yet, He left Him (by our best Relations) but a bare Legacy of five thousand pounds. Note the sober measure of that Age, when it was a Kings younger Sons Portion, which is now scant an Aldermans: So much is either Wealth increased, or Moderation decayed.

But let me Conclude my Notes upon the Heroicall Champion. He died not in his Acquisitive, but in his Native Soil: Nature her self as it were claiming a small Interest in his body, when Fortune had done with Him. But one thing fell out to disquiet his Obsequies, That the Place where he should be laid, was put in Suit, as having formerly in the Time of his Power been wrested from the true Owner; which a while suspended his Interment, and became a Declamatory Theme among the Religious Men of that Age; That so Great A Conquerour of Foreign Lands should at length want
want Earth at Home to cover Him. But it was the last of his worldly Felicities, that for the better Establishment of His Heir, he survived his own Victory twenty Years, eight Months, and sixteen days. For, *Tempus conquirit omnia.*
The Election of the New Duke of Venice.

After the death of Giovanni Bembo.

On Friday, being the 16. of this year 1618, about an hour before sunsetting, Giovanni Bembo, the 91. Duke of Venice, ended his days in the 75. year of his Age: His disease was a Fever occasioned by some obstruction in his reins that
that stopped the course of his water: Whether the Physicians did hasten his end, by taking from him more bloud then his years could spare, is now too late a question. His name is one of the Ancientest among them. His Father was a Gentleman, almost of the lowest poverty, til he matched with a wealthy Citizens daughter, who afterwards proved the heir of her Father, leaving issue male this Duke Giovanni and Philippo his brother: Philippo (who only was married, being not the Custom of Venice for more brothers then one to take wife) dyed some few months before the Duke, in greater reputation then degree: For their Laws do suppress the brothers of their Dukes: The Duke himself did arise by Imployments at sea; His first Action of note was in the Battaile of Lepanto; where besides some wounds that he received for his own share, the success of that great day, in such trepidation of the State made every man meritorious. He was lastly (to omit his middle steps) while the Republick stood under Excommunication by this Pope (the
(the King of Spain likewise then arming) made Generall of their Maritime forces. This is the solemnnest Title they can confer under the Princedom, being indeed a kind of Dictatorship: to which they have no Charge equivalent on the Land, having been content (as it seems) in honour of their Situation, to give the Prerogative of trust to that Element: To the Princedom he was chosen, being none of the Competitors then in voice. Who unable to make themselves, and unwilling to make their Concurrents, (as the fashion is) agreed in a Third: He held the Place two years, three months, and twelve daies with generall good liking; though indeed, his praises were rather Moral then Intellectual, as more Consisting in goodness of disposition, then any other eminent Abilitie. For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, onely notable in his splendor and economical magnificence, beyond ordinarie example, and perchance in an nother nature beyond Permission: For these Popularities among them, are somewhat hazardous. To Ambas-
faviours he gave small satisfaction, save with his eyes, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, always blushing while he spake, and glad when he had done. Wherby his Answers were the more scant and meager. But this did imitate Wisdom: For a Duke of Venice that opens himself much will be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good Patriot, and in his natural a good man. They that are willing to censure him further, thinke his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State, then the Times. Now being thus passed away, the first publick Care was to order his Funeral; til when the Custome doth not suffer that a new can be chosen. This was done the Thursday following with all due solemnity; & in the mean time was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to consider what Lawes be fit to be added or amended touching the future Election, or in the form of the Dukes Oath, which

*La Promis-

"they gently call his *Pro-

*bone Ducale. mife; The Inquisitors are upon
upon Complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of Extortion, to enquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his Heirs. Which office doth continue in Authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time presented four new Laws.

1. That the Brothers and Children of the Prince shall take place in Publick Processions, after the Principall Magistrates, namely, next to the Censors.

2. That immediately after the choice of any new Duke, in the next Grand Counsell, shall be openly rehearsed all former Decrees against Defrauders of the Publick Chests. This they call in their Dialecto Intaccamento di Cassa, as unpardonable here as Treason.

The other two merit no Memory, being only about little increase of Provision for the Dukes Attendants, and some Inlargement of time for the Correctors office, which heretofore did determine as soon as the Election began.

These new Orders thus made, and appro-
approved by the Grand Councill (from whence all Authority floweth) they proceeded on Friday morning to the Election. About which time were discovered four Competitors, Antonio Priuli, Gieconimo Giustiniano, Augustino Nani, and Nicolo Donato. The three first all Procuratori di St. Marco; Who are in number IX, in degree the second Personages of the State, and commonly the Seminarie of their Princes; though not of necessity, as well appeareth by the fourth Concurrent, who was yet no more then a Senator of the Wide Sleeve; a Vesture of eminent Gravity and Place in their Councils. Of these Priuli and Giustiniano having before been chosen Commissioners in the Businessse of the Uscocchi, were by a new Warning and Penalty in the Senate on Friday before (the Prince then languishing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their Hopes. For I have noted one singular property in the Composition of this State. That no mans fortunes without other Demerits are hindered by their Absence.
Now it shall be fit to set down, with what Foundations, and with what Oppositions, they entred the List. Priuli had passed through all the principal Charges of the State in the civil way; And had lastly in the Military been Generalissimo (till sickness sent him home) in the Austrian Action. His own Family numerous; His Alliance strong; Himselfe a man of moderate nature, of pleasant and popular Conversation, rather free then sour and reserved; of good extemporall judgment and discourse, for the satisfying of publick Ministers, which is the Dukes proper part. Lastly, Threescore and ten years old (for that must not be forgotten among his helps.) But he suffered two Objections, though both rather within his Fortune, then his Nature. The one that he was the Father of a Cardinal, which might distract his Affection between the State and the Church. The other, that he was poor, and somewhat behind-hand. Of which Objection on the other side, his Favours made up part of his merit, as having indebted himself in the publick Service.
Giustiniano was a Gentleman, that had likewise passed through the best places at home, of excellent Gravity and Judgment, and of most unquestionable Integrity, not violent, not avaricious, singularly beloved of the people; to whose satisfaction in a time of this nature, it was perhaps meet to yield somewhat. He was besides one year elder than Priuli; but his old age did not help him so much as he was hindered by the Antiquity of his Name. For the Princedom having been for the two last Successions in the old Family, it was likely the new would now strive to bring it back again among their own Blood.

Nani had carried himself meritoriously in forraign Employments, particularly against this Pope, in the time of the Interdict; which held up his Credit among the good Patriots. And having been near the Supream Place at the last Election, he re-entred now with the more hope. Besides, being by nature stiffe and sensative, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage; the time seeming to need such a man.
a man. But two wild rumours did much oppress him. The one with the better fort, that he had purchased by close gifts certain of the poor Gentlemens Favours. The other with the people, that he had of late been Author of some hard Decrees; his age besides was but 63. years, and his complexion durable.

Donato (surnamed Testolina for the littlenesse of his head) had been long time conversant in the gravest Consultations, was reputed one of the wealthiest Gentlemen of the whole City, of good natural capacity, and above the rest adorned with Erudition. Besides, he had the Commendation of fourscore years, and of a weak body. But it was thought somewhat presumptuous, that he should contend with persons of higher Rank: whereupon some conceived his end, only to gain a friend by his voices, and to make himself Procuratour in the room of him that should be Prince. With these hopes, and with these objections, they entred the Field, after they had laboured their friends one whole Week, namely.
namely, from the Friday night of the Dukes death, to the Friday morning following, and perhaps a good while before: within which time, at the place of their Broglio (as they term it) where the Concurrents sue for voices. Nani the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching wits, to tread softly, to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from Benches where he sat with laborious and painfull gesture, as Arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing somtimes is Ambition. To come now to the Election.

The Election of the Duke of Venice is one of the most intricate and curious Forms in the World; consisting of several precedent Ballotations. Whereupon occurreth a pretty Question, What need there was of such a deal of solicitude in choosing a Prince of such limited Authority? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient Forms be commonly the most simple. To which doubt, this answer may serve the turn, that it was (as the tradition runneth) a Monks Invention of the Benedictin Order. And in truth,
the whole mysterious frame therein, doth much favour of the Cloyster. For first, a Boy must be snatched up below, and this Child must draw the Bals, and not themselves, as in all other Elections: then is it strangely intermingled, half with Chance, and half with Choice. So as Fortune, as well as Judgment or Affection hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater. One point (as now and then happeneth, even in the most curious webs of this nature) seemeth somewhat unequall. Namely, that the 41. (who are the last immediate Electours of the Duke) must be all of severall Families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his Nomination. For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four) cannot make a Duke without help from some one of the new. And that is not easily gotten, through emulation between them, as strong perhaps as any publick respect. So as the two last Dukes, Memo and Bembo, both of the ancient Bloud, may upon the whole matter be accounted Irregularities of Fortune, who hath likewise her Anomola. Now to set down the Variations of
of Chance in every step of these Scrutinies were tedious. Sure it is, that at
the inclosing of the 41. (for those must be shut up like our Jurors of In-
quest, but that they are better fed) Donato had fifteen sure Bals, Nani twelve,
Giustiniano ten, and Priuli but four. So as no one of them had voices enough
to exclude the other three from making a Duke: for to this Privative
Power are required seventeen Bals at least. Nor any two of them, except
Donato and Nani had reciprocally an inclusive Power to advance each other
by joyning: for though Donato might have made Giustiniano, yet he could
not be made by him, because their united strength was but precisely twenty
five, which number indeed would have served the turn, but that one of them
on Donato's part (himself being of the number) must be abated. For contrary
to the form of Election in the Empire, no man here can bestow his Ball upon
his own person. So as upon the matter doth arise a kind of Riddle, That
Donato was the weaker by his presence.

Thus
Thus they stood in their several Strengths, when they were shut up with a Guard about the Palace: where during this Election, all Inferiour Tribunals cease, only the Colledge of the Preconsultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of Ambassadours; the Senate likewise, and the High Council of Ten in their ordinary vigour: they remained close twelve full days: In which time divers false voices were vented. But none of the Competitors arriving to a sufficient number of Bals, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballote some others that did not concur. Among whom nothing was so memorable as the Ballotation of Lorenzo Veniero; who having in the late fight at Sea, with the Neapolitan Fleet preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer shame, had now 18 Bals for the supreme place of his Country, though otherwise as yet, of but small rank himself. At last these forty one Electours tired with trials, Nani unable to make himself, not inclining to Giustiniano as being of an old house, which Priuli privately distasfted, and generally
generally wishing him best, that was unlikelyest to live long. On Thursday morning, being the fifth of April, declared unto his friends, that he would joyn with Donato: which the rest understanding, they owed though not to him, yet to themselves more good will, then not to favour that which they could not hinder. And so Niccolo Donato was made Duke, with thirty nine Bals, his own exempted (as I have said) by Law, and some one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, per Capriccio perhaps rather then despight. This is the sixth man under the Degree of a Procurator, that hath been made Duke since the foundation of the City; which makes Nani the more odious among his own Colleagues, for advancing an inferiour Order; which perchance hereafter upon the example may grow more familiar. He was published with slight Applause, and with more approbation (as it seems) of the Stars then of men. For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strongly believe, That an Astrologer some years since
since in Padona, having cast his Nativity, told him he should die in Carcere nobili, which they now apply to so restrained a Princedom, helping it with Conceipt; as commonly those kind of Predictions do need.

The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato.

ON Tuesday the eighth of May, Niccolo Donato died about two hours of the night, as near as the moment could be known, which his Nephews and Servants did conceal, and is never hastily published by the State. His disease was an Apoplexie, where-with being surprized after a gentle fit or two of an Ague, he had no leisure, or no mind to alter a former Will, made while he was but a Senator, so miserably as if he had meant to be frugal even after his death: For therein he left but twenty five Ducats to all his
his Servants, and only twenty to the Nuns of Sta. Chiara at Murano, where he disposed his body to be laid. The short time of his Princedom (having been but a moneth and two days) did yeild little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entring with small applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false conceit. For a Decree having passed in his Predecessours time about the reformation of Bakers (who made scant loaves) and being conceived to be his deed, the Plebeity (whose suprem Object is Bread) cried in all corners, *Viva Donato.* In his nature there was a strange Conjunction of two things rarely seen together, *Love of learning,* and *Love of money.* And this is all that can be said of him.

Now being gone, the following Election was likely to be short, the same Concurrence appearing as before, and the affections having been so newly founded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse), the Dukes Funerall Rites being performed the *Munday* after
after his death, the Thursday morning following Antonio Priuli was made Duke, with all Bals. For Giustiniano having but eight voices among the last One and forty Electours, and Nani (by strange and almost prodigious fortune) none, the foresaid eight friends of Giustiniano unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with Priuli's thirty three voices. And so a solemn Ambassage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his Commission in Friuli, and to recall him to the supream Honour of his Countrey. When at the very same time or little difference, one of the two Austrian Commissioners on the other side, is dead in the midst of the Treaty. So various are humane Fortunes and Conditions.

FINIS.
THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by Henry Wotton Kc,

From the Best Authours and Examples.
THE
ELEMENTS
OF
GEOMETRY
COLLECTED
BY
R.
W.
WALLIS
FR.
L.
A

ALGEBRA
AND
ANALYSIS
OX.

FRAGMENTAL
RESIDUE
had
the
first
book
that
was
made
in
the
first
book
of
ALGEBRA.

Then
and
now
it
is
true
that
ALGEBRA
is
the
basis
of
ALGEBRA.
The Preface.

Shall not need (like the most part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver; in that point I am at ease. For Architecture can want no commendation, where there are Noble-Men, or Noble Mindes; I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those from whom I have gathered my knowledge: For I am but a gatherer and disposer of other mens stuffe, at my best value.

Our principall Master is Vitruvius, and so I shall often call him; who had this felicity, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was neer the pitch; Or at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he were
Tacit. lib. i. were not mistaken) to bound Annal. the Monarchie; This, I say, was his good hap; For in growing and enlarging times, Arts are commonly drowned in Action: But on the other side, it was in truth an unhappiness, to express himself so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a season of the ablest Pennes; And his obscurity had this strange fortune; That though he were best practised, and best followed by his own Country-men; yet after the reviving and repolishing of good Literature, (which the combustions and tumults of the middle-Age had uncivilized) he was best, or at least, first understood by Strangers: For of the Italians that took him in hand, those that were Grammarians seeme to have wanted Mathematicall knowledge; and the Mathematicians perhaps wanted Grammer: til both were sufficiently conjoined, in Leon-Batista Alberti the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect beyond the Alpes; But he studied more indeed to make himselfe an Author, then to illustrate his Master. Therefore amongst his Commenters, I must (for my private con-
ceite) yeeld the cheife praise unto the French, in Philander; and to the high Germans, in Gualterus Rivius: who besides his notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate Translation, that I think is extant in any vulgar Speech of the world: though not without bewailing, now and then, some defect of Artificiall terms in his own; as I must likewise: For if the Saxon, (our mother tongue) did complaine; as justly (I doubt) in this point may the Daughter: Languages, for the most part, in terms of Art and Erudition, retaining their originall povertie, and rather growing rich and abundant in complementall phrases and such froth. Touching divers moderne men that have written out of meere praftise, I shall give them their due upon occasion.

And now, after this short Censurc of others, I would fain satisfie an Objection or two, which seeme to lie somewhat heavily upon my self; It will be said, That I handle an Art, no way suitabe either to my Imployments, or to my Fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with Intrusion, and with Impertinency.
To the First I answer, That though by the ever acknowledged goodnesse of my most deare and gracious SO V E-RAIGNE; and by his long indulgent tolerations of my defects, I have born abroad some part of his civil Service; yet when I came home, and was again resolved into mine own simplicity, I found it fitter for my Penne (at least in this first publique adventure) to deale with these plain Compilments, and tractable Materials; then with the Laberynths and Mysteries of Courts and States; And leffe presumption for me, who have long contemplated a famous Republique, to write now of Architecture; then it was ancietly for *Hippodamus* the Milefian, to write of Republiques, *who was himself Aristot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6.* but an Architect.

To the Second, I must shrinke up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confesse indeed, that my fortune is very unable to exemplifie and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in truth, made me the rather even from my very disability, take encouragement to hope, that my present Labour would finde
The Preface. 199

finde the more favour in others, since it was undertaken for no man's sake lesse then mine owne. And with that confidence, I fell into these thoughts; Of which, there were two wayes to be delivered; The one Historiall, by description of the principall Works, performed already in good part by Giorgio Vassari in the lives of Architects. The other Logiall, by casting the rules and cautions of this Art into some comportable Method: whereof I have made choice, not only as the shortest and most Elementall; but indeed as the soundest. For though in practicall knowledges, every compleat Example may beare the credit of a Rule; yet peradventure Rules should precede, that we may by them be made fit to judge of Examples: Therefore to the purpose; for I will preface no longer.
OF
THE ELEMENTS
OF
ARCHITECTURE.

The First Part.

In Architecture, as in all other Operative Arts, the End must direct the Operation.

The End is to build well.

Well-building hath three Conditions, Commodity, Firmnesse, and Delight:

A common Division among the Deliverers of this Art, though I know not
not how, somewhat misplaced by Vitruvius himself, lib. i. cap. 3. whom I shall be willinger to follow as a Matter of Proportion, then of Method.

Now, For the attaining of these Intentions, we may consider the whole Subject under two generall Heads;

The Seat, and the Work.

Therefore first touching Situation.

The Precepts thereunto belonging do either concern the Totall Posture, (as I may term it) or the Placing of the Parts: whereof the first sort, howsoever usually set down by Architects as a piece of their Profession, yet are in truth borrowed from other Learnings: there being between Arts and Sciences, as well as between Men, a kind of good fellowship, and communication of their Principles.

For you shall find some of them to be meerly Physicall, touching the quality and temper of the Aire: which being a perpetuall ambient and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single Habitations (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the more exquisite caution; That
it be not too grosse, nor too penetrative; Not subject to any foggie noy-
somnesse, from Fens or Marshes near adjoyning; nor to Minerall Exhal-
tions from the Soil it self. Not undi-
gested, for want of Sun; Not unexer-
cised, for want of Wind: which were
to live (as it were) in a Lake, or Stan-
ding Pool of Aire, as Alberti the Flo-
rentine Architect doth ingeniously com-
pare it.

Some do rather seem a little Astro-
logicall, as when they warn us from
Places of malign Influence: where
Earth-quakes, Contagions, Prodigious
Births, or the like, are frequent with-
out any evident cause: whereof the
Consideration is peradventure not al-
together vain: Some are plainly Oeco-
nomicall; As that the Seat be well wa-
tered, and well fuelled; That it be
not of too sleepy and incommodious
Accesse, to the trouble both of Friends
and Family; That it lie not too far
from some navigable River or Arme of
the Sea, for more ease of provision, and
such other Domestick notes.

Some again may be said to be Opti-
cal:
Such I mean as concern the properties of a well chosen Prospect: which I will call the Royalty of Sight. For as there is a Lordship (as it were) of the Feet, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the Line of his own Possessions: So there is a Lordship likewise of the Eye, which being a Ranging, and Imperious, and (I might say) an Usurping Sense, can endure no narrow Circumscription; but must be fed both with extent and variety. Yet on the other side, I find vaste and indefinite views which drown all apprehension of the uttermost Objects, condemned by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure (whereof we speak) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private Caution, which I know not well how to fort, unless I should call it Politicall: By no means, to build too near a great Neighbour; which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately seated on the earth, as Mercury is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in combustion or obscurity under brighter beams then his own.

From these several Knowledges, as I have
have said, and perhaps from * Joannes Heurnius In-
Architects, *stit. Medicin. lib. 7. cap. 2.
derive their Doctrine about Election of Seats: wherein I
have not been so severe as a*great Schol-
er of our time, who precisely restrain-
eth a perfect Situation, at least for
the main point of health, Ad locum
contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum
sub Ariete oritur; That is, in a word,
he would have the first Salutation of
the Spring. But such Notes as these,
wheresoever we find them in grave or
light Authours, are to my conceit ra-
ther Wishes then Precepts; and in that
quality I will passe them over. Yet I
must withall say, that in the seating of
our selves (which is a kind of Marri-
age to a Place) Builders should be as
circumspect as Woorers; left when all is
done, that Doon befall us, which our
Master doth lay upon Mitylene: A
Town, in truth (faith he)
finely built, but foolishly
planted. And so much
touching that which I
termed the Total Po-

The
The next in Order is the placing of the Parts; About which (to leave as little as I may in my present labour, unto Fancie, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine own Collection, upon which I fell in this manner. I had noted, that all Art was then in truest perfection, when it might be reduced to some naturall Principle. For what are the most judicious Artisans but the Mimiques of Nature? This led me to contemplate the Fabrick of our own Bodies, wherein the High Architect of the World had displayed such skill as did stupifie all humane reason. There I found the Heart, as the Fountain of Life, placed about the Middle, for the more equall communication of the vitall spirits. The Eys seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The Arms projected on each side, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to lose our selves in this speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a Maxime drawn from the Divine Light; That the Place of every part is to be determined by the Use.

So then from Naturall Structure, to proceed
proceed to Artificiall; and in the rudest things, to preserve some Image of the excellentest. Let all the principall Chambers of Delight, All Studies and Libraries, be towards the East: For the Morning is a friend to the Muses. All Offices that require heat, as Kitchens, Stillatories, Stoves, rooms for Baking, Brewing, Washing, or the like, would be Meridional. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as Cellars, Pantries, Butteries, Granaries, to the North. To the same side likewise, all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as Galleries, especially in warm Climes, or that otherwise require a steady and unvariable light, as Pinacothecia (faith Vitruvius) by which he intendeth, (if I may guess at his Greek, as we must do often even at his Latine) certain Repositories for Works of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the Italians called Studioli; which at any other Quarter, where the course of the Sun doth diversifie the Shadows, would lose much of their grace. And by this Rule having always regard to the Use, any other Part may be fitly accommodated.
I must here not omit to note, that the Ancient Grecians, and the Romans by their example, in their Buildings abroad, where the Seat was free, did almost Religiously situate the Front of their Houses towards the South: perhaps that the Masters Eye, when he came home, might not be dazeled, or that being illustrated by the Sun, it might yeild the more gracefull Aspect; or some such reason. But from this the Modern Italians do vary; whereof I shall speak more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the Position of the severall Members, wherein must be had, as our Authour doth often insinuate, and especially lib. 6. cap. 10. a singular regard to the nature of the Region: Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatsoever, to a discretion of providing against their own Inconveniences: And therefore a good Parlour in Egypt, would per-chance make a good Cellar in England.

There now followeth the second Branch of the generall Section touching the Work.
In the Work, I will first consider the Principall parts, and afterwards the Accessory, or Ornaments; And in the Principall, first the Preparation of the Materials; and then the Disposition, which is the Form.

Now, concerning the Material Part; Although surely, it cannot disgrace an Architect, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to look into the Properties of Stone and Wood: as that Fir-trees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other Aëreall aspiring Plants, being by a kind of naturall rigour (which in a Man I would call pride) inflexible downwards, are thereby fittest for Posts or Pillars, or such upright use: that on the other side, Oak, and the like true hearty Timber, being strong in all Positions, may be better trusted in crosse and traverse Work; for Summers, or girding, and binding Beams, as they term them. And so likewise to observe of Stone, that some are better within, and other to bear Weather: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine Sand, and Lyme, and Clay (of all which things Vitruvius hath discoursed, with-
out any daintiness, and the most of new Writers) I say, though the Speculative Part of such knowledge be liberall: yet to redeem this Profession, and my present pains from indignity; I must here remember, That to choose and sort the Materials for every part of the Fabrick, is a Duty more proper to a second Superintendent over all the Under-Artisans, called (as I take it) by our Author, Officinatus, lib. 6. cap. 11. and in that Place expressly distinguished from the Architett, whose glory doth more consist in the Designement, and Idea of the whole Work; and his trueft ambition should be to make the Form, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the Matter: whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a foreign Pattern; namely, the Church of Santa Giusitina in Padova: In truth, a sound piece of good Art, where the Materials being but ordinary stone, without any garnishment of Sculpture, do yet ravish the Beholder (and he knows not how) by a secret Harmony in the Proportions. And this indeed is that end, at which in some degree, we
we should aim even in the privatest works: whereunto though I make haste, yet let me first collect a few of the least trivial Cautions belonging to the Materiall Provision.

Leon Batista Alberti is so curious, as to wish all the Timber cut out of the same Forrest, and all the Stone out of the same Quarrie.

Philibert de l'Orme the French Architect goes yet somewhat further, & would have the Lyme made of the very same Stone, which we intend to impoy in the Work; as belike imagining that they will sympathize and joyn the better by a kind of Original kindred. But such concepts as these seem somewhat too fine among this Rubbage, though I do not produce them in sport. For surely, the like agreements of Nature may have oftentimes a discreet application to Art. Always it must be confessed, that to make Lyme without any great choice, of refuse stuffe, as we commonly do, is an English error of no small moment in our Buildings. Whereas the Italians at this day,
day, and much more the Ancients, did burne their firmeft stone, and even fragments of Marble where it was copious, which in time became almost Marble again, or at least of indissoluble durtv, as appeareth in the standing Theaters. I must here not omit, while I am speaking of this part, a certain forme of Brick described by Daniel Barbaro Patriarch of Aquileia, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon Vitruvius. The Figure triangular, every side a foot long, and some inch and a half thick, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of lesse expence, of fayrer show, adding much beauty and strength to the Mural Angles, where they fall gracefully into an indented Worke: so as I should wonder that we have not taken them into use, being propounded by a man of good authority in this knowledge; but that all Nations do start at Novelties, and are indeed married to their own Moulds. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which some have well moved; whether the an-
cient Italians did burne their Bricke or no; which a passage or two in Vitruvius hath left ambiguous. Surely, where the Natural heat is strong enough to supply the Artificial, it were but a curious folly to multiply both Labour and Expence. And it is besides very probable, that those Materials with a kindely and temperate heate would prove fairer, smoother, and lesse distorted, then with a violent: Only, they suffer two exceptions. First, that by such a gentle drying much time will be lost, which might otherwise be employed in compiling. Next, That they will want a certain fucking and soaking Thirstinesse, or a fiery appetite to drink in the Lime, which must knit the Fabric. But this question may be confined to the South, where there is more Sunne and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the Materials, with a principal caution: That sufficient Stuffe and Money be ever ready before we beginne: For when we build now a piece, and then
then another by fits, the Work dries and sinks unequally, whereby the Valles grow full of Chinks and Cre-vices; Therefore such pawlings are well reproved by Palladio, lib. i. cap. i. and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances touching the preparation of the Matter, I may now proceed to the Disposition thereof, which must forme the Work. In the Forme, as I did in the Seat, I will first consider the generall Figuration, and then the severall Members.

Figures are either simple or Mixed. The Simple be either Circular or Angular. And of Circular, either Complete, or Deficient, as Ovals; with which kindes I will be contented, though the Distribution might be more curious.

Now the exact Circle is in truth a Figure, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitnesse for Commodity and Receipt, being the most capable; fitnesse for strength and duration, being the most united in his parts; fitnesse for beauty and delight, as imitating the cele-
Triall Orbes, and the universall Forme. And it seemes, besides, to have the approbation of Nature, when she worketh by Instinct, which is her secret Schoole: For birds do build their nests Spherically: But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in truth a very unprofitable Figure in private Fabricks, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much roome lost in the bending of the walles, when it comes to be divided: besides an ill distribution of light, except from the Center of the Roofe. So as anciently it was not usuall, save in their Temples and Amphi-Theaters, which needed no Compartitions. The Ovals and other imperfect circular Formes, have the same exceptions, and lesse benefit of capacity: So as there remaines to be considered in this generall survey of Figures, the Angular, and the Mixed of both. Touching the Angular, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true observation, that this Art doth neither love many Angles, nor few. For first, the Triangle, which hath the fewest sides and corners, is of all
all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and insirme (whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendered) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular Forme then it self in the inward Partitions.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more Angles: They are surely fitter for Militar Architecture (where the Bulworks may be layed out at the Corners, and the sides serve for Curtaines) then for civill use; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at Caprarola, belonging to the house of Farnese, cast by Baroccio into the forme of a Pentagone, with a Circle inscribed, where the Architect did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniences in disposing of the Lights, and in saving the vacuities. But as designes of such nature do more aym at Rarity, then Commodity; so, for my part, I had rather admire them, then commend them.

These things considered, we are both by the Precepts and by the Practice of the best Builders, to resolve upon Rectangular Squares, as a mean be-
tween too few, and too many Angles; and through the equall inclination of the sides (which make the right Angle) stronger then the Rhombe, or Losenge, or any other irregular Square. But whether the exact Quadrat, or the long Square be the better, I finde not well determined, though in mine own conceit, I must preferre the latter; provided that the Length do not exceed the Latitude above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the Aspect, as shall appear when I come to speak of Symmetry and Proportion.

Of mixed Figures, partly Circular, and partly Angular, I shall need to say nothing; because having handled the simple already, the mixed, according to their composition, do participate of the same respects. Only against these, there is a proper Objection, that they offend Uniformity: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as farre as shall concern the outward Aspect, which is now in Discourse.

In Architecture, there may seem to be
two opposite affections, Uniformity and Variety, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we may see in the great Pattern of Nature, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no Structure more uniform than our Bodies in the whole Figure: Each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: And yet some are round, as the Arms; some flat, as the Hands; some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the matter, we see that Diversity doth not destroy Uniformity, and that the Limbs of a noble Fabric, may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole Work. We ought likewise to avoid Enormous heights of six or seven Stories, as well as irregular Forms; and the contrary fault of low-distended Fronts, is as unseemly: Or again, when the Face of the Building is narrow,
row, and the Flank deep: To all which extremities some particular Nations or Towns are subject, whose Names may be civilly spared: And so much for the generall Figuration, or Aspect of the Work.

Now concerning the Parts in Severality. All the Parts of every Fabrick may be comprised under five Heads, which Division I receive from Batista Alberti, to do him right. And they be these.

The Foundation.
The Walls.
The Appertions or Overtures.
The Compartment.
And the Cover.

About all which I purpose to gather the principall Cautions, and as I passe along, I will touch also the naturall Reasons of Art, that my Discourse may be the lesse Mechanical.

First then concerning the Foundation, which requireth the exactest care; For if that happen to dance, it will marre all the mirth in the House: Therefore that we may found our Habitation firmly, we must first examine the Bed
of Earth (as I may term it,) upon which we will Build; & then the undershillings, or Substruction, as the Ancients did call it: For the former, we have a general Precept in Vitruvius twice precisely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of main consequence; first, l. i. c. 5. And again more fitly, l. 3. c. 3. in these words, as Philander doth well correct the vulgar Copies: Substruction is Fundationes sodiantur (faith he) sequant inventiri ad solidum, & in solido. By which words I conceive him to commend unto us, not only a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the Soil will bear: advising us, not to rest upon any appearing Solidity, unless the whole Mould through which we cut, have likewise been solid; But how deep we should go in this search, he hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon Discretion, then Regularity, according to the weight of the Work; yet Andrea Palla- dio hath fairly adventured to reduce it into Rule: Allowing for that Cavazione (as he calleth it) a sixt part of the height of the whole Fabric, unless the
the Cellars be under ground, in which case he would have found somewhat lower.

Some Italians do prescribe, that when they have chosen the Floor, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the Work, we should first of all Digge Wells and Cisterns, and other Under-conducts and Conveyances, for the Suillage of the House, whence may arise a double benefit: for both the nature of the Mould or Soil, would thereby be safely searched, and moreover those open vents will serve to discharge such Vapours, as having otherwise no issue, might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the natural Grounding; which though it be not a Part of the solid Fabrick, yet here was the fittest place to handle it.

There followeth the Substruction, or Ground-work of the whole Edifice, which must sustain the Walls; and this is a kind of Artificial Foundation, as the other was Natural. About which these are the chiefe Remembrances: First, that the bottom be precisely le-
vell, where the Italians therefore commonly lay a platform of good Board; Then that the lowest Ledge or Row be meerly of Stone, and the broader the better, closely laid without Mortar, which is a generall Caution for all parts in Building, that are contiguous to Board or Timber, because Lime and Wood are insociable; and if anywhere unfit Confiners, then most especially in the Foundation. Thirdly, That the breadth of the Substruction be at least double to the insistent Wall, and more or lesse, as the weight of the Fabric shall require; for as I must again repeat, Discretion may be freer then Art. Lastly, I find in some a curious precept, that the Materials below, be laid as they grew in the Quarry, supposing them belike to have most strength in their Natural and Habitual Posture. For as Philippe de l'Orme observeth, the breaking or yeilding of a stone in this part, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a Cleft of more then half a foot in the Fabric aloft: So important are fundamental Errors. Among which notes I have said nothing of
Pallification, or Pyling of the Ground-plot, commanded by Vitruvius, when we build upon a moist or marshy Soil, because that were an error in the first choyce. And therefore all Seats that must use such provision below (as Venice for an eminent example) would perhaps upon good enquiry, be found to have been at first chosen by the Counsell of Necessity.

Now the Foundation being search-ed, and the Substraction laid, we must next speak of the Wals.

Wals are either entire and continuall, or intermitted; and the Intermissions be either Pillars or Pylasbers; for here I had rather handle them, then, as some others do, among Ornaments.

The entire Muring is by Writers diversly distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the Materials, as either Stone or Brick, &c. Whereby, by the way, let me note, that to build Wals and greater Works of Flint, whereof we want not example in our Island, and particularly in the Province of Kent, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the Ancients, who observing in that Material.
wall, a kind of Metallicall Nature, or at least a Fusibility, seem to have resolved it into nobler use; an Art now utterly lost, or per chance kept up by a few Chymicks. Some again do not so much consider the quality, as the Position of the said Materials: As when Brick or squared Stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their Points conjoined like a Network (for so Vitruvius doth call it reticulatum opus) of familiar use (as it should seem) in his Age, though afterwards grown out of request, even perhaps for that subtil Speculation which he himself toucheth; because so laid, they are more apt in swagging down, to pierce with their points, then in the jacent Posture, and so to crevice the Wall: But to leave such cares to the meaner Artificers, the more essential are these.

That the Walls be most exactly perpendicular to the Ground-Work, for the right Angle (thereon depending) is the true cause of all Stability, both in Artificiall and Naturall Positions: A man likewise standing firm,
mest, when he stands uprightest. That the mosteest and heaviest Materials be the lowest, as fitter to bear, then to be born. That the Work, as it rises, diminish in thickness proportionally, for ease both of weight, and of expense. That certain Courses or Ledges of more strength then the rest, be interlayed, like Bones, to sustain the Fauick from total ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the Angles be firmly bound, which are the Nerves of the whole Edifice, and therefore are commonly fortified by the Italians, even in their Brick buildings, on each side of the corners, with well squared Stone, yeilding both strength and grace. And so much touching the entire or solid Wall. The Intermissions (as hath been said) are either by Pillars, or Pyliaesters. Pillars, which we may likewise call Columnes (for the word among Artificers is almost naturalized) I could distinguish into Simple and Compound. But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five Orders of Pillars, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marshalled.  K 5 The
The Tuscan.
The Dorique.
The Ionique.
The Corinthian.
And the Compound Order, or as some call it, the Roman; others more generally the Italian.

In which five Orders; I will first consider their Communities, and then their Proprieties.

Their Communities (as far as I observe) are Principally three. First, they are all Round; for though some conceive Columna Atticurges, mentioned by Vitruvius, lib. 3. cap. 3. to have been a squared Pillar, yet we must pass it over as irregular, never received among these Orders, no more then certain other licentious inventions, of Wreathed, and Vined, and Figured Columns, which our Author himself condemmeth, being in his whole Book a professed enemy to Fancies.

Secondly, they are all Diminished or Contracted insensibly, more or lesse, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole Shaft upwards, which Philander doth
doth prescribe by his own precise measuring of the Ancient remainders, as the most gracefull Diminution. And here I must take leave to blame a practice grown (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making Pillars swell in the middle, as if they were sick of some Tympany, or Drop-sye, without any Authentique Patterne or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemly to the very judgment of sight. True it is, that in Vitruvius, lib. 3. cap. 2. we finde these words, De adjetione, que adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quae apud Grecos 'Evlasis appellatur, in extrempo libro erit formatio ejus; which passage, seemeth to have given some countenance to this error. But of the promise there made, as of diverse other elsewhere, our Master hath failed us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so we are left in the dark. Always sure I am, that besides the authority of example which it wanteth, It is likewise contrary to the Original and Naturall Type, in Trees, which at first was imitated in Pillars, as Vitruvius himself observeth, lib. 5. cap. 1. For who
who ever saw any Cypress, or Pine (which are there alleged) small below and above, and tumerous in the middle; unless it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comliest Mistrefse) hath now and then her deformities and Irregularities?

Thirdly, they have all their Under-setttings, or Pedifals, in height a third part of the whole Columnne, comprehending the Buse and Capitall; and their upper Adjuncts, as Architrave, Frize, and Cornice, a fourth part of the said Pillar; which rule, of singular use and facility, I find settled by Jacobo Baroccio; and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that most intended this piece, then any that vary from him in those Dimensions.

These are their most considerable Communities and agreements.

Their Proprieties or Distinctions will best appeare by some reasonable description of them all, together with their Architraves, Frizes, and Cornices, as they are usually handled.

First therefore, the Tuscan is a plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some sturdy
A sturdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad, in which kinde of comparisons Vitruvius himself seemeth to take pleasure, *lib. 4. cap. 1.* The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossst of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most natural; For our Author tells us, *lib. 3. cap. 1.* that the foote of a man is the sixth part of his body in ordinary measure, and *Man* himself according to the saying of *Protagoras.* (which *Aristotle* doth somwhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ ἄκατον χειρικόν μέγεθυν, as it were, the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetry*, which we have had other occasions to touch before: This *Columne* I have by good warrant called *Rural.* *Vitru.* *cap. 2. lib. 3.* And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or *Intercolumniation* (which word *Artificers* do usually borrow) may be near four of his own *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of wood than stone; through the lightness whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinly supported, nor
The Columnne it selfe being so substanti-
all. The Contraction aloft shall be
(according to the most received pra-
tice) one fourth part of his thickness
below. To conclude, (for I intend on-
ly as much as shall serve for a due Di-
stinguishment, and not to delineate
every petty member) the Tuscan is of
all the rudest Pillar, and his Principal
Character Simplicity,

The Dorique Order is the gravest
that hath been received into civill
use, preserving, in comparison of those
that follow, a more Masculine Aspect,
and little trimmer then the Tuscan that
went before, save a sober garnishment
now and then of Lions heads in the
Cornice, and of Triglyphs and Metopes
always in the Frize. Sometimes like-
wise, but rarely, channeled, and a little
slight Sculpture about the Hypotrache-
lion or Neck, under the Capitall. The
length, seven Diameters. His rank or
degree, is the lowest by all Congruity,
as being more massie then the other
three, and consequently abler to sup-
port. The Intercolumniation, thrice as
much as his thickness below. The
Contra-
Contraction aloft, one sifth of the same measure. To discern him, will be a peice rather of good Heraldry, then of Architecture: For he is best known by his place when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his Frize (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The Ionique Order doth represent a kinde of Feminine fienderness, yet faith Vitruvius, not like a light Housewife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the Matron. The length eight Diameters. In degree as in substantialnesse, next above the Dorique, sustayning the third, and adorning the second Story. The Inter columnaition two of his own Diameters. The Contraction one sifth part. Best known by his trimmings, for the body of this Column is perpetually channeled, like a thick pleighted Gown. The Capi-
tall dressed on each side, not much un-like womens Wires, in a spirall wreathing, which they call the Ionian Voluta. The Cornice indented. The Frize swelling like a pillow; And therefore by Vitruvius, not unelegantly termed Pulvinata. These are his best Characters.
The Corinthian is a Columnne lavishly decked like a Curtezan, and therein much participating (as all Inventions do) of the place where they were first born: Corinth having been without controversy one of the wantonest Townes in the world. This Order is of nine Diameters. His degree, one Stage above the Ionique, and alwaies the highest of the simple Orders. The Intercolomniation two of his Diameters, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comliest distance. The Contraction one seventh Part. In the Our artizans Cornice both Dentelli and call them Moidigliani. The Frize, Teeth and adorned with all kinds of Carious, Figures and various Compartments at Pleasure. The Capitals, cut into the beaufifullest leafe that Nature doth yeeld; which surely, next the Aconitum Pardalianches (rejected perchance as an ominous Plant) is the Acanthus, or Branca Ursina; though Vitruvius do impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and we must be contented to believe him: In short, As Plainness did Characterize the Tuscan, so must Delicacy
of Architecture. 233

cacy and Variety the Corinthian Pillar; besides the height of his Rank.

The last is the Compounded Order: His name being a briefe of his Nature. For this Pillar is not nothing in effect, but a Medlie, or an Amasfe of all the precedent Ornaments, making a new kinde, by stealth; and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. His length, (that he may have somewhat of his own) shall be of ten Diameters. His degree should, no doubt, be the highest by reasons before yeelded. But few Palaces, Ancient or Moderne, exceed the third of the Civill Orders. The Intercolumniation but a Diameter and an half, or alwayes somewhat less then two. The Contraction of this Pillar must be one eighth Part less above then below. To know him will be easie by the very mixture of his Ornaments, and Clothing.

And so much touching the five Orders of Columnes, which I will conclude with two or three not impertinent Cautions:

First, that where more of these Orders
ders, then one, shall be set in several Stories or Contignations, there must be an exquisite care to place the Columnes precisely, one over another, that so the solid may answer to the solid, and the vacuities to the vacuities, as well for Beauty, as strength of the Fabrick: And by this Caution the Consequence is plain, that when we speak of the Intercolumniation or Distance which is due to each Order, we mean in a Dorique, Ionicall, Corinthian Porch, or Cloister, or the like of one Contignation, and not in Storied Buildings.

Secondly, Let the Columnes above be a fourth part lesse then those below, saith Vitruvius, lib. 5. cap. 1. A strange Precept in my opinion, and so strange, that peradventure it were more su-
table, even to his own Principles, to make them rather a fourth Part grea-
ter. For lib. 3. cap. 2. where our Ma-
ster handleth the Contractions of Pil-
lars, we have an Optique Rule, that the higher they are, the lesse should be al-
ways their diminution aloft, because the Eye itself doth naturally contract all Objects, more or lesse, according to the
the Distance; which Consideration may, at first sight, seem to have been forgotten in the Caution we have now given; but Vitruvius (the best Interpreter of himselfe) hath in the same place of his first Book well acquitted his Memory by these words: Columnae superiores quarta parte minores, quam inferiores, sunt constituentes; propter ea quod, operiferendo quae sunt inferiorea, sin-
miora esse debent; preferring like a wise Mechanick, the natural Reason before the Mathematical, and sensible conceits before abstracted. And yet lib. 4. cap. 4. he seemeth again to affect Subtilty, allowing Pillars the more they are channelled, to be the more slender; because while our Eye (faith he) doth as it were distinctly measure the eminent and the hollowed Parts, the Totall Object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those excavations do subtract, is supplied by a Fallacy of the Sight: But here me thinks, our Ma-
ster should likewise have rather con-
sidered the natural Inconvenience; for though Pillars by channeling, be seemingly ingrossed to our Sight, yet they
they are truely weakened in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in sound reason not to be the more slender, but the more corpulent, unless apparances preponder truths, but Contra Magistrum non est disputandum.

A third Caution shall be, that all the projected or jutting Parts (as they are termed) be very moderate, especially, the Cornices of the lower Orders; for whilst some think to give them a beautifull and royall Aspect by their largenesse, they fomtimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I shall speak more in due place) and likewise detraet much from the view of the Front without, as well appeareth in one of the principall Fabricks at Venice, namely, the Palace of the Duke Grimani on the Canal Grande, which by this magnificent errour, is somewhat disgraced: I need now say no more concerning Columns & their Adjuncts, about which Architects make such a noyfe in their Books, as if the very terms of Architraves, and Frizes, and Cornices, and the like, were e-nough to graduate a Master of this Art.
yet let me before I passe to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance be said, that all this Doctrine touching the five Orders, were fitter for the Quarries of Asia, which yeilded 127 Columns of 60 Foot high to the Ephesian Temple; or for Numidia, where Marbles abound; then for the Spirits of England, who must be contented with more ignoble Materials: To which I answer, That this need not discourage us: For I have often at Venice viewed with much pleasure, an Atrium Grecum (we may translate it an Anti-porch, after the Greek manner) raised by Andrea Palladio, upon eight Columns of the compounded Order; The Bases of Stone, without Pedestals; The Shafts or Bodies of meer Brick, three foot and an halfe thick in the Diameter below, and consequently thirty five foot high, as himself hath described them in his second Book; Then which, mine Eye hath never yet beheld any Columns more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks having first been formed in a circular Mould, and then cut before their
their burning into four Quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyne so closely, and the points center so exactly, that the Pillars appear one entire Piece; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appear, how in truth we want rather Art then Stuffle, to satisfy our greatest Fancies.

After Pillars, the next in my distribution are Pylasters, mentioned by Vitruvius, lib.5. cap. i. and scant any where else under the name of Parasta tes, as Philander conceiveth, which Grammatical Point (though perchance not very clear) I am contented to examine no further. Always, what we mean by the thing it selfe is plain enough in our own vulgar; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable Notes.

Pylasters must not be too tall and slender, left they resemble Pillars, nor too Dwarfish and grosse, left they imitate the Piles or Peers of Bridges; Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them, as a Rustick Superficies; for they aim more at State & Strength, then
then Elegance. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower then one Third, nor broader then two parts of the whole Vacuity between Pylaster and Pylaster; but to those that stand at the Corners, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the Angles: In Theaters and Amphi-theaters, and such weighty Works, Palladio observeth them, to have been as broad as the half, and now and then as the whole Vacuity: He noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true Proportion should be an exact Square; But for lessening of expence, and inlarging of room, they are commonly narrower in Flank, then in Front: Their principall Grace doth consist in halfe or whole Pillars applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by Authours, that the Columnes may be allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they lean unto so good Supporters. And thus much shall suffice touching Pylasters, which is a cheap, and a strong, and a noble kind of Structure.

Now
Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found arched, then otherwise; I am here orderly led to speak of Arches, and under the same head of Vaults: for an Arch is nothing indeed but a contracted Vault, and a Vault is but a dilated Arch: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole business into a few Theorems.

Theorem 1.

All solid Materials free from impediment, do descend perpendicularly downwards, because Ponderosity is a natural inclination to the Center of the World, and Nature performeth her Motions by the shortest lines.

Theorem 2.

Bricks moulded in their ordinary Rectangular forme, if they shall be laid one by another in a level row, between any Supporters sustaining the two ends, then all the pieces between will
will necessarily sink, even by their own natural Gravity; and much more, if they suffer any depression by other weight above them, because their sides being parallel, they have room to descend perpendicularly, without impeachment, according to the former Theorem; Therefore to make them stand, we must either change their Posture, or their Figure, or both.

Theorem 3.

If Bricks moulded, or Stones squared Cuneatim (that is, Wedge-wise, broader above then below) shall be laid in a Row-level, with their ends supported, as in the precedent Theorem, pointing all to one Center; then none of the pieces between can sink till the Supports give way, because they want room in that Figure, to descend perpendicularly. But this is yet a weak piece of Structure, because the Supports are subject to much impulsion, especially if the line be long; for which reason this Form is seldom used, but over Windows, or narrow Doores.
Therefore to fortifie the Work as in this third Theoreme, we have supposed the Figure of all the Materials different from those in the second: So likewise we must now change the Posture, as will appear in the Theoreme following.

Theoreme 4.

If the Materials figured as before Wedge-wise, shall not be disposed levelly, but in form of some Arch, or portion of a Circle, pointing all to the same Center, In this case neither the pieces of the said Arch can sink downwards, through want of room to descend by the first * perpendicularly; Nor the Theor. Supporters or Butments (as they are termed) of the said Arch can suffer so much violence, as in the precedent flat Posture; for the roundness will always make the incumbent weight rather to rest upon the Supporters, then to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident Corolary: that the safest of all Arches is the Semi-circular, and of all Vaults the Hemisphere, though not absolutely exempted from some natu-
of Architecture.

rail weakness, * as Barnardino Baldi Abbot of Guastalla, in his Commentary upon Aristotle's Mechanicks, doth very well prove: where let me note by the way, that when any thing is Mathematically demonstrated weak, it is much more Mechanically weak: Errors ever occurring more easily in the management of Grosse Materials than Lineall Designs.

Theoreme 5.

As Semicircular Arches, or Hemispherrical Vaults, being raised upon the totall Diameter, be of all other the roundest, and consequently the secuest, by the precedent Theoreme: So those are the gracefulest, which keeping precisely the same height, shall yet be distended one fourteenth part longer then the said entire Diameter; which addition of distent will confer much to their Beauty, and detract but little from their Strength.

This Observation I find in Leon-Batista Alberti; But the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet distend
diffend the Arms or Ends of the Arch, is in *Albert Durer's Geometry*, who taught the Italians many an excellent Line, of great use in this Art.

Upon these five *Theoremes*, all the skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for those *Arches*, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth point; And the Tuscan Writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto*, because they always concurre in an acute Angle, and do spring from division of the Diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the naturall imbecility of the sharp Angle it selfe, and likewise for their very Uncomeliness, ought to be exciled from judicious eyes, and left to their first Inventors, the Gothes or Lumbards, amongst other Reliques of that barbarous Age.

Thus of my first Partition of the parts of every *Fabrick*, into five Heads, having gone through the two former, & been incidently carried into this last Doctrin touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in order are the *Apercions*; under which term I do
do comprehend Doors, Windowes, Stair-cases, Chymnies, or other Conducts: In short, all In-lets, or Out-lets; To which belong two generall Cautions.

First, That they be as few in number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects: for in a word, all Openings are Weaknings.

Secondly, That they do not approach too near the Angles of the Wals; for it were indeed a most essential Solecisisme to weaken that part which must strengthen all the rest: A precept well recorded, but ill practised by the Italians themselves, particularly at Venice, where I have observed divers Pergoli, or Meniana (as Vitruvius seemeth to call them, which are certain ballised out-standings to satisfy curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point itself of the Mural Angle.

Now, Albeit I make haste to the casting and comparting of the whole Work, (being indeed the very Definitive Sum of this Art,) to distribute
usefully and gracefully a well chosen Plot) yet I will first under their several Heads, collect briefly some of the choicest notes belonging to these particular Overtures.

Of Doors and Windows.

These In-lets of Men and of Light, I couple together, because I find their Dimensions brought under one Rule by Leon Alberti (a learned Searcher) who from the School of Pythagoras (where it was a fundamentall Maxime, that the Images of all things are latent in Numbers) doth determine the comeliest Proportion between breadths and heights; Reducing Symmetric to Symphonie, and the harmony of Sound, to a kinde of harmony in Sight, after this manner: The two principal Consonances, that most ravish the Ear, are by consent of all Nature, the fift, and the Octave; whereof the first riseth radically from the proportion between two and three; The other from the double Intervall, between One and Two, or between Two and
and Four, &c. Now if we shall transport these proportions from Audible to Visible Objects; and apply them as they shall fall fittest (the nature of the Place considered) namely, in some Windows and Doors, the Symmetrie of Two to Three in their Bredth and Length; In others, the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either a gracefull and harmonious contentment to the Eye: Which speculation, though it may appear unto vulgar Artizans, perhaps too subtil, and too sublime, yet we must remember, that Vitruvius himself doth determine many things in his profession, by Musical Grounds, and much commendeth in an Architect, a Philosophical Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficial, and floating Artificer; but a Diver into Causes, & into the Mysteries of Proportion. Of the Ornaments belonging both to Doors and Windows, I shall speak in other place; But let me here add one Observation; That our Master (as appeareth by divers passages, and particularly lib. 6. cap. 9.) seems to have been
been an extream Lover of Luminous Roomes; And indeed, I must confesse, that a Frank Light can mis-become no Ædifice whatsoever, Temples only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in some Proportion. Devotion more requiring collected then diffused Spirits. Lumen est. Yet on the other side, we must diffusivum sui & alieni. (though but for civill use) all Eyes, like Argus; which in Northern Climes would be too cold, In Southern too hot: And therefore the matter indeed importeth more then a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of Structure either more expenceful then Windows, or more ruinous; not only for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and unsociable pieces, as Wood, Iron, Lead, and Glass, and those small and weak, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing, (though it be but a Grammatical Note) touching Doors. Some were Fores and some were Valvae. Those (as the very word may seem to import) did open
outwards. These inwards, and were commonly of two Leaves or Panes, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a lesser Circuit in their unfoldings; And therefore much in use among Italians at this day; But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keep out worse.

Of Stair-cases.

To make a Compleat Stair-case, is a curious piece of Architecture: The vulgar Cautions are these.

That it have a very liberall Light against all Casualty of Slips, and Falls,

That the space above the Head, be large and airy, which the Italians use to call Un bel-sfogolo, as it were good Ventilation, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the Half-paces be well distributed at competent distances, for reposing on the way.

That to avoid Encounters, and be-
fides to gratifie the beholder, the whole Staire-case have no nigard Latitude, that is, for the principall Ascent, at least ten foot in Royall Buildings.

That the breadth of every single Step or Staire be never less then one foot, nor more then eighteen inches.

That they exceed by no means half a foot in their height or thickness, for our Legges do labour more in Elevation, then in Distention: Thesee I say are familiar remembrances, to which let me add,

That the steps be layd where they joyn Con un tantino di scarpa; we may translate it somewhat sloaping, that so the foot may in a sort both ascend and descend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate deception of the pains in mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this doctrine to some Naturall, or at least Mathematicall ground, (our Master, as we see, lib. 9 cap. 2.) borroweth those proportions that make the sides of a Rectangular Triangle, which the Ancient Schoole did express in lowest termes, by the numbers of 3, 4, and 5. That is, Three for
for the Perpendicular, from the Staire-head to the ground; Four for the Ground-line itself, or Recession from the wall; And Five for the whole Inclination or sloopeness in the ascent; which proportion, faith he, will make Temperatas graduum librationes. Hitherto of Staircases which are direct: There are likewise Spirall, or Coeke stairs, either Circular, or Ovall, and sometimes running about a Pillar, sometimes vacant, wherein Palladio, (A man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the Diameter of the first sort into three parts, yeelding one to the Pillar, and two to the Steps; Of the second into four, whereof he gave two to the Stairss, and two to the Vacuity, which had all their light from above. And this in exact Ovals is a Matter-piece.

Of Chimneys.

In the present business, Italians (who make very frugall fires, are perchance not the best Counsellors.) Therefore from them we may better learn, both how
The Elements

how to raise faire Mantels within the roomes, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of Chimnies abroad (as they use) in sundry formes, (which I shall handle in the later part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from Philippe de l'Orme; in this part of his Work more diligent, then in any other; or, to do him right, then any man else.

First, he observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the Region, and the Windes that ordinarily blow from this, or that Quarter; might so cast the roomes which shall most need fire, that he should little feare the incommmodity of Smoke: and therefore he thinkes that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceede from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the errour lay not in the Disposition, but in the Structure itself; then he makes a Logicaall enquiry, That either the Winde is too much let in above, at the mouth of the Shaft, or the Smoke stifled below: If none of these, Then there is a repulsion of the Fume, by some
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some higher Hill or Fabrick, that shall overtop the Chimney, and worke the former effect: If likewise not this, Then he concludes, that the Roome which is infested, must be necessarily both little and close, so as the smoke cannot issue by a naturall Principle, warting a succession and supply of new Ayre,

Now, In these cases he suggesteth divers Artificiall remedies, of which I will allow one a little Description, because it favoureth of Philosophie, and was touched by Vitruvius himself, lib.1 cap.6. but by this man ingeniously applied to the present use: He will have us provide two hollow brass Balls of reasonable capacitie, with little holes open in both, for reception of Water, when the Air shall be first sucked out; One of these we must place with the hole upwards, upon an iron Wire, that shall traverse the Chimney, a little above the Mantell, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heate or flames, whereof the water within being rarified, and by rarification resolved into Winde, will break out, and so force up the smoke,
smoke, which otherwise might linger in the Tunnel, by the way, and oftentimes revert; With the other, (faith he) we may supply the place of the former, when it is exhausted; or for a need blow the Fire in the mean while: Which Invention I have interposed for some little entertainment of the Reader; I will conclude with a note from Palladio, who observeth that the Ancients did warm their Roomes with certain secret Pipes that came through the Walles, transporting heat (as I conceive it) to sundry parts of the House from one common Furnace; I am ready to baptize them Caliducts, as well as they are termed Venti-ducts and Aquæ-ducts that convey Winde and Water; which whether it were a custome or a delicacie, was surely both for thrift, and for use, far beyond the German Stoves; And I should prefer it likewise before our own fashion, if the very sight of a fire did not add to the Roome a kind of Reputation, * as old Homer doth teach us in a verse, sufficient to prove

* Αἰθομήνας οἵσ ποι-

εός γεγονότες βίον τοίχος ἤν ἃς Ἔπιγρ.
prove that himself was not blind, as some would lay to his charge.

Touching Conduits for the Supply, and other necessities of the House, (which though base forever in use, yet for health of the inhabitants, are as considerable, & perhaps more than the rest) I finde in our Authors, this Counsell; That Art should imitate Nature, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from Sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote, and lowest, and thickest part of the Foundation; with secret vents passing up through the Walls like a Tunnell to the wide Aire aloft: which all Italian Artizans commend for the discharge of noysome vapours, though else-where to my knowledge little practised.

Thus having considered the precedent Apertions, or Overtures, in severalty, according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the refring and Contexture of the whole Work, comprehended under the term of Compartition: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without
a few generall Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

First therefore, Let no man that intendeth to build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the Worke in paper, how exactly forever measured, or neatly set off in perspective; And much less upon a bare Plant thereof, as they call the Schiographia or Groundlines; without a Modell or Type of the whole Structure, and of every parcell and Partition in Pastbord or Wood.

Next, that the said Model be as plain as may be, without colours or other beautifying, left the pleasure of the Eye preoccupate the Judgment; which advise, omitted by the Italian Architects, I find in Philippe de l'Orme; and therefore (though France be not the Theater of best Buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this Type be, it is still the better, not that I will persuade a man to such an enormity, as that Modell made by Antonio Labaco, of Saint Peters Church in Rome, containing 22 foot in length, 16 in breadth, and 13 in heighth, and costing 4184 crowns:
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crowns: The price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel: Yet in a Fabrick of some 40. or 50. thousand pounds charge, I wish 30. pounds at least laid out before hand in an exact Model; for a little misery in the Premises, may easily breed some absurdity of greater charge, in the Conclusion.

Now, after these premonishments I will come to the Compartition it selfe, By which, the Authors of this Art (as hath been touched before) doe understand, a gracefull and useful distribution, of the whole Ground plot both for róomes of Office, and of Reception or Entertainment, as far as the Capacity therof, and the nature of the Country will comport. Which circumstances in the present Subject, are all of main consideration, and might yeeld more discourse then an Elementall Rapsodie will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the Gracefulness (whereof we speake) will consist in double Analogue, or correspondencie. First between the Parts, and the Whole, whereby a great Fabrick should have great Partitions, great Lights,
Lights, great Entrances, great Pillars or Pylaeers; In sum, all the Members great. The next between the Parts themselves, not only, considering their Bredths, and Lengths, as before when we spake of Doors and Windows; but here likewise enters a third respect of Height, a point (I must confess) hardly reducible to any generall precept.

True it is, that the Ancients did determine the Longitude of all Rooms, which were longer then broad, by the double of their Latitude, Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5. And the Height by the half of the breadth and length summed together. But when the Room was precisely square, they made the Height half as much more as the Latitude; which Dimensions the modern Architects have taken leave to vary upon discretion: Somtimes squaring the Latitude, and then making the Diagonal or overthwart Line, from Angle to Angle, of the said Square; the measure of the Height somtimes more, but seldom lower then the full breadth it self; which boldnesse of quitting the old Proportions, some attribute first to Michael
chael Angelo da Buonaroti, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other Arts.

The second Point is Usefulness, which will consist in a sufficient Number of Rooms, of all sorts, and in their apt Coherence, without distraction, without confusion; so as the beholder may not only call it, *Una Fabrica ben raccolta,* as Italians use to speak of well united Works; but likewise, that it may appear airy and spiritous, and fit for the welcome of cheerful Guests; about which the principall Difficulty will be in contriving the Lights, and Stair-cases, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the first, I observe that the ancient Architects were at much ease. For both the Greeks and Romans (of whose private dwellings Vitruvius hath left us some description) had commonly two cloistered open Courts, one serving for the Women's side, and the other for the Men; who yet perchance now adays would take so much separation unkindly. Howsoever, by this means, the reception of Light into the Body of the building, was
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was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we must now supply either by some open Form of the Fabrick, or among gracefull refuges, by Tarrassing any Story which is in danger of darknesse; or lastly, by perpendicular Lights from the Roof, of all other the most naturall, as shall be shewed anon. For the second Difficulty, which is casting of the Staircases; That being in it self no hard point, but only as they are incombrances of room for other use, (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved here to speak of them. And first of Offices.

I have marked a willingness in the Italian Artisans, to distribute the Kitchin, Pantrie, Bakehouse, washing Rooms: and even the Buttery likewise, under ground; next above the Foundation; and sometimes level with the plain, or Floor of the Cellar: raising the first Ascent into the house Fifteen Foot, or more for that End, which besides the benefit of removing such Annoies out of sight, and the gaining of so much more room above, doth also by
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by elevation of the Front, add Majesty to the whole Aspect. And with such a disposition of the principall Stair-case, which commonly doth deliver us into the Plain of the second Story, there may be wonders done with a little room, whereof I could alledge brave Examples abroad; and none more Artificiall and Delicious, then a House built by Daniele Barbaro Patriarch of Aquileia, before mentioned, among the memorable Commenters upon Vitruvius. But the Definition (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our own Country; where though all the other petty Offices (before rehearsed) may well enough be so remote, yet by the naturall Hospitality of England, the Buttery must be more visible, and we need perchance for our Ranges, a more spacious and luminous Kitchin; then the foresaid Compartment will bear; with a more competent nearnesse likewise to the Dining Room, or else besides other Inconveniences, perhaps some of the Dishes may straggle by the way; Hear let me note a common defect, that we have
of a very usefull Room, called by the Italians, Il Tinello; and familiar, nay almost essentiaall, in all their great Families. It is a Place properly appointed to conserve the meat that is taken from the Table, till the Waiters eat, which with us by an old fashion, is more unseemly set by in the mean while.

Now touching the distribution of Lodging chambers; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how, hath prevailed through Italie, though without ancient examples, as farr as I can perceive by Vitruvius. The thing I mean, is, that they so cast their partitions, as when all Doors are open, a man may see through the whole House, which doth necessarily put an intolerable servitude upon all the Chambers save the Inmost, where none can arrive but through the rest; or else the Walles must be extream thick for secret passa- ges. And yet this also will not serve the turn, without at least Three doors to every Room: A thing most insufferable in cold and windy Regions, and every where no small weakening to the
the whole Work: Therefore with us that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such Overtures, being indeed meerely grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a Stranger all our Furniture at one Sight, which therefore is most maintained by them that mean to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely advantage of the vanity, and seldom prove the Inconvenience. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldom solitarie) which will necessarily follow upon such a servile disposing of inward Chambers; That they must be forced to make as many common great Rooms, as there shall be sevevall Stories; which (besides that they are usually dark, a point hardly avoided, running as they do, through the middle of the whole House) do likewise devour so much Place, that thereby they want other Galleries, and Rooms of Retreate, which I have often considered among them (I must confess) with no small wonder; for I observe no Nation in the World, by nature more private and
and reserved, then the Italian; and on the other side, in no Habitations less privacie; so as there is a kind of Conflict between their Dwelling and their Being: It might here perchance be expected, that I should at least describe (which others have done in draughts and designs) divers Formes of Plants and Partitions, and varities of Inventions, But speculative Writers (as I am) are not bound to comprise all particular Cases within the Latitude of the Subject which they handle; Generall Lights, and Directions, and pointings at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacity of the Architeet, who will be often put to divers ingenious shifts, when he is to wrestle with scarcity of Ground. As sometimes * to damm one Room (though of speciall use) for the benefit and beauty of all the rest; Another while, to make those fairest, which are most in Sight, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in shadow, cum multis alius, which it

The Italians call it una stanza dannata, as when a Buttery is call under a stayre-Cafe or the like.
it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this Part touching \textit{Compar-}
\textit{tition}, as cheerfully as I can, with a short description of a \textit{Feasting}
or \textit{entertaining Room}, after the \textit{Æ-}
gyptian manner, who seem (at least till the time of \textit{Vitruvius}) from the an-
cient \textit{Hebrews} and \textit{Phenicians} (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retain-
ed, with other \textit{Sciences}, in a high degree, also the \textit{Principles}, and \textit{practice} of this
magnificent \textit{Art}. For as far as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, \textit{lib.6.}
cap.5. (where as in many other places he hath tortured his \textit{Interpreters}) there
could no \textit{Form} for such a Royall \textit{Use}
be comparably imagined like that of the foresaid \textit{Nation}, which I shall ad-
venture to explain.

Let us conceive a \textit{Floor} or \textit{Area} of
goodly length, (for example at least of 120. foot) with the \textit{breadth} some-
what more then the half of the \textit{Longitude}, whereof the reason shall be after-
wards rendred. About the two longest \textit{Sides} and \textit{Head} of the said \textit{Room} shall
run an Order of \textit{Pillars}, which \textit{Palladio}
doth suppose \textit{Corinthian}, as I see by his
\textit{M}
design) supplying that point out of Greece, because we know no Order proper to Egypt. The Fourth Side I will leave free for the Entrance: On the foresaid Pillars was laid an Architrave, which Vitruvius mentioneth alone: Palladio adds thereunto (and with reason) both Freez and Cornice, over which went up a continued Wall, and therein half or three quarter Pillars answering directly to the Order below, but a fourth Part lesse; and between these half Columnes above the whole Room was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest Pillars there was laid over a Contignation or Floor born upon the outward Wall, and the Head of the Columns with Terrace and Pavement, Sub dio (faith our Master;) and so indeed he might safely determine the matter in Egypt, where they fear no Clouds: Therefore Palladio, (who leaveth this Terrace uncovered in the middle, and ballised about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Always we must understand a sufficient breadth of Pavement left between the open
open part and the *windows*, for some delight of Spectators, that might look down into the *Room*: The *Latitude* I have supposed, contrary to some former Positions, a little more then the half of the length; because the *Pillars* standing at a competent distance from the outmost *Wall*, will, by interception of the *Sight*, somewhat in appearance diminish the breadth; In which cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Discretion* may be more licentious then *Art*. This is the description of an *Egyptian* room for *Feasts* and other *Jollities*. About the *Walls* whereof we must imagine entire *Statues* placed below, and illuminated by the descending Light from the *Terrace*, as likewise from the *Windows* between the half *Pillars* above: So as this *Room* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much *State* by the very height of the *Roof*, that lay over two *Orders* of *Columns*. And so having run through the four parts of my *first general Division*, namely *Foundations, Walls, Apertures*,
The House may now have leave to put on his Hat; having hitherto been uncovered itself, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which point, though it be the last of this Art in execution, yet it is always in Intention the first: For who would build but for Shelter? Therefore obtaining both the Place, and the dignity of a Final Cause, it hath been diligently handled by divers, but by none more learnedly than Bernardino Baldi Abbot of Guastalla (before cited upon other occasion) who doth fundamentally, and Mathematically demonstrate the firmest Knittings of the upper Timbers, which make the Roof. But it hath been rather my Scope, in these Elements, to fetch the ground of all from Nature her self, which indeed is the simplest Mother of Art. Therefore I will now only deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturallest considerations that belong to this remaining Piece.

There are two Extremities to be avoided in the Cover, or Roof: That it be not too heavy, nor too light. The first,
first, will suffer a vulgar objection of pressing too much the under-work. The other containeth a more secret inconvenience; for the Cover is not only a bare defence, but likewise a kind of Band or Ligature to the whole Fabrick, and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extrems, a House Top-heavy is the worst. Next, there must be a care of Equality, that the Edifice be not pressed on the one side more then on the other; and here Palladio doth wish (like a cautelous Artizan) that the inward Walls might bear some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the less charged.

Thirdly, the Italians are very precise in giving the Cover a gracefull pendence of sloapnesse, dividing the whole breadth into nine Parts; whereof two shall serve for the elevation of the highest Toppe or Ridge from the lowest. But in this Point the quality of the Region is considerable: For (as our Vitruvius insinuateth) those Climes that fear the falling and lying of much Snow, ought to provide more inclining
Pentices: and Comelinesse must yeild to Necessity.

These are the usefullest Cautions which I find in Authours, touching the last Head of our Division, where-with I will conclude the first Part of my present Travel. The second remaineth concerning Ornaments within, or without the Fabrick: A Piece not so dry as the meer Contemplation of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein somwhat to refresh both the Reader, and myself.
OF THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE, The Second Part.

Every Man's proper Mansion House and Home, being the Theater of his Hospitality, the Seat of Self-fruition, the Comfortablest part of his own Life, the noblest of his Sons Inheritance, a kind of private Princedome; Nay, to the Possessors thereof, an Epitomie of the whole World; may well deserve
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deserve by these Attributes, according to the degree of the Master, to be decently and delightfully adorned. For which end, there are two Arts attending on Architecture, like two of her principall Gentlemomen, to dress and trimme their Mistress; Picture and Sculpture: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I will venture to determine an ancient quarrell about their Precedency, with this Distinction; that in the garnishing of Fabricks, Sculpture no doubt must have the preheminence, as being indeed of neerer affinity to Architecture it self, and consequently the more naturall, and more suitable Ornament. But on the other side, (to consider these two Arts as I shall do Philosophically, and not Mechanically) An excellent Piece of Painting, is, to my judgment, the more admirable Object, because it comes neer an Artificiall Miracle, to make diverse distinct Eminences appear upon a Flat by force of Shadowes, and yet the Shadowes themselves not to appear: which I conceive to be the utmost value and vertue of a Painter, and
and to which very few have arrived in all Ages.

In these two Arts (as they are applicable to the Subject which I handle) it shall be fit first to consider how to choose them; and next how to dispose them. To guide us in the choice, we have a Rule somewhere (I well remember) in Pliny, and it is a pretty observation; That they do mutually help to censure one another. For Picture is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved; and Sculpture is best when it appeareth so tender, as if it were painted: I mean, when there is such a seeming softness in the Limbs, as if not a Chisell had hewed them out of Stone, or other Materiall, but a Pen Optical had drawn and stroaked them in Oyl; which the judicious Poet took well to his Fancy.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius erat.

But this generality is not sufficient to make a good chooser without a more particular contradiction of his Judgment. Therefore when a Piece of Art is set before us, let the first Caution be, not to ask who made it, least the
Fame of the Author doe Captivate the Fancie of the Buyer. For, that excellent men doe alwaies excellently, is a false Conclusion; wherupon I observe among Italian Artizans three notable Phrases, which well decipher the degrees of their Works.

They will tell you, that a thing was done Condiligenza, Consstudio, and Con Amore; The first is but a bare and ordinary diligence, The second is a learned diligence; The third is much more, even a loving diligence: They mean not with love to the Bespeaker of the Work, but with a love and delight in the Work itself, upon some speciall Fancy to this, or that Story; And when all these concurre (particularly the last) in an eminent Author, Then perchance Titianus fecit, or φίλους επιτείχως will serve the turn, without farther Inquisition; Otherwise Artizans have not only their Growths and Perfections, but likewise their Vains and Times.

The next Caution must be (to proceed Logically) that in judging of the Work itself, we be not distracted with too many things at once; Therefore
for first (to beginne with Picture:) we are to observe whether it be well drawn, (or as more elegant Artizans term it) well Design'd; Then, whether it be well Coloured, which be the two generall Heads; And each of them hath two principall Requisites; For in well Designing, there must be Truth and Grace; In well Colouring, Force and Affection; All other Praises are but Consequences of these.

Truth (as we Metaphorically take it in this Art) is a just and Natural Proportion in every Part of the determined. Figure. Grace is a certain free Disposition in the whole Draught, answerable to that unaffected Franknesse of Fashion in a living Body, Man or Woman, which doth animate Beauty where it is, and supply it, where it is not.

Force consisteth in the Roundings and Raisings of the Work, according as the Limbs do more or lesse require it; So as the Beholdier shall spy no Sharpnesse in the bordering Lines; As when Taylors cut out a Sute, which Italians do aptly term according to that comparison, Contorni taglienti; Not any flat-
nesse within the Bodie of the Figure, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher Discipline; For the Opticks teach us. That a plaine will appear prominent, and (as it were) embossed, if the Parts farthest from the Axeltree, or middle Beam of the Eye, shall be the most shadowed; Because in all Darkness, there is a kind of Deepnesse. But as in the Art of perswasion, one of the most Fundamental Precepts is the Concealment of Art; So here likewise, the Sight must be sweetly deceived by an insensible passage, from brighter colours to dimmer, which Italian Artizans call the middle Tinetures; That is, Not as the whites and yolkes of Egs lie in the Shell, with visible distinction; But as when they are beaten, and blended in a Dish, which is the nearest comparison that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, Affection is the Lively Representation of any passion whatsoever, as if the Figures stood not upon a Cloth or Board, but as if they were acting upon a Stage; And here I must remember, in truth with much marvell, a note which
which I have received from excellent Artizans, that though Gladness and Grief be opposites in Nature; yet they are such Neighbours and Confiners in Art, that the least touch of a Pensill will translate a crying, into a laughing Face; as it is represented by Homer in the person of Hector's wife; as Painters and Poets have always had a kind of congeniality,

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ὢς εἴπων ἀλόχοιε φίλις ἐν χέρσιν ἑήθηκε, Παιδ' ἐδυ, ἥδ' ἀρχ μὴν πνάσεις ἰδέα θείον κόλπῳ Δαυρίην γελάσασα. — That is,

She took her son into her arms, weeping laughingly.

Which Instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memory that ingenuous Speculation of the Cardinal Cusanus, extant in his Works, touching the coincidence of Extremes. And thus much of the four Requisites, and Perfections in Picture.

In Sculpture likewise, the Two first are absolutely necessary; The third impertinent; For Solid Figures need no elevati-
elevation, by force of Lights, or Shadows; Therefore in the Room of this, we may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of Tenderness, by the Italians termed Morbidezza, wherein the Chizell, I must confess, hath more glory then the Pensil; that being so hard an Instrument, and working upon so unpliant stuffe, can yet leave Strokes of so gentle appearance.

The Fourth, which is the expressing of Affection (as farre as it doth depend upon the Activity and Gesture of the Figure) is as proper to the Carver, as to the Painter; though Colours, no doubt, have therein the greatest power; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the Fashion of colouring, even Regall Statues, which I must take leave to call an English Barbarisme.

Now in these four Requisites already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no Artizan, having ever been blamed for excess in any of the three last; only Truth (which should seem the most Innocent) hath suffered some Objection; and all Ages have yeelded some one or two Artificers so prodigiously ex-
exquisite, that they have been reputed too *Naturall* in their *Draughts*; which will well appear by a famous passage in *Quintilian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now so aptly into my memory, that I must needs translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last *Chapter* save one of his whole *Works*, beginning thus in *Latine*;

> Primi, quorum quidem opera non **vetustatis** modo gratiâ visenda sunt clari *Pictores*, *fuisse dicuntur* Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.

The whole *Passage* in *English* standeth thus.

**THE first Painters of Name,** whose *Workes* be considerable for any thing more then only *Antiquity*, are said to have been *Polygnatus* and *Aglaophon*; whose bare *Colouring* (he means I think in *white* and *black*) hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and *first Elements*, as it were.
were of that, which within a while, became an Art, are preferred before the greatest Painters that have been extant after them, out of a certain Competition (as I conceive it) in point of Judgment. After these, Zeuxes and Parasitus not far distant in age, both about the time of the Peloponnesian War, (for in Xenophon we have a Dialogue between Parasitus and Socrates) did add much to this Art. Of which the first is said to have invented the due disposition of Lights and Shadows; The second, to have more subtilly examined, the Truth of Lines in the Draught; for Zeuxes did make Limbs bigger then the life; deeming his Figures, thereby the more stately and Majestical; and therein (as some think) imitating Homer, whom the stoutest Form doth please, even in Women. On the other side, Parasitus did exactly limit all the Proportions so, as they call him the Law-giver, because in the Images of The Gods, and of Heroical Personages, others have followed his Patterns like a Decree; But Picture did most flourish about the days of Philip, and even to the
the Successours of Alexander; yet by sundry Habilities; for Protogenes did excell in Diligence; Pamphilus and Melanthius in due Proportion; Antiphilus in a frank Facility; Theon of Samos, in strength of Fantasie and conceiving of Passions; Apelles, in Invention and Grace, whereof he doth himself most vaunt; Euphranor deserves admiration, that being in other excellent Studies a principall Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in Painting and Sculpture. The like difference we may observe among the Statuaries; for the works of Calon and Egesias were somewhat stiffe, like the Tuscan Manner; Those of Calamis not done with so cold stroaks; And Myron more tender then the former; a diligent Decency in Polycletus above others; to whom though the highest praye be attributed by the moft, yet left he should go free from exception, some think he wanted solemnnesse; for as he may per-chance be said to have added a comely Dimension to humane shape, somewhat above the truth; so on the other side, he seemed not to have fully expressed the
the Majesty of the Gods: Moreover, he is said not to have medled willingly with the graver age, as not adventuring beyond smooth cheeks: But these virtues that were wanting in Pollicleus, were supplied by Phidias and Alcmenes; yet Phidias was a better Artizan in the representing of Gods, then of Men; and in his works of Ivory, beyond all emulation, even though he had left nothing behind him but his Minerva at Athens, or the Olympian Jupiter in Elis, whose Beauty seems to have added somewhat, even to the received Religion; the Majesty of the Work, as it were, equalling the Deity. To Truth, they affirm Lysippus and Praxiteles, to have made the nearest approach: for Demetrias is therein apprehended, as rather exceeding then deficient; having been a greater aimet at Likeness, then at Loveliness.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans which Quintillian hath left us, where the last Character of Demetrias doth require a little Philosophical Examination; How an Artificer, whose end is the Imitation of Nature.
Architecture, can be too natural; which likewise in our days was either the fault, or (to speak more gently) the too much perfection of Albert Durer, and perhaps also of Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, between whom I have heard noted by an ingenious Artizan a pretty nice difference, that the German did too much express that which was; and the Italian, that which should be: Which severe Observation of Nature, by the one, in her commonest, and by the other in her absolutest Forms, must needs produce in both a kind of Rigidity, and consequently more Naturalnesse than Gracefulness: This is the clearest reason, why some exact Symmetryists have been blamed for being too true, as near as I can deliver my conceit. And so much touching the choice of Picture and Sculpture: The next is, the application of both to the beautifying of Fabricks.

First therefore, touching Picture, there doth occur a very pertinent doubt, which hath been passed over too slightly, not only by some Men, but by some Nations; namely, whether this
this Ornament can well become the Outside of houses, wherein the Germans have made so little scruple, that their best Towns are the most painted, as Augusta and Noremburgh. To determine this question in a word: It is true, that a Story well set out with a good Hand, will every where take a judicious eye. But yet with all it is as true, that various colours on the Out-walles of Buildings have always in them more Delight than Dignity: Therefore I would there admit no Paintings but in Black and White, nor even in that kinde any Figures (if the roome be capable) under Nine or Ten foot high, which will require no ordinary Artizan; because the faults are more visible then in small Designs. In unfigured paintings the noblest is the imitation of Marbles, and of Architecture itself, as Arches, Treezes, Columns, and the like.

Now for the Inside, here growes another doubt, wherein Grotefca (as the Italians) or Antique work (as we call it) should be received, against the expresse authority of Vitruvius himself, lib. 7. cap. 5. where Pictura (faith he)
he) fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse; excluding by this severe definition, all Figures composed of different Natures or Sexes; so as a Syrene or a Centaure had been intolerable in his eye: But in this we must take leave to depart from our Master; and the rather, because he spake out of his own Profession, allowing Painters (who have ever been as little limited as Poets) a lefse scope in their imaginations, even then the gravest Philosophers, who sometimes do serve themselves of Instances that have no Existence in Nature; as we see in Plato's Amphisbaena, & Aristotles Hircocerhus. And (to settle this point) what was indeed more common and familiar among the Romans themselves, then the Picture and Statue of Terminus, even one of their Deities? which yet if we well consider, is but a piece of Grotesca; I am for these reasons unwilling to impoverish that Art, though I could wish such medie and motie Designes confined only to the Ornament of Freezes, and Borders, their properest place. As for other Storied Workes upon Walles, I doubt our Clime be too
too yeeding and moist for such Garnishment; therefore leaving it to the Dwellers discretion according to the quality of his Seat, I will only add a Caution or two about the disposing of Pictures within.

First, That no Room be furnished with too many; which, in truth, were a Surfeit of Ornament, unless they be Galleries, or some peculiar Repository for Rarities of Art.

Next, That the best Pieces be placed not where there are the least, but where there are the fewest lights: therefore not only Rooms windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or more windows on the same side, are enemies to this Art: and sure it is, that no Painting can be seen in full perfection, but (as all Nature is illuminated) by a single Light.

Thirdly, That in the placing there be some care also taken how the Painter did stand in the working, which an intelligent Eye will easily discover; and that posture is the most natural: so as Italian Pieces will appear best in a Room where the Windows are high, because
because they are commonly made to a descending Light, which of all other doth set off mens Faces in their truest spirit.

Lastly, That they be as properly bestowed for their quality, as fitly for their grace: that is, chearefull Paintings in Feasting and Banquetting Rooms, Graver Stories in Galleries; Land-skips and Boscage, and such wilde works, in open Terraces, or in Summer houses (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of Picture, which let me close with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable leading in the choice of such delights; yet let no man hope by such a speculative erudition, to discern the Masterly and mysterious touches of Art, but an Artizan himself; to whom thefore we must leave the prerogative to censure the manner & handling, as he himself must likewise leave some points, perchance of no lesse value, to others; as for example, whether the Story be rightly represented, the Figures in true action, the Persons suited to their several qualities,
the affections proper and strong, and such like Observations.

Now for Sculpture, I must likewise begin with a Controversie, as before (falling into this Place;) or let me rather call it a very meere Fancy strangely taken by Palladio, who having noted in an old Arch or two at Verona, some part of the Materials already cut in fine Forms, and some unpolished, doth conclude (according to his Logick) upon this particular, that the Ancients did leave the outward Face of their Marbles or Free-stone without any Sculpture, till they were laid and cemented in the Body of the Building; For which likewise he findeth a reason (as many do now and then very Wittily, even before the thing itself be true) that the Materials being left rough were more managable in the Mason's hand, than if they had been smooth; And that so the Sides might be laid together the more exactly; Which Conceit, once taken, he seems to have further imprinted, by marking in certain Storied Sculptures of old time, how precisely the Parts and Lines of
of the Figures that pass from one Stone to another, do meet; which he thinks could hardly fall out so right, (forgetting while he speaks of ancient things, the ancient Diligence) unless they had been cut after the joyning of the Materials. But all these Inducements cannot countervail the sole Inconvenience of shaking and Disjoyning the Commissures with so many Strokes of the Chizell, besides an Incommodious Working on Scaffolds; especially having no testimony to confirm it, that I have yet seen, among the records of Art: Nay, it is indeed rather true, that they did square, and carve, and polish their Stone and Marble Works, even in the very Cave of the Quarry, before it was hardened by open Aire: But (to leave disputation) I will set down a few Positive notes for the placing of Sculpture; because the chusing hath been handled before:

That first of all, it be not too general and abundant, which would make a House look like a Cabinet; and in this point, moral Philosophy, which tempereth Fancies, is the Superintendent of Art.
That especially, there be a due moderation of this Ornament in the first approach; where our Authors do more commend (I mean about the Principal Entrance) a Dorique, then a Corinthian garnishment; So as if the great Doore be Arched with some brave Head, cut in fine Stone or Marble for the Key of the Arch, and two Incumbent Figures gracefully leaning upon it towards one another, as if they meant to conferr, I should thinke this a sufficient Entertainment for the first Reception of any judicious Sight, which I could with seconded with two great standing Statues on each side of a paved way that shall lead up into the Fabrick, so as the Beholder at the first entrance may passe his Eye between them.

That the Nices, if they contain Figures of white Stone or Marble, be not coloured in their Concavity too black. For though Contraria juxta se posita magis illucscunt (by an old Rule); yet it hath been subtilly, and indeed truly noted, that our Sight is not well contented with those sudden department from
of Architecture.

from one extrem to another: Therefore let them have rather a Dusky Tincture, then an absolute black.

That fine and delicate Sculptures be helped with Neerness, and Gros with distance; which was well seen in the old controversie between Phidias and Alcmenes about the Statue of Venus: wherein the First did shew discretion, and save labour, because the Work was to be viewed at good Height, which did drown the sweet and diligent strokes of his Adversary: A famous emulation of two principall Artizans, celebrated even by the Greek Poets.

That in the placing of standing Figures aloft, we must set them in a Posture somewhat bowing forward; because (faith our Master, lib. 3. cap. 3. out of a better Art then his own) the visual beam of our eye, extended to the Head of the said Figures, being longer then to the Foote, must necessarily, make that part appear farther; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright position, there must be allowed a due advantage of stooping towards us; which
Albert Dürer hath exactly taught in his fore-mentioned Geometry. Our Vitruvius calleth this affection in the Eye, a resupination of the Figure: For which word (being in truth his own, for ought I know) we are almost as much beholding to him, as for the Observation it self: And let thus much summarily suffice touching the choice and use of these adorning Arts.

For to speak of garnishing the Fabric with a Row of erected Statues about the Cornice of every Contignation or Story, were discourse more proper for Athens or Rome, in the time of their true greatnesse, when (as Plinie recordeth of his own Age) there were near as many carved Images, as living Men; like a noble contention, even in point of Fertility, between Art and Nature; which passage doth not only argue an infinite abundance, both of Artizans and Materials; but likewise of Magnificent and Majestical Desires in every common person of those times, more or lesse, according to their Fortunes. And true it is indeed, that the Marble Monuments & Memories of wel de-
deserving Men, wherewith the very high ways were strewn on each side, was not a bare and transitory Entertainment of the Eye, or only a gentle deception of Time to the Traveller: But had also a secret and strong Influence, even into the advancement of the Monarchy, by continuall representation of vertuous Examples; so as in that point, ART became a piece of State.

Now, as I have before subordinated Picture and Sculpture to Architecture, as their Mistress; so there are certain inferior ARTS likewise subordinate to them; As under Picture, Mosaique; under Sculpture, Plastique; which two I only nominate, as the fittest to garnish Fabricks.

Mosaique is a kind of Painting in small Pebbles, Cockles and Shels of sundry colours; and of late days likewise with pieces of Glass figured at pleasure; an Ornament, in truth, of much beauty, and long life; but of most use in pavements and floorings.

Plastique is not only under Sculpture, but indeed very Sculpture itself.
but with this difference; that the Plasterer doth make his Figures by Addition, and the Carver by Substraction; wherupon Michael Angelo was wont to say somewhat pleasantly, That Sculpture was nothing but a purgation of superfluities. For take away from a piece of wood or stone all that is superfluous, and the remainder is the intended Figure. Of this plastick Art, the chief use with us is in the gracefull fretting of Roofs: But the Italians apply it to the mantling of Chimneys with great Figures. A cheap piece of Magnificence, and as durable almost within doors, as harder Forms in the weather. And here, though it be a little excursion, I cannot passe unremembred again, their manner of disguising the shafts of Chimneys in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the Pyramidall: being in truth a piece of polite and civill discretion, to convert even the conduits of foot and smoak into Ornaments; whereof I have hitherto spoken as far as may concern the Body of the Building.

Now there are Ornaments also without,
out, as Gardens, Fountains, Groves, Conservatories of rare Beasts, Birds, and Fishes. Of which ignobler kind of Creatures, We ought not (faith our greatest Master among the Sons of Nature) childishly to de-

sify the Contem- de part. Anim. Sei μη plation; for in all τινω σει έξ ατυμπέρων things that are ζων ημικεν. Εν ever something that ενεστε τι θαυμασον. is admirable. Of these external delights a word or two.

First, I must note a certain contrariety between building & gardening: For as Fabricks should be regular, so Gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wild Regularity. To exemplifie my conceit; I have seen a Garden (for the maner perchance incomparable) into which the first Accesse was a high walk like a Terrace, from whence might be taken a generall view of the whole Plot below, but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plain distinction of the pieces. From this the Beholder descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed again by severall mountings.
and valings, to various entertainments of his sent and sight: which I shall not need to describe (for that were poetical). Let me only note this, that every one of these diversities, was as if he had bin magically transported into a new Garden.

But though other Countries have more benefit of Sun then we, and thereby more properly tied to contemplate this delight; yet have I seen in our own, a delicate and diligent curiosity, surely without parallel among foreign Nations: Namely, in the Garden of Sir Henry Fanshaw, at his Seat in Ware Park; where I well remember, he did so precisely examine the tintures and seasons of his flowers, that in their settings, the inwardest of those which were to come up at the same time, should be always a little darker then the utmost, and so serve them for a kind of gentle shadow, like a piece, not of Nature, but of Art: which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his Name, for the dear friendship that was long between us: though I must confess, with much wrong to his other virtues; which deserve a more solid...
Memorial, then among these vacant Observations. So much of Gardens.

Fountains are figured, or only plain Water'd-works: Of either of which, I will describe a matchless pattern.

The first, done by the famous hand of Micael Angelo da Buonaroti, in the figure of a sturdy woman, washing and winding of linnen clothes; in which Act, the wrings out the water that made the Fountain; which was a gracefull and natural conceit in the Artificer, implying this rule; That all designs of this kind, should be proper.

The other doth merit some larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walk of competent breadth, green, and soft under foot, listed on both sides with an Aqueduct of white stone, breast-high, which had a hollow channell on the top, where ran a pretty trickling stream; on the edge whereof, were couched very thick all along, certain small pipes of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cock, they did sprout over interchangeably from side to side, above mans height,
in form of Arches, without any inter-
section or meeting aloft, because the
pipes were not exactly opposite; so as the
Beholder, besides that which was flu-
ent in the Aqueducts on both hands in
his view, did walk, as it were, under a
continuall Bower and Hemisphere of
water, without any drop falling on him.
An invention for refreshment, surely
far excelling all the Alexandrian Deli-
cacies, and Pneumatics of Hero.

Groves, and artificiall Devices under
ground, are of great expence, and little
dignity; which for my part, I could wish
converted here into those Crypteria,
wherof mention is made among the cu-
rious provisions of Ticho Braghe the Da-
nish Ptolomie, as I may well call him:
which were deep concaves in Gardens,
where the Stars might be observed even
at noon. For (by the way) to think that
the brightness of the Suns body above,
doath drown our discerning of the lesser
lights, is a popular error; the sole im-
pediment being that lustre, which by
reflection, doath spread about us from
the face of the Earth; so as the caves
before touched, may well conduce, not
to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In Aviaries of wire, to keep Birds of all sorts, the Italians (though no waste-full Nation) do in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of ground, variety of bushes, trees of good height, running waters, and sometime a Stove annexed, to temper the Air in Winter. So as those Chamereffes, unless they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long among so good provisions, and room, before they know that they are prisoners; reducing often to my memory that conceit of the Roman Stoick, who in comparison of his own free contemplations, did think divers great and splendent fortunes of his time, little more then commodious captivities.

Concerning Ponds of pleasure near the habitation; I will referre myself to a grave Author of our own (though more illustrious by his other work) namely, Sarisburi—De nugis ensis de Piscina.

And here I will end the second part, touching Ornaments, both within, and without the Fabrick.
Now, as almost all those which have delivered the Elements of Logick, do usually conclude with a Chapter touching Method; so I am here seized with a kind of criticall spirit, and desirous to shut up these building Elements with some Methodicall direction how to censure Fabricks already raised: for indeed, without some way to contract our Judgement, which among so many particulars would be lost by diffusion, I should think it almost harder to be a good Censurer, then a good Architect: Because the working part may be helped with Deliberation, but the Judging must flow from an extemporall habit. Therefore (not to leave this last Piece without some Light) I could wish him that cometh to examine any nobler Work, first of all to examine himselfe, whether perchance the sight of many brave things before (which remain like impressed forms) have not made him apt to think nothing good but that which is the best; for this humour were too lowre. Next, before he come to settle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means seek to inform himself
self precisely, of the Age of the Work, upon which he must passe his Doome. And if he shall finde the apparent Decays to exceed the proportion of Time; then let him conclude without farther inquisition, as an absolute Decree, that either the Materials were too slight, or the Seate is nought. Now, after these premisses, if the House be found to bear his yeares well, (which is always a token of sound constitution) Then let him suddenly runne backwards, (for the Method of censuring is contrary to the Method of composing) from the Ornaments (which first allure the Eye) to the more essentia! Members, till at last he be able to forme this Conclusion, that the Work is Commodious, Firme, and Delightfull, which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capitall Conditions required in good Buildings, by all Authors, both Ancient and Moderne. And this is, as I may term it, the most Scientificall way of Censuring. There are two other which I must not forget: The first in Georgio Vassari, before his laborious Work of the lives of Architects, which is to passe a running
ning examination over the whole Edifice, according to the properties of a well shapen Man. As whether the Walls stand upright upon clean footing and Foundation; whether the Fabrick be of a beautiful Stature; whether for the breadth it appear well burnished; whether the principall Entrance be on the middle Line of the Front or Face, like our Mouthes; whether the Windowes, as our Eyes, be set in equall number and distance on both sides; whether the Offices, like the Veins in our Bodies, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this Allegorical review may be driven as farre as any Wit will, that is at lea-

The second way is in Vitruvius himself, lib. 1. cap. 2. where he summarily determineth six Considerations, which accomplish this whole Art.

Ordinatio.
Dispositio.
Eurythmia.
Symmetria.
Decor, and
Distributio.

Whereof (in my conceit) we may spare.
of Architecture.

...pare him the first two; for as farre as I can perceive, either by his Interpreters, or by his own Text (which in that very place, where perchance he should be clearest, is of all other the cloudiest) he meaneth nothing by Ordination, but a well feeling of the Modell or Scale of the whole Work. Nor by Disposition, more then a neat and full expression of the first Idea or Designement thereof; which perchance do more belong to the Artificer, then to the Censurer. The other four are enough to condemn, or absolve any Fabrick whatsoever. Whereof Eurythmia is that agreeable Harmony between the breadth, length, and height of all the Roomes of the Fabric, which suddenly, where it is, taketh every Beholder by the secret power of Proportion: wherein let me only note this, That though the least error or offence that can be committed against sight, is excess of height; yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the Purse.

Symmetria is the convenience that runneth between the Parts and the Whole.
Whole, whereof I have formerly spoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due Respect between the Inhabitant and the Habitation. Whence Palladius did conclude, that the principall Entrance was never to be regulated by any certaine Dimensions, but by the dignity of the Master; yet to exceed rather in the more, then in the lesse, is a mark of Generosity, and may always be excused with some noble Emblem, or Inscription, as that of the Conte di Bevilacqua, over his large Gate at Verona, where perchance had been committed a little Disproportion.

Patet Janna: Cor magis.

And here likewise I must remem ber our ever memorable Sir Philip Sidney, (whose Wit was in truth the very rule of Congruity) who well knowing that Basilius (as he had painted the State of his Minde) did rather want some extraordinary Formes to entertain his Fancy, then roome for Courtiers; was contented to place him in a Star-like Lodge; which otherwise in severe Judgment of Art, had been an in-
incommodious Figure.

Distribution is that useful Casting of all Rooms for Office, Entertainment, or Pleasure; which I have handled before at more length than any other Piece.

These are the Four Heads which every man should runne over, before he passe any determinate Censure upon the Works that he shall view, wherewith I will close this last part, touching Ornaments. Against which (me thinks) I hear an Objection, even from some well-meaning man; That these delightful Crafts, may be divers ways ill applied in a Land. I must confess, indeed, there may be a Lascivious, and there may be likewise a superstitious use, both of Picture and of Sculpture: To which possibility of misapplication, not only these Semi-liberal Arts are subject; but even the highest perfections and endowments of Nature. As Beauty in a light woman; Eloquence in a mutinous man; Resolution in an Assasinate; Prudent Observation of houres and humours, in a corrupt Courtier; Sharpnesse of wit and argument in
in a seducing Scholer, and the like. Nay, finally let me aske, What Art can be more pernicious, then even Religion it self, if it self be converted into an Instrument of Art: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia*.

Thus having stitched in some sort together these Animadversions touching Architecture, and the Ornaments thereof; I now feel that contemplative spirits are as restlesse as active; for doubting with my self, (as all weakness is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poor observation abroad about nothing but Stone and Timber, and such Rubbage; I am thereby led into an immodesty of proclaiming another Work, which I have long devoted to the service of my Country: Namely, *A Philosophical Survey of Education*, which is indeed a second Building, or repairing of Nature, and as I may term it, a kind of Morall Architecture; whereof such Notes as I have taken in my forraigne tran-
transcurfions or abodes, I hope to ut-
ter without publick offence, though
still with the freedom of a plain Ken-
tish-man. In the mean while I have
let these other Gleanings flie a-
broad, like the Bird out of
the Arke, to discover what
footing may be for that
which shall
follow.

FINIS.
A Philosophicall
SURVEIGH
OF
EDUCATION,
OR
Moral Architecture.

BY
Henry Wotton Kc,
PROVOST
OF ETON Colledg.
The Epistle Dedicatory

TO THE

KING.

May it please your Majesty,

Need no other Motive to dedicate this Discourse, which followeth, unto Your Majesty, then the very Subject itself, so properly pertaining to Your Sovereign
raign Goodness: For thereby You are Pater Patriæ. And it is none of the least Attributes wherewith God hath blessed both Your Royal Person, and Your People, that You are so. On the other side: for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need say more. I am old and childlesse; and though I were a Father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in Fortune, or in Example. But having long since put forth a slight Pamplet about the Elements of ARCHITECTURE, which yet hath been entertained with some pardon among my Friends, I was encouraged even at this age, to essay how I could Build a MAN: For there is a Moral, as well as a Naturall or Artificiall Compilement, and of better Materials: Which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuscan (as our Vitruvius termeth it) then in the Corinthian
Dedicatory

rinthian form. However, if Your Majesty be gratiously pleased to approve any part of it, who are so excellent a Judge in all kindes of Structure, I shall much glory in mine own Endeavour. If otherwise, I will be one of the first myself, that shall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage and Ruine. And so wishing Your Majesty (as to the Best of Kings) a longer Life then any of the Soundest Works of Nature or Art, I ever rest

Your Majesties

Most devoted poor Subject,

and Servant,

H. WOTTON.
His Treatise (well may it now proceed) having since the first Conception thereof been often traversed with other thoughts, yea and sometimes utterly forsaken, I have of late resumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at least some indulgent interpretation of my pains; especially in an honest Endeavour of such publick consequence as this is above all other. For if any shall think Education (because it is conversant about Children) to be but a private and domestick duty; He will runne some danger, in my opinion
nion to have been ignorantly bred himself. Certain it is, that anciently the best composed Estates did commit this care more to the Magistrate then to the Parent. And certain likewise, That the best Authors have chosen rather to handle it in their Politicks, then in their Oeconomicks: As both Writers and Rulers well knowing what a stream and influence it hath into Government, So great indeed, and so diffusive, That albeit good Laws have been reputed always the Nerves or Ligaments of humane Society; Yet are they (be it spoken with the peace of those grave Professors) no way comparable in their effects to the rules of good Nurture: For it is in civil, as it is in naturall Plantations, where young tender trees (though subject to the injuries of Aire, and in danger even of their own Flexibility) would yet little want any after-underproppings and shoarings, if they were at first well fastned in the roote.

Now my present labour will (as I foresee) consist of these pieces. First, there must precede a way how
to discern the Natural Capacities and Inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next must ensue the culture and furnishment of the Mind.

Thirdly, the moulding of behaviour and decent forms.

Fourthly, the tempering of affections.

Fifthly, the quickening and exciting of Observations and practical Judge-

ment.

Sixthly, And the last in Order, but the principal in Value (being that which must knit & consolidate all the rest) is the timely instilling of conscientious Principles and seeds of Religion.

These six branches will (as I conceive) embrace the whole businesse through which I shall runne in as many several Chapters or Sections: But before I branch from the shoars, let me resolve a main question which may be cast in my way; Whether there be indeed such an infallible efficacy (as I suppose) in the care of Nurture and first Production; For if that suppose all should fail us, all our Anchorage were loose, and we
should but wander in a wild Sea.

Plutarch (I remember to the same purpose) in the first of his Tractates (which place this subject well deserved) endeavoureth by sundry similitudes (wherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancy) to shew us the force of Education; All which, in sooth, might have been well forborne, had he but known what our own Country-men have of late time disclosed among their Magneticall Experiments. There they tell us that a rod or barre of iron having stood long in a window, or elsewhere, being thence taken, and by the help of a corke or the like thing being ballanced in water, or in any other liquid substance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of unquietude and discontentment till it attain the former position. Now it is pretty to note, how in this natural Theoreme is involved a morall conclusion of direct moment to the point we have in hand.

For if such an unpliant and stubborn mineral as Iron is above any other, will acquire by meere continuance a secret appetite
appetite, and (as I may term it) an habituall inclination to the site it held before. Then how much more may we hope, through the very same means, (Education being nothing else but a constant plight, and Inurement) to induce by custome good habits into a reasonable creature? And so having a little smooth'd my passage, I may now go on to the Chapters.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OR SECTION.
Touching the Search of Natural Capacities and Inclinations.

If the two things propounded in this Chapter, I must begin with Capacities; For the manurement of Wits is like that of Soyles, where before either the
pains of Tilling, or the charge of Sowing: Men use to consider what the mould will bear, Heath or Grain. Now this peradventure at the first view, may seem in Children a very slight and obvious inquiry; That age being so open and so free, and yet void of all Art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites or their defects: Notwithstanding, we see it every day, and every where subject to much error; Partly by a very pardonable facility in the Parents themselves to overprize their own Children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection which alter the appearance; as all things seem bigger in misty mornings, Nay, even strangers, and the most disinterested persons are yet. I know not how, commonly inclined to a favourable conceit of little ones: So cheap a thing it is to bestow nothing but Hope. There is likewise, on the other side, as often failing by an Undervaluation; For in divers Children their ingenerate and seminall powers (as I may terme them) lie deep, and are of slow disclosure; no otherwise then in certain Vegetables, which are
are long before they shoot up and appear; and yet afterwards both of good and great increase; which may serve to excite care; and to prevent despair in Parents: For if their Child be not such a speedy spreader, and brancher like the Vine; yet perchance he may prove proles tarde crescentis Oliva. And yeeld, though with a little longer expectation, as useful, and a more sober fruit then the other. And I must confess, I take some delight in these kind of comparisons; remembering well what I have often heard. my truly Noble and most dear Nephew, Sir Edmund \textit{Bacon}, say, out of his exquisite Contemplations and Philosophical practice; That Nature surely (if she be well studied) is the best \textit{Moralist}, and hath much good Counsell hidden in her bosom. 

Now here then will lie the whole business, to set down before hand certain Signatures of Hopefulness, or Characters (as I will rather call them, because that Word hath gotten already some entertainment among us) where by may be timely descried what the
Child will prove in probability. These Characters must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person like stamps of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his minde, wherein, of the former sort,

The first is that which first incurreth into sight, namely, the Childs colour or complexion (as we vulgarly terme it) and thence perchance some judgment of the predominant humour.

The next is the structure and conformation of the limbes. And the third is a certain spiritous resltance from the other two which makes the Countenance.

The second kind of these Characters (which are rather mentall then personal) be of such variety (because mindes are more active then bodies) That I purpose for the plainest delivery to resolve all my gatherings touching both kinds, into a Rapsodie of several Observations: For I dare not give them the Authoritative Title of Aphorismes, which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be conside-
red rather in troop, then singly, as they say, by Pole, may perchance make a reasonable Morall Prognostick.

The Observations.

There are in the course of humane life from our Cradles upward, certain Periods or Degrees of change, commonly (as the Ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two first Septynaries, and half of the third or thereabouts. I will call the Obsequious age, apt to imbibe all manner of impressions: which time of the suppleness of Obedience is to be plyed by Parents, before the stiffness of will come on too fast.

There is no Complexion, or Composition in Children either priviledged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except Prodigious Forms, and meer natural Impotencies, which are unmanagable In toto Genera, and no more
to be cultivated then the sands of Arabia.

More ordinary Imperfections and Distortions of the body in Figure, are so far from excluding all hope, that we usually see them attended with some notable Compensation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no flight Example in a great Minister of State, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in Nature, the best outward shapes are also the likeliest to be consociated with good inward faculties: For this Conclusion hath somewhat from the Divine Light: Since God himselfe made this great World (whereof Man is the little Model) of such Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfectest Creature.

Touching such Conjectures as depend on the Complexions of Children; Albeit I make no question but all kind of wits and capacities may be found under all Tinctures and Integuments: yet I will particularly describe one or two
two with some preference, though without prejudice of the rest.

The first shall be a *palish Clearnesse*, evenly and smoothly spread, not over-thin and washie, but of a pretty solid consistence; from which equall distribution of the *Phlegmatick Humour*, which is the proper Allay of fervent Bloud; I am wont to hope (where I see it) will flow a future Quietude and Serenity in the Affections; And a discreet sweetness and moderation in the Manners; Not so quick perchance of conceit, as slow to passion; And commonly less inventive, then judicious; Howsoever, for the most part, proving very plausible, insinuant, and fortunate men.

The other is; the pure languine *Melancholick Tincture*, wherein I would wish at least five parts of the first to three of the second; That so there may be the greater portion of that which must illuminate and enrich the Fancie, and yet no scant of the other, to fix and determine the Judgement; for surely, the right naturall definition of a wise Habit, is nothing else but a
plentifulnesse and promptnesse in the Store-house of the Mind of clear Imagination well fixed.

Marcilus Ficinus (the deep Florentine Platonick) increaseth these portions: requiring eight to two in the foresaid Humours; and withall adding two more of pure Choler; But of that I shall speak more among the inward Motions; Purposely here forbearing it, where I only contemplate the superficial Appearance.

In the outward Frame and Fabrick of the Body, which is the next object after Complexion, An erect and forward Stature, a large Breast, neat and pliants joynts, and the like, may be good Significants of health, of strength, or agility, but are very forraign Arguments of wit: I will therefore only saysomwhat of the Head and Eye, as far as may conduce to my present Scope.

The Head in a Child I wish great and round, which is the capablenest Figure, and the freest from all Restraint or Compreffion of the Parts: For since in the Section of Bodies, we find Man of all sensible Creatures to have the fullest
fuller brain to his proportion, and that so it was provided by the Supream Wisdom, for the lodging of the intellectual Faculties; It must needs be a silent Character of Hope, when in the Economical Providence of Nature (as I may term it) there is good store of roomage and receipt where those powers are stowed: As commonly we may think husbanding men to fore-see their own plenty, who prepare beforehand large Barns and Granaries. Yet Thucydides (anciently one of the excellentest Wits in the learnedst part of the World) seems (if Marcellinus in his life have well described him) to have been somewhat Taper-headed, as many of the Genouesers are at this day in common Observation; who yet be a people of singular sagacity; yea, I call here not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in Venice had wit enough to become the Civill Head of that grave Republic, who yet for the littlenesse of his own naturall head, was surnamed Il Donato Testolina. But the Obtrusion of such particular Instances as these, are un-sufficient to authorize
authorize a Note grounded upon the small intention of Nature.

The Eye in Children (which commonly let them rowle at pleasure) is of curious observation, especially in point of discovery; For it loveth or hateth before we can discern the heart: It consenteth or denyeth before the tongue: It resolveth or runneth away before the feet: Nay, we shall often mark in it a dulnesse or apprehensiveness, even before the understanding. In short, It betrayeth in a manner the whole state of the mind, and letteth out all our Fancies and Passions as it were by a window. I shall therefore require in that Organ, without Poetical Conceits (as far as may concern my purpose, being the colour what it will) only a settled vivacity, not wandering nor stupid.

Yet I must confess, I have known a number of dul-fighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external markes or signatures, there be any certainty, It must be taken from that which I have formerly called the Total Resultance. By which, what
I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third Section, when I come to handle the general Ayre of the person and carriage: I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive Characters, which, as I have said, are emergent from the Minde; and which oftentimes do start out of Children when themselves least think of it: For let me tell you, Nature is Prodigious.

And first I must begin with a strange Note: That a Child will have Tantum ingenii quantum i.e., That is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath waywardness: This Rule we have cited by a very *learned man some- *Caprio, where out of Seneca, and exemplified by Angelus Politianus (none of the meanest Critics), who writing the life of Pietro de Medici, concludeth, That he was likely to prove a wise man, because he was a sordid boy. Truly, I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the Heart, and boiling in the Blood, could betoken a good constitution of the Brain, which above any other
other, is, or should be the coldest part;
But because all sudden Motions must
necessarily imply a quick apprehension
of the first stirring Cause; And that
the dullest of other Creatures are the
latest offended, I am content for the
present to yeild it some Credit.

We have another somewhat of the
same mould from Quintilian (whom
I have ever thought, since any use of
my poor judgement, both the elegan-
test and soundest of all the Roman
Pens,) That a Child will have Tantum
ingenii, quantum memoria: This, I
must confess, will bear a stronger Con-
sequence of Hope: For Memory is not
only considerable as it is in itself a
good retention, but likewise as it is an
infallible Argument of good attenti-
on; A Point of no small value in that
Age, which a fair Orange or a red
Apple will divert.

There is yet another in the same
Writer, and in the same Place, where
he handleth this very Theme, How
to descry Capacities: That Parents
should mark whether their Chil-
dren be naturally apt to imitate: wher-
with certainly all fine fancies are caught, and some little leffe then ravished: And we have a Tradition of Quintilian himself, that when he saw any wel-expressed Image of grief, either in Picture, or Sculpture, he would usually weep: For being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a passionate Piece of Art, as with a kind of mute Eloquence: True it is indeed, which a great Master hath long before taught us, Aristotle in Rhetoric is. That Manis of all Creatures the most Mimicall, as a kind of near Adjunct to Reason: Arguing necessarily in those that can do it well, whether it be in Gestures, in Stiles, in Speech, in Fashion, in Accents, or howsoever, no shallow Impression of Similitudes and Differences; About which in effect is Conversant the whole Wisdom of the World.

Besides these, I would wish Parents to mark heedfully the witty excuses of their Children, especially at Suddains and Surprizals; but rather to mark, then pamper them, for that were otherwise to cherish untruth: whereof
I shall speak more in the Final Section.

Again, are to be observed not only his own crafty and pertinent Evasions, but likewise with what kind of Jest, or pleasant Accidents he is most taken in others, which will discover the very degree of his apprehension, and even reach as far as to the censuring of whole Nations, whether they be flat and dull, or of quick capacity: For surely, we have argument enough at this day to conclude the Ancient Greeks an ingenious people: Of whom the very vulgar sort, such as were Haunters of Theaters, took pleasure in the Conceits of Aristophanes; Reserving my judgement to other place, upon the filthy Obscenities of that and other Authours, well arguing among Christians, when all is said, that the Divell is one of the wittiest:

Again, it shall be fit to note, how prettily the Child himself doth manage his pretty pastimes: This may well become an Ordinary Parent, to which so great an Emperour as Augustus descended in the highest of his State, and gravest of
of his Age: who collected (as Sueronius tells us) out of all the known World; especially from the Syrians and Moors (where by the way, we may note who were then reputed the sharpest Nations) little boyes of the rarest Festivity, to play before him at their Ordinary Sports; And indeed, there is much to be noted, worthy of a sadder Judgment in the Wilinesse of that Age.

Again, I would have noted in Children, not only their Articulate Answers, but likewise certain smiles and frowns upon incident Occasions; which though they be dumb and light passions, will discover much of that inward power which moveth them: especially, when withall they lighten or cloud the whole face in a moment.

Lastly, let not his very Dreams be neglected: For without question, there is a great Analogie between those apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his Fancie, and his nocturnal Impressions: Particularly, in that Age, which is not yet troubled with the fumes and cares of the World: So
as the Soul hath a freer and more defecated Operation: And this is enough for the disclosing of a good Capacity in the popular way; which I have followed, because the Subject is gene-
all.

Now for the second Part of this Chapter, touching Inclinations; For after we know how far a Child is ca-
pable, the next will be to know unto what course he is naturally most in-
nclined. There must go before a main Research, whether the Child that I am to manage, be of a good nature or no; as the same term is vulgarly ta-
ken for an ingenuous and tractable dis-
position: which being a fundamentall Point, and the first root of all vertuous Actions, and though round about in every Mothers mouth, yet a thing which will need very nice and narrow Observation, I have spent some dili-
gence in collecting certain private Notes, which may direct this In-
quiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in Children much solitude and silence,
I like it not, nor anything born before

his
This time, as this must must needs be, in that sociable and exposed Age, as they are for the most part. When either alone, or in company, they sit still without doing of anything, I like it worse: For surely all dispositions to Idlenesse and Vacancie, even before they grow Habits, are dangerous; And there is commonly but a little distance in time between doing of nothing, and doing of all.
THE GREAT ACTION BETWEEN POMPEY AND CAESAR

Extracted out of the Roman and Gracian Writers, By H. W. K., for an Historicall Exercise.

The DEDICATION
To St. EDMUND BACON
Knight and Baronet.

HEN Rome in the revolution of 702 years was grown Pregnant of an univerfall Monarchie: After hard labour with forraigne Hostilities, and worse with inward
The great Action between inward Rents and Divisions which mangled her own bowels; The State yet free (or Loose ness's mistaken (as it is often) for Liberty) seemed now to stand most in danger of two eminent Gentlemen, Caius Julius Cæsar and Cneus Pompeius: The one of all men living, the likeliest to stir up again the Sinders of the Marian, the other of the Syllan Partie: These Gallants of the time had some years before, besides their neer Alliance by Marriage of Pompey to Julius Cæsars Daughter (a Lady of imperious allurement) been likewise united together in a Triumvirall Knot with Marcus Crassus, the wealthiest of the whole Nobility, which Consortship was in effect a kind of Segregate or Cabinet-Senate; importing secretly no lesse, then that no Act of Moment should passe without consent of All Three: So as upon this foundation, by their own personall Pursuits, by the mutuall Strength and Coherence of their several Dependents; and by all other insinuative and ambient Arts (in a long corrupted Common-wealth, still forbidden, and still encreasing) after they
they had runne through the principal Dignities at Home: Crassus on the Eastern side with a puissant Army (as Money wants no followers) went Governor of Syria: Pompey Southward, got Libya of new, and retained both Spaines under former Lieutenants: As for Cæsar, who by an insolent Consulship had awaked much jealouysie; they gave him at first only Illyricum and the neerer Gallia, Provinces then of little doings, (as it were to impound his spirits:) yet least the People (whose good will had cost him deep) should bluster in his behalf, the Senate was afterwards (between Favour and Fear) content to extend his Commission to Gallia Narbonensis, beyond the Alps. Thus were the Three distributed at distance enough, as perchance was thought meet, upon more doubt hitherto of their too much agreement, and conference of counsels and plots together, then of any rupture, or disunion at hand: So short-sighted is that which we call humane Providence, and so easily can the Supreme Mover delude our Imaginations. For Crassus not long after, ei-
ther greedy of fame or spoyle, and too confident (as it should seem) in the weakest of Advantages, Number, being miserably overthrown and slain by the Parthians: And Julia a little before dying of an Abort in Childbed, together with the Infant she bare; it lay thence-forth open and clear in every Mans eye, that the Triumvirate dissolved, and She gone, without any Slip remaining, who had been the fastest Cement to hold her Father and Husband together; there would soon ensue but a dry and sandy Friendship between them, being now left at large to the Scope and Sway of their voluntary Appetites.

Wherefore, Having undertaken for some entertainment of my private time, to compile out of the best of Ancient Memories, that Mighty Action which anon under these two Chiefs involved almost the whole World, then known, I repute it not impertinent, to take first a short view how they stood beforehand in Parallel together.

They were both, in general, esteemed of Affections too strong for their own, or
or the common Quiet. That the one could not endure a Superior; nor the other, an Equall; we are told both in Prose and in Verse by ingenious Authors. But whether they agreed to leave us a draught of the greatness, or of the weaknesse of their Minds, I dare not affirm: Some seeming Magnanimitie being indeed (if you found them well) at the bottom, very Impotencies. Certainly, in sober conceit, howsoever they stood towards Other; they were impatient of all comparison, or approach between Themselves, and of their former neerness, no fruit remaining but this; That the more inwardly they had then studied and understood each other, they now loved the lesse. For point of invading the Soveraignty, such narrow Humorists as could look through them, thought Pompey, of the two, rather the Closer then the Better: For Cæsar was not a smothered, but a flagrant Ambition, kindling first by Nature, and blowne by Necessity; In the course whereof one might observe a kind of Circular Motion: for as his vast Desires had exhausted him with un-
measurable gifts above private Condition; So again, when he was grown (as he would often sport with himself in earnest) a great deal worth lesse then nothing: He fell next to resolve (by an usual Coincidence of extremes) that he could not subsist unless he were Master of all. In their practicall ways, Pompey had one very ignoble custome, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises: So he undermined Lucullus in Asia, and Metellus in Spaine: The first a wife and magnificent; the other, a good plain Souldier-like Gentleman. But on the other side, all that went for good or bad in Cæsar was clearly his own; having so little need to borrow from any other vertues or vices, that he left it a Doubt among the best wits of his time, whether of which himself had most, in the two proper Dowries of that age, Eloquence and Armes.
A MEDITATION UPON THE XXIIITH Chapter of GENESIS.

By. H. W.

In this wonderfull Piece of Sacred Story, Behold the Father of the Believers, at extrem Age surprized (as it should seem by the Circumstances of the Text) in his Bed by a Commandement from GOD, to sacrifice his only Sonne; In which case...
A Meditation upon the

all the powers of his minde being suddenly
shaken with an infinite combat between
Faith and Nature; we may upon the whole
matter conceive Him to have broken forth
into some such discourse with Himself, as
followeth.

HAT? Could this possibly be the voice of
GOD which I heard?
Or have not rather
some strange impressions of the Night deluded my Fancy?
Yea, Thy voice it was (my GOD) it
was thy voice. How can Thy humble
Servant deny it? with whom seven
times before descending from the
Throne of Thy Glory, Thou hast
vouchsafed even to commune in this
Vale of Tears.

When thou didst first call me out of
the darkness of my Fathers House into
Thy saving Light; When thou didst
often cherish and encourage me in the
steps of my Pilgrimage; When Thou
didst furnish me with Plenty, and
Crown me with Victory in a strange
Land;
Land; When, lastly, Thou didst even overlade my feeble Age with joy in a rightfull Heir of mine own Body; was I forward at all these times to acknowledge Thee the G O D of my Support and Comfort? And shall I now question Thy voice, when Thou demandest but a part of thine own Benefits? No, (My dear Isaac) although the Heavens know how much I love Thee: yet, if Thou wert, or couldst be Millions of times more precious in the eyes of Thy trembling Father, I would summon together all the strength of mine aged Limbes to render Thee unto that gracious GOD from whom I had Thee. Alas (poor Boy) how sweetly thou slumberest, and in Thy harmlesse Bed dost little think what change is towards Thee. But I must disturb Thy Rest. Isaac arise, and call up my Servants; Bid them prepare for a journey which we are to make unto the Mount Moriah; And let some Wood be carried for the burning of a Sacrifice. Meanwhile I will walk out a little by my self to contemplate the declining Starres, and the approach of the Morning.
Meditation upon the Ornaments of the Sky, who when all the World is silent, obey your Maker in the determinate Order of your Motions. Can Man behold his own duty in a fairer Volume? why then stand I gazing here, and do not rather go myself to hasten my Servants that I may execute His Will? But stay: His Will? Why? Is His Will contrary to the example of his own Justice? Did He not heavily punish Cain even at the beginning of the first World for killing but a Brother? And can I slay my Child and imbrue my hands in mine own Bowels without offence of His Immortal Majesty? Yes, Why not? The Act of Cain was the Act of his own sinfull malice: But I have received an immediate Command from God himself. A Command? Why? Is His Command against his Law? Shall the Fountain of all Truth be served with Contradictions? Did not the same GOD, straight after the universal Deluge (as our Fathers have told us) denounce this Judgment; That who so sheddeth mans bloud, his bloud shall be shed? How then can I herein obey my
my GOD, But I must withall disobey Him?

O my weak Soul, what poor Arguments doest thou search to cover thine own rebellious Affections! Is there any Warrant higher then His Will? Or any better Interpreter of His Will then Himself? If the Princes of the Earth (who are but mortall Types of His invisible Glory) can alter their Edicts at pleasure; Shall not the Lord of the Whole (whom Angels and Men adore) have leave to dispence with His own Prohibitions? Yes surely: But then how shall the Blessing that my good God hath determined upon my Seed, and even upon this very Child be accomplished, if I destroy the Root? O Lord, was not Thy Divine goodness pleased in the depth of Thy Mercy to accept my Belief for Righteousness? And shall I now frustrate Thy Promises with my Obedience? But what? Am I fallen again into a new Refutation? Have I before contested with Thy Justice? And shall I now dispute Thy Power? Didst Thou not create the Light?
Light before the Sunne? and the Effect before the Cause? And shall I binde Thee to the Passions of a natural Agent? Didst Thou not make this All of Nothing, even by Thy Word (which was Thy Wisdom,.) And foment All that Thou hast made by Thy Spirit (which is Thy Love?) And shall I doubt but Thou canst raise innumerably Nations out of the very Ashes of my poor Isaac? Nay, did I not even at first receive Him in a manner from a dead Womb? And art not Thou still the same Almighty and everliving GOD, Merciful Father, full of all tenderness and compassion, that seest from Heaven whereof we are made? Pardon my Discourses, and forget my Delayes. I am now going to performe Thy good Pleasure. And yet their is remaining one humble Suite: which refuse not (O my GOD) though it proceed from the weakness of Thine unworthy Creature. Take my Child, and all that is Mine. I have resigned Him with my whole Heart unto Thy Will. He is already Thine, and Mine no longer; And I glory that He shall Die upon Thy Holy
Holy Altar. But yet I fear withall,
That these my shaking Hands and fainting Limbes will be seazed with Horror.
Be not therefore (Dear LORD) displeased, if I use my Servants in the Execution.
How now. (my Soul!) Doest Thou shrink in the last Act of
Thy Loyalty? Can I yet walk up and down about vile and ordinary Functions?
And when my God is to be served, do my Joynts and Members faile me?
Have I humbled my desires to His Will?
And shall I deny Him the choice of his own Instrument? Or if
His indulgent Mercy would permit it,
shall I suffer another to anticipate the
cheerfulness of my Obedience?
O Thou great GOD of Life and Death!
Who mightest have made me an insensible Plant, a dead Stone, or a poy-
sonous Serpent? And yet even in that
likewise I should have conduced to the
variety of Thy glorious Wisdom: But
haft vouchsafed to endue us with the
form of Man, and to breath into our
first Parent that spark of Thy Divine
Light which we call Reason, to com-
prehend and acknowledge therewith
Thy
Thy High and indisputable Soveraignty over all Nature; Thou then (Eternall Maker and Mover, whose Will is the first of Causes, and whose Glory is the last of Ends) direct my Feet to the Place which Thou hast appointed, Strengthen there these poor Hands to accomplish Thy Pleasure, And let Heaven and Earth obey Thee.
A MEDITATION
UPON
CHRISTMAS-DAY.
Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour CHRIST on Earth.

Glorious Morning, wherein was born the Expectation of Nations; and, wherein the long Saviour Redeemer of the World, did (as his Prophets had cried) rent the Heavens, and come down in the Vesture of Humanity! Thou, that by the Vertue of the Highest, wert conceived in the Womb of an inviolate Virgin, of all Women the most blessed; and
and yet more blessed by being thy Daughter, and thy Servant, then thy Mother. Thou, at whose Birth the Quire of Heaven did sing Hallelujahs, and Angels made haste to acquaint even Shepherds with the News! Stay my Soul, before I go further, and crave leave of thy Lord, to ask some Questions. Why would'st thou be first made known to the meanest Condition of Men? Why were they sent to see their Saviour, not in some gorgeous Palace, but in the vilest Room of a Common Inn, and (in stead of a Cradle decked with rich Imbroderies,) lying in a Despicable Manger? Why did'st Thou not choose for the Place of thy blessed Mothers Delivery, either Athens the Learned, or Rome the Imperial, or Jerusalem the holy City? Or since poor Bethlehem, by thy Prophets prediction, must receive that honour: Why did'st Thou not send Millions of Cherubims and Seraphins before Thee for thy Harbingers? No, my God, It was Thy Will, It was Thy Will (which is the highest of Reasons) by thy low beginning in the flesh, to Confound.
Confound all Pride, and to teach the
Glories of the Earth to blush. Yet,
thus born, and thus homely received,
Behold a new Star descending to illu-
strate thy obscurity, and to conduct
the Wise-Men of the East (now wise
indeed) with their Choicest Presents to
adore Thee. O Strange Phænomenon!
Did ever Hipparchus, or the great
Trismegist, or the greater Moses, or
all the Egyptian Gazers contemplate
before such a Planet? So irregular,
So excentricall? As if the Celestiall
Lights had forsaken their proper Mo-
tions and Position, to welcome the Lord
of all Nature into the World.

And now, In the Course of Thy pre-
cious Life; What shall I first, what
shall I most admire? All is depth, All
is wonder and amazement. Shall I first
Celebrate Thy ever blessed Name for
convincing the great Doctours of the
Law, at twelve years of Thine Age,
when Thy Divine Essence began to
blaze, which had lien before, as it were,
slumbering in the Veile of Thy Man-
hood? Or, shall I passe from this Mi-
race of Knowledge, to Thy Miracles of
of Charity, in healing the Blind, the 
Lame, the Deafe, the Dumb? Or. 
shalt I more insist upon the Acts of Thy 
Power, in checking the Winds, in walk- 
ing on the Waves, in raising the Dead, 
in ejecting the impure Spirits? Or 
shalt I remain stupified (as all the Learn- 
edest Part of the World was, which 
lay groveling in the Contemplation of 
Inferiour Causes) that at Thy Com- 
mimg, all their false Oracles and Delu- 
sions were stricken mute, and nothing 
to be heard at Delphos or Hammon? 
Or shall I contemplate, that at Thy 
Passion, all Nature did suffer; The 
Earth did shake, and the Heavens were 
darkened? Or lastly, After Thou hadst 
triumphed over Death and Hell (whose 
Keys are in thine hand,) Shall I glori- 
fie Thy Assumption into the Highest 
Heavens?

Yes Lord, all this, and much more 
there is then the whole World can 
contain, if it were written. Yet one 
thing remains, even after Thy Glorious 
Departure, for the Comfort of our Souls. 
above all the Miracles of Thy Good- 
ness, and of Thy Power; That Thou
haft dispensed Thy Saving Doctrine unto Curious Men, not only by eloquent Sophists, and Subtill School-men, (such as have since distracted and torn thy Church in pieces;) but by the simpiest and silliest Instruments: So as it must needs be Thy Divine Truth, since it was impressed by no humane Means; For, give me leave again, my Dear Lord, to demand in the Extasie and Admiration of one of Thy Blessed Vessels; Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? How should we have known? How should we have apprehended Thy Eternall Generation? if Thou hadst not been pleased to vouchsafe a silly Fisher-man to lean on Thy Breast, and to inspire him to tell us from his Boat, That, In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God?

Therefore to Thee, Thou Incarnate Word and Wisdom of the Father; Thou only true Messiah, in whom all Prophecies are accomplished, and in whom the Will of God, and the Desires of Men are fulfilled, Look down upon us
us thy unworthy Creatures, from where thou sittest in Thy Glory: Teach us Thy Love; but such a Love as doth fear to offend Thee: Teach us Thy Fear, but such a Fear as first doth love Thee: And endue us with Thy Grace, whilst by Thy Permission we walk on this Globe, which Thy blessed Feet have troden, to solemnize this Day of Thy Nativity, not with wanton Jollities, but, with Hymns of Joy, and Meditations of like Comfort.

FINIS.
LETTERS, &c.
AND
CHARACTERS
OF
Sundry Personages,
FOUND AMONG
THE
PAPERS
OF
Sr. Henry Wotton
KNIGHT.
A CHARACTER OF
FERDINANDO di MEDICI,
Gran Duke of Tuscany.

DEDICATED TO THE
KING.

Eing desirous, al-
beit I dare pro-
mise little fruit
or pleasure to
others by any
use of my Pen;
yet at least to re-
cord unto my
self some such Observations as I picked
up
up abroad in the time of my former travels and employments.

I stand obliged in grateful memory to say somewhat of a Prince long since at rest; Namely, Ferdinando Gran Duke of Tuscany, which was the ancient Heturia, whose Palace of Piti at Florence, when I came often to review, and still me thought with fresh admiration; being incomparably (as far as I can yet speak by experience or report) for solid Architecture, the most magnificent and regular Pile within the Christian World: It pleased him by means of the Cavalier Vieta, his principal Secretary of Estate, to take some notice of my Person though no intruder by Nature, and (God knows) of little Ability.

The said Duke Ferdinando was reputed a wise and warie Prince, and it was a solid wisdom rather then a Formall. He had been long a Cardinal, and at two or three Conclaves (as they call them) or Elections of Popes. So as he came to the Dukedom well seasoned before with practice, and well broken to Affairs: And with such an impression
of his first Tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the Roman Court; as indeed was necessary for a neer and jealous Confiner. He was in his civil Regiment of a fine composition, between Frugalitie and Magnificence; A great cherisher of manuall Arts, especially such as tended to splendour and ornament: As Picture, Sculpture, cutting of Christals, Ambers, and all of the softer Gemmes, inlaying of Marbles, limning of Birds, Beasts, and Vegetables, Imbossing, and the like: In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquifite Artificers with a settled pension, and placed them in several compartments of his Palace, where he would come oftentimes to see them work for his own delight; and so he did furnish his Cabinets with Rarities at an easie rate; being in truth, one of the greatest Economists of his Age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, & more of the Prince; so he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the Merchant; 'twas as well as fighting with his Gallies. After the death of the Duke Francesco Q
his Brother, it was a while somewhat an Ambiguous Deliberative, whether he should devote the Cardinalship, or rule with a double Greatness, Ecclesiastical and Civil: But the hope of Posterity overbalanced the scale; and so he took to wife the daughter of Lorraine, as it were to interest himself now in the Borders of France: whereas his Name before had spread itself in the Body. He was by nature more reserved than popular, and had virtues fitter to beget estimation then love; yet he would duly in his Coach take almost every day a review of the City, and receive Petitions willingly. Besides, I have been shewed a strange device of State, namely an outward hole like a Tronck in a wall of one of his Galeries, the bottome whereof was under lock and key, into which any one might let forth any secret Intelligence, & convey it closely to the ears of the Prince: enough to disquiet all the dayes of his life. He was served by able instruments of State, and diligently attended in Court; but rather by choice then number, and with more neatness then
then noise. He had a close and Intrin-
scecall Favourite, by birth a stranger:
being born in Piedmont, but by his
favour made Archbishop of Pisa, a
notable Screen between him and his
Subjects: upon whom the Duke would
handsomely bestow all manner of com-
plaint; and He as willingly bear it.
He was unquestionably the powerful-
left of all the Italian Dukes. And
being centred in the very Navel of
Italy, thereby the furthest from Inva-
sion on all sides, and the most partic-
cipant of the common Interest; which
I believe, among other causes, hath
much preserved that State in busy times:
yet surely, a little over-awed, or over-
looked by the King of Spain, who hol-
deth in actual possession Ponte Hercule,
Telemene, and Piombino, which we
may perchance not improperly call the
Fetters of Herruria. Of stature he was
somewhat above the Mean, a gross body,
not apt to motion, and as quiet a
Countenance. His Monies were the
purest and least corrupted within the
Italian Bounds; and his Markets the best
ordered for prices of comestible Ware;
where, in all his Towns, a man might have sent out a child for any flesh or fish, at a rated price every Morning. To which temper more septentrionall unlimber Nations have not yet bent themselves. On the other side, there was nothing brought into Florence from the Field, to the least Sale, but by a long insensible servitude payed somewhat. This was the Civill and Naturall Habit of that Prince: And more might be said, if I were not pounded within an Epistle. This Duke, while I was a private Traveller in Florence, and went some time by chance (sure I am, without any designe) to his Court, was pleased, out of some gracious Conceit which he took of my fidelity, (for nothing else could move it) to imploy me into Scotland, with a Casket of Antidotes or Preservatives; (wherein he did excell all the Princes of the World) and with a Dispatch of high and secret Importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the Succession to this Crown; so as I am much obliged to his Memory, (though it was a painfull jour-
(ney) for that Honour and other Favours and Beneficences; and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the King your Father of ever blessed Memory, when your Majesty was but a blooming Rose, which afterwards drew on my Employment to the Republick of Venice.

From August the 8th of Aug. 1620.

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

From this place I determined to make my first Dispatch unto your Majesty; hoping in such Cities and Courts whereunto I had address on the way, to take up somewhat that should be considerable, and till then unwilling to entertain your solicitous Mind with immaterial things.

I have hitherto been with five several Princes and Communities, the Duke of Loraigne, the Arch-Duke Leopaldus, the Town of Strasburg, the Duke of
of Wirtenberg, and the town of Ulme, in the same order as I have set them down: among whom I spent in all twelve dayes, and the rest of the time in unceffant journeies, whereof I shall now render your Majesty a full account in the substance, retrenching imper- tinencies.

Unto the Duke of Lorraine I had no credential addrefs from your Royall hand; and yet to passe silently (like a stream through his land) by a Prince of so near conjunction in blood with you, & so interefTed in the scope of my errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity. Therefore excufing (as I might juftly) the want of Letters, with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the French King had cleared the confines of Lorraine, by drawing fuch forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of passengers over the River of Marne towards Normandie: I fay after this ex- cufe, I told him, I knew your Majesty would be singularly pleased to under- stand by me of his health, and that I had, in tranfitu, conferred with him your Chri-
Christian ends, wherein you could not but expect at his hands a concurrence, both of Counsell and Affection. This I said, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a Prince cumbred (as I found him) with the German troubles on the one side, and the French on the other; and therefore bound to study the passages of both: especially having a State which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutral, then himself. In the rest of my discourse, Ipossessed him with two main heads of mine Instructions; First with your Majesties innocency in the Bohemian business at the beginning; next, with your impartiality therein, even to this hour; both which did render you in this cause the fittest Mediator of the World. And so I shut up all with this, that God had given your Majesty two Eminent blessings; The one, Peace at home, the other (which was surely the greater, and the rarer) a Soul desirous of the like abroad, which you found your self tied in the conscience of a Christian King to prosecute by all possible means; and therefore,
though you had before in the beginning of the *Bohemian* Motions, spent your good meaning by a solemn Ambassage to the Emperour, in the person of a dear and zealous Servant of great quality, even before any other King had entred into it, which, through the crudity of the matter, as then, took not the wished effect; yet now hoping that time it self, and the experience of vexation had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, you had not refused by severall Ambassages to both sides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian Work. Thus much, though in effect extracted from your Majesties own directions, I have here once rehearsed to save the repetition thereof in my following Audiences at other places.

The Dukes answer was more tender, then free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much your Majesties good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those great and wise Kings that had it in hand, and concluding (with a voice,
voice, me thought, lower then before, as if he had doubted to be over-heard, though in his private Chamber) that the Princes of the Union would tell me what his affections were in the Cause: for which I gave him thanks, commending in all event to his continual memory, that Your Majesties Daughter, my gracious Lady, and her Descendents were of the blood of Loraigne; Yea, said he, and the Elector likewise. This was all that passed from him of any moment: After which, he brought me to Monsieur de Vaudemont, whose principal business (as I hear) at the present, is to work the Dukes assent, and the Popes dispensation for a Marriage between his own sonne and his brothers daughter; a thing much affected by that people, and no doubt fomented by France, to keep so important a Province from strangers. In the mean while, de Vaudemont's son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is bestow'd in the command of those Troops which were suffered to passe the Rheine at Brysack on Whitson-Munday last: Before I leave Loraigne, I cannot but adver-
vertifie your Majesty that at Faltsboug, a town in the confines of that Province towards Elsatia (inhabited and built by many good men of the Religion) the Ministers came unto me bewailing the case of the Inhabitants, who for some thirty years had possessed that place quietly, till of late by instigation of the Jesuites at Nancie, the Duke had given them warning to be gone within the term of two years, whereof some good part was expired. Their request unto me was, that by your Majesty's gracious Mediation, they might be received into a place within the Palatine Jurisdiction, near their present seat, which they offered to enlarge, and fortifie at their own charge, upon the grant of reasonable immunities; which I have assumed to treat by letter with your Majesties son-in-law, needing no other commission from your Majesty in things of this nature, then your own goodnesse.

The Arch-Duke Leopald I was forced to seek three dayes journey from his ordinary seat; where being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about
about him, he desired me to turn back half a days journey to Mulzham, the notorious nest of Jesuits: commanding the Governours of his Towns in the mean time to use me with all due respects; among whom he made choice of an Italian, by name Ascanio Albertine (a man of singular confidence with him, and surely of very fair conditions) to sound me, though in a merry fashion, and half laughing (as there was good cause) how I would taste it, if he should receive me in the Jesuits Colledge; for at Mulzham, those were his hosts, being destitute of other habitation; I answered him, as merrily as it was propounded, that I knew the Jesuits had every where the best rooms, more splendid then true, fitter to lodge Princes then Monks; and that their habitations were always better then themselves. Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection, and that Saint Paul did not refuse to be carried in a Ship, which was consecrated to false Gods; yet because on our side they were generally, and (no doubt) justly reputed the
the true cause of all the troubles of the Christian World, I doubted it would be a scandalous Reception; and that besides, those Artificers would go near to make appear on my part a kind of silent approbation of their Order and course: This was my Answer, which being faithfully transported by the Italian, the Archduke made choice of another mean house in the Town, where he received me truly in a noble sweet fashion; to whom having presented your Majesties Letters, and Love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me. To him, besides that which I had said to the Duke of Lorraine, I added two things.

The first, that not only your Majesty was clear of all fore-knowledge, or counsell, in the business of Bohemia; but likewise your Son in-law himselfe of any precedent practice therein, till it was laid upon him, as you knew by his own high affirmations, and most infallible testimonies.

The second, that though your Majesty to this hour did continue as equall betwixt both parties, as the Equation
not all between the Poles, yet about
the time of my departure you were
much moved, and the whole Land
likewise, with a voice, I know not how,
spread abroad, that there were great
preparations to invade the Nether Pa-
latinate; which if it did fall out, your
Majesty should have just reason to
think your Moderation unthankfully
required; the said Palatinate being
the Patrimonial Lands of your own
Descendents, and no way connected
with the Bohemian Business. Where-
upon I persuaded him fairly, in your
Majesties Name, being a Personage of
such authority in the present actions,
to keep them from any such precipitious
and impertinent rupture as might pre-
clude all Mediation of Accord: and
because your Majesty had now, which
was a second Argument of your equi-
ty, sent several Ambassadors to the
Fountains for your better informa-
tion in the merit of the Cause, by your
own Instruments. I besought him to
illuminate me, who was the weakest of
your Creatures, as far as he should
think fit, and to assist me with his best
advice
advice towards this good end, whereunto besides the dear Commandment of the King my Master, I would conferre mine own plain and honest zeal.

His answer to all the points, which he had very orderly laid up, was this: Of your Majesties own clearnesse he professed much assurance; of your Son in-law as much doubt, charging him both with close practice with the Bohemians at the time of the Emperours Election at Francfort, and more foulely with a new practice, either by himselfe or by others, to introduce the Turk into Hungary. Of any designe upon the lower Palatinate, he utterly disavowed all knowledge on his part; yet would not deny, but the Marquess Spinola might perchance have some such aim, and if things went on, as they do, men would no doubt assaile their enemies, wheresoever they should find them. In such ambiguous clouds as these, he wrapped this point. Of the Emperours inclination to an agreement he bad me be very assured; but never without restitution of the usurped
ked Kingdom, which was not a losse of easie concoction, especially being taken from him by the Count Palatine his subject, as he often called him, and once added, that he thought he would not deny it himselfe. Of the merit of the cause, he said he had sent divers records and papers to the Emperour, where I should find them.

Lastly, he acknowledged himselfe much bound unto your Majesty for the honour you had done him, to take such knowledge of his person, and was contented to beflow some thanks upon me for mine honest inclination, which he would present, before my arrivall, at Vienna. I had almost omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of some English Levies coming toward the Palatinate: About which I cleared him, with confessing that your Majesties people, and some of your principall Nobility, had taken Alarm upon a voice of an Invasion there, and meant voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in that action, but without any concurrence of your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he
he replied, that in truth so he had heard, and made no question of your royal Integrity. In the afternoon of this day, he took me abroad with him in his Coach, to shew me some of his nearer Towns and Fortifications, and there descended into many familiarities, and amongst other, to shew us how to make frogs leap at their own skins: a strange purchase, me thought, at a time when Kingdoms are in question. But it may be, it was an art to cover his weightier Meditations.

Amongst other discourse, there was some mention of your Majesties Treaty with Spain, in point of Alliance; which I told him, was a concluded business; for that warrant I had from your own royall mouth in your Gallery at Theobalds, having let fall none of your syllables: whereupon he said, That he did not despair upon so good an occasion, to salute your Majesty in your own Court. The morning following, he sent unto me Seignior Asciano with expresse desire, that since your Majesties intentions were so clear, I would as frankly acquaint him.
him, whether in mine Instructions I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperour; which himself likewise at my second Audience did somewhat importunately presse, excusing his curiosity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperour, in as good manner as he could, to accept it. My answer was, that your Majesty thought it first necessary on both sides to dispose the affections, and then by reciprocal intelligence between your servants, from Vienna, and Prague, to collect some measure of Agreement; for otherwise, if we should find both Parties fixed in extream resolutions, it were a folly to spend any further the honour of our Master. Here again he told me, that I should find the Emperour perswasible enough, if his Reputation may be saved: and for his own part, he thought that the Count Palatine, being the Inferiour, might yeild without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of the same complexion are his Letters to your Majesty, that I send herewith, of which I must needs say, that in some part,
part, *Olent Patrem Henricum*, so they call a Jesuite of inward credit with him. Always true it is, that they were couched in the Colledge, for his Secretaries were absent, as the Italian told me at his ordinary place of residence. At my leave-taking, he spake with much reverence of your Majesty, with much praise of your Christian Mind, and with much thankfulness of the honour you had done him. He is a Prince of good stature, of fair complexion, inclining to fulness: His face, the very best, as they tell me, of the House of Austria; and better indeed then his fashion. No curiosity in his clothing, no affectation in his discourse; Extream affable, both to strangers, and among his own. Patient of labour, and delighting in motion. In sum, little of a Bishop, save the Bishoprick and a long Coat; with which short Character of his Person, I have taken the boldness to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of servants to represent unto their Masters the Images of those (with whom they treat) and as well their natural as artificial Impressions.
Of Strasburg and Ulm, I may speak conjunctively, being of one nature; Both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortispe space. Towards me likewise they joyned in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate-house, but in treating with me where I was lodged by deputed persons, out of the reverence (as they professed) due to your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with your Letters, and with communication of our ends by your humble Servant. They both commended your Majesties Christian Intentions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same Neutrality; but because it were uncivil for them to contribute their Counsels, where such Kings did employ their Wisdome and Authority, they would only contribute their prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these appearing likewise in their Letters, which I send by this Bearer.

Into the Duke of Wirtenberg his Court I was received very nobly, and kindly feasted at his Table, with the
Princesse, and other great Ladies, and most part of the day lead by himself, to view his Gardens, Buildings, and other delights.

The materiall points collected here, I must devise partly into my discourse with himselfe, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded Monsieur Buvinckhousen to give me, which cometh in a Paper apart, being very materiall.

In his own Speech, he made great profession towards your Majesty, wherein no Prince of the Empire should exceed him; and as much toward the King of Bohemia, as he ever called, your Son in-law; of whose clearnesse from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me, that in that point he would ease me; for himselfe visiting the Electour, a little after he was chosen, he found him extremely perplexed, even to effusion of tears, between these two considerations, That if hee accepted the offer, the World would falsely conceive it to have sprung from his Ambition; if he refused it, that People was likely to fall into
into desperate counsels, with danger of calling more then Christian help; In the rest of his discourse, I was glad to hear him often vow, that he would defend the Palatinate with all his power, being tied thereunto, not only by the bond of Confederacy, but likewise by reason of State, not to suffer a stranger to neighbour him.

I have now ended for the present your Majesties trouble. There remain of my Commission, the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperour. The Duke of Bavaria I shall find actually in arms about Lintz in the upper Austria, and the Emperour at Vienna; from both places I will make severall Dispatches unto your Majesty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the occasion shall rise; Let this in the mean time end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repose of your own Estates; and in my hearty prayers for the preservation of Your dear and sacred Person.
May it please Your Majesty,

The Gracious Aspects, which I have ever observed in your Majesty towards me, doth teach me (though there were no other reason under God) to approve all my actions by your Judgement. Let me therefore most humbly make known unto your Majesty, that it hath pleased the Fountain of all Goodnesse to dispose my mind by his secret Providence, to enter into the sacred Orders of his Church: having confirmed in me (for which his high Name be ever blessed) the reverence and love of his truth, by the large experience of the abuses thereof in the very seat and sink of all corruption, Rome it selfe: To which my wandring curiosity carried mee no lesse then four times in my younger years; where I fixed my Studies most upon the historickall part, in the politick man of Religion, which I found plainly converted from a Rule of Conscience,
to an Instrument of State; and from the Mistress of all Sciences, into a very hand-maid of Ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For although the Truth perhaps may more compendiously appear in ordine doctrina; yet never more fully, then when we search the original veins thereof: the increase, the depravations and decays in ordine temporum.

This is the Point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will spend the remainder of my dayes, hoping that the All-sufficient God, will in the strength of his mercy enable my weakness, either by my voice or pen, to celebrate his Glory. Now, though I was thus far confident in my self (with all humility be it spoken) that neither my self, nor my pure erudition, would yield much scandal to others: and likewise might well have presumed that this resolution would no ways offend your Majesties religious heart; but might rather be secure in your former encouragement; yet having imployst so many years abroad in civil use, I thought it
it undutifull to change my calling, without the fore-knowledge and approbation of my Soveraign. The Almighty, who hath indued your Majesty with excellent vertuues, and so early taught the rare Consent between Greatnesse and Goodnesse, long protect your Royall Person, and Estates, under his singular Love.

Your Majesties

Most faithfull and devoted Vassal,

H. WOTTON.

My Most Dear and
Dread Soveraign,

AS I gave Your Majesty fore-knowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had your Gracious Approvement therein, so I hold it a second dutie to Your Majesty, and satisfaction to my self, to inform you likewise
wife by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what motives; that it may appear unto your Majesty (as I hope it will) an act of conscience, and of reason; and not of greediness and ambition. Your Majesty will be therefore pleased to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and so far am I from aiming at any high flight, out of my former Sphere, that there I intend to rest. Perhaps I want not some persuaders, that measuring me by their affections, or by your Majesty's goodness, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I dye, I might become a great Prelate. And I need no persuasion to tell me, that if I would undertake the Pastorall Function, I could peradventure by casualty, out of the Patronages belonging to your Royall Colledge, without further troubling of your Majesty, cast some good Benefice upon myself, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more than my Provostship. But as they were strucken with horror, who beheld the majesty of

R
the Lord descending upon the Mount 
Sinai: so. God knowes, the nearer I 
approach to contemplate his greatness, 
the more I tremble to assume any cure 
of souls even in the lowest degree, that 
were bought at so high a price: pre-
mant torcular qui vindemiārunt: Let 
them press the grapes, & fill the vessels, 
and taste the wine, that have gathered the 
Vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in 
the Porch of Gods House, whereinto I 
am entred? God himself forbid, who 
was the Supream Mover. What Service 
then do I propound to the Church? or 
what contentment to mine own mind? 
First, for the point of Conscience, I 
can now hold my place Canonically, 
which I held before but dispensatively, 
& withal I can exercise an Archidiaconal 
Authority annexed thereunto, though 
of small extent, and no benefit, yet some-
times of pious & necessary use. I comfort 
myself also with this Christian hope, 
That Gentlemen and Knights Sons, who 
are trained up with us in a Seminary of 
Church-men, (which was the will of 
the holy Founder) will by my example, 
(without vanity be it spoken) not be 
ash
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ashamed, after the sight of Courtly Weeds, to put on a Surplice. Lastly, I consider, that this resolution which I have taken, is not unsutable even to my civill imployments abroad, of which for the most part Religion was the subject; nor to my observations which have been spent that way in discovery of the Roman Arts and Practices, whereof I hope to yeild the World some account, though rather by my pen, then by my voice. For though I must humbly confess, that both my Conceptions and Expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation then my memory: or if your Majesty will give me leave to paint myself in higher terms, I think, I shall be bolder against the judgements, then against the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own Character; so as my private Study must be my Theater rather then a Pulpit; and my Books my Auditours, as they are all my Treasure. Howsoever, if I can produce nothing else for the use of Church and State, yet it shall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life.
to compose some Hymnes unto his endlesse Glory, who hath called me (for which his Name be ever blessed) though late to his Service, yet early to the knowledge of his truth, and sense of his mercy. To which ever commending your Majesty, and your Royall Actions, with most hearty and humble prayers, I rest

Your Majesties most devoted poor Servant.

To the Lord Treasurer Weston.

My most honoured good Lord.

Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a strange Newyear's Gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest materials. In short, it is only an Image of your Self, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship, among the most intelligent and unmalignant men; which to
to portrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenuous and real; and I could wish that it had come at the Day, that so your Lordship might have begun the New-year somewhat like Plato's definition of Felicity, with the contemplation of your own Idea.

They say, That in your forraine Employments under K. James, your Lordship won the Opinion of a very able and searching Judgment, having been the first discoverer of the Intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masked with much Art. And that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you both in Title and Employment at home, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then for his own Ends a Martial Secretary. They say, That under our present Soveraigne, you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity and provident moderation; which Attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your Actions since, that though great Ex-R} 3 haustions
baultions cannot be cured with sudden Remedies, no more in a Kingdom then in a Naturall Body; yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginnings your House was in a manner daily besieged. They note, That there have been many changes, but that none hath brought to the Place a judgment so cultivated and illuminated with various Erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your Paralell in the ornament of Knowledge.

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of Vertues and Abilities rarely sociable. In the Character of your Aspect, a Mixture of Authority and Modesty. In the Faculties of your Minde; quick Apprehension and Solidity together. In the style of your Port, and Train, as much Dignity and as great Dependency as was ever in any of your Place, and with little noise or outward fume. That your Table is very abundant, free, and noble without Luxury. That you are by nature no Flatterer, and yet of greatest
greatest power in Court. That you love Magnificence and Frugality both together. That you entertain your Guests and Visitors with noble courtefie, but void of complement. Lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your Person and Place; and yet are an Enemy to frothy Formalities.

Now, In the discharge of your Function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour: namely, That you have had always a special care to the supply of the Navy; And likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King's only Sister, for her continual support from hence, then she hath found before. They observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any in the Love (and which is more) in the estimation of a King who hath so signalized his own Constancy. Besides your addition of Strength (or at least of Lustre) by the Noblest Alliances of the Land.

Among these Notes, it is no wonder if some observe; That between a good willingnesse in your affections to satisfie All, and an impossibility in the matter,
and yet an importunity in the Persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall upon your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, especially having been before so conversant with liberal Studies, and with the freedom of your own Minde.

Now after this short Collection touching your most honoured Person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what Men say of the Writer. They say, I want not your gracious good will towards me according to the degree of my poor Talent and Travels, but that I am wanting to myself: And in good faith (my Lord) in saying so, they say truly: for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulnesse in mine own businesse, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordships proper work; and not only your Noble, but even your Charitable goodnesse that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthfull and
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and joyfull years, and the blessing of that Text; Beatus qui attendit ad attentatum. And so I remain with an humble and willing Heart. &c.

To the Queen of Bohemia.

Most resplendent Queen, even in the darkness of Fortune.

That was wont to be my strife unto your Majesty, which you see, I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forbore to trouble you with any of my poor Lines: yet the Memory of your Sweet and Royall Vertues, is the last thing that will die in me. In these months of my silence I have been busy (if any work of my brains may be termed a business) about certain compositions of mine own; partly imposed, and partly voluntary: whereof some would fain be strugling into the light.
light. But I do check their forwardness, because I am afraid they will be born before their time; In the mean while, I have gotten a subject worthy to exercise my pen unto your Majesty: which is the choice of the New Lord Treasurer: Upon which place, your Majesty hath always some dependance in your Domestick Affairs. I believe your Majesty hath never personally seen him, therefore I will take the boldnesse to paint him before you; though I must speak as yet, more out of the Universall Opinion, then from mine own Experience; for your Majesty knows my nature, I am always one of the last intruders. Now the best and the shortest draught that I can make of him, will be this; There is in him no tumour, no fowrenesse, no distraction of thoughts, but a quiet mind, a patient care, free access, mild and moderate Answers.

To this I must add a solid judgement, a sober plainnesse, and a most indubitable Character of Fidelity in his very face. So as there needs not much study to think him both a good man.
man, and a wife man: And accordingly his family composed; More order then noise, and his nearest Instruments carefully chosen, for he wanted no offers. But above all, there is a blessed note upon him, that his Majesty hath committed his Monies, where he may trust his Conscience. Upon the whole matter, it is no marvel that the Charge lay a full year under Commission.

For the King himself (as we hear) did openly profess, that he had spent the most of that time, not in deliberating whom he might choose, but in wooing of him whom He had chosen, to undertake it: For it is a hard matter indeed (if so good a King had not been the Orator) to draw a man out of the settled repose of a learned Life, into such an ocean of publick Solicitude, able to swallow an ordinary Spirit. But God, who hath raised him to it, hath made him fit for it.

This is all that I was in travel to advertise Your Majestie upon the present occasion; my next will be touching the two sweet Princes, your Sons, whose Fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in the
the common Voice; having by some weakness in my legs, and other symptoms of Age, and by mine own retired studies, been confined to privacie: But I hope to make known unto Them, how much I reverence my Royal Mistress, their Mother, and the Images of her Goodness, at the solemn Meeting the next month in Oxford: For an Academie will be the best Court for my humour. And so I humbly rest.

Your Majesties ever faithful,
ever devoted poor Servant,

H. Wotton.

May it please your sacred Majesty,

I Beseech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition how I have spent my time since my departure from your Royall sight, because I glory in your goodnesse.

I have been imploied by your favour in four severall Treaties differing in the Matter,
Matter, in the Instruments, and in the Affections.

The first was for the sequestration of Juliers, wherein I was joyned with the French.

The second for the provisionall possession of the two Pretendents: wherein contrary to the complaint of the Gospel, the Labourers were more then the Harvest.

The third was for a defensive League between the united Provinces and the united Princes: Who though they be separate Bodies of State, do now by your only Mediation, make one body of Strength.

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this People, in matter of Commerce, which hath exceeded the other Three, both in length and in difficulty, for two reasons, as I conceive it.

First, Through the sensibleness of the Subject, which is private Utility: next because it had a secret commixture of publick respects, and those of no light consequence: For surely, it importeth more to let the King of Spaine dispence alone
alone the commodities of the East, then for either of us to want them.

Now of the three former Treaties I have given your Majesty an account in divers Dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions. As for this last, they that have eased my weakness in the conduct thereof (I mean my good Associates, by whose light and leadings I have walked) will ease me likewise, by your gracious leave, in the relation. By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair terms we have left it; somewhat resembling to my fancy those women of Nombre de Dios, who (they say) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better Aire: And so I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in Your own Kingdom, which will be more honour to their Birth. For our parts, I dare affirm of these Your Commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of Your gracious Aspect, that they have discharged their Duties and their Consciences with all faithfull care of Your Majesties Command-
mandments. I am confident likewise, that they will give me their honest Testimonie: And wee are bound jointly to professe unto Your Majestie (from whom we receive our Estimation) the respects and kindnesse that have been here done us, as Your Vassals.

And so with my continual prayers to God for Your blessed Being, I here remain, till Your Majestie shall vouchsafe me again the grace of Your Eyes.

Your Majesties long devoted poor Servant.

H. Wotton.
Marcovelsero
Duumviro Augusta
Vindelicia
Henricus Wottonius
S. 0.

Privatim antehac ad te aliquoties scripsi: Nunc causa est ut publicè quoque id faciam: Hac, qualis fit, queso audias. Prostabar Francfurti superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam si molem spectes (quod ferè fit) non sanè de insinis, cum hac inscriptione:

Gasparis Scioppii Ecclesiasiticus
authoritati Serenissimi Domini Jacobi Regis oppositus.

In quo cùm argumento magnam partem novo, tum exemplo nemini adhuc usitato, cetera que eandem modestiam sapient.
Hujus operis consutor cum farraginem rerum undecunque emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in jocosam Legati definitionem, quam jam ante octenium istae transiens apud amicum virum Christophorum Fleckamerum fortè posueram in Albo Amicorum more Teutonicó, bis ipsis verbis: Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ. Definitio adeò forte sse catholicca, ut complecti possit etiam Legatos à latere: Quid hic obscurò facit Scippius? Referat familiaritatis scrinia, resuscitcat post tot annos obsoletos sales, jam ipsâ vetustate ab inquietudine redeptos, ornat me pro humanitate sua clementissimâ interpretatione, tanquam id non solum serio, sed & jactanter scriptisse; Neque hoc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum Optimi Regis nomen per jocos meos in invidiam trahere, quasi Domini praetare tenerentur etiam servorum fufus: Postremò ad honestan-dam petulantiam suam locum unum atq; alterum ex Esaia & Solomone lepide intermiscet, ut nihil est tutum à profanis ingenii. Hac in me fateor cecidisse miro seculo. Quis enim putarat nasciturum homi-
hominem impatientem brevis joci super
Legatorum licentiat qui tantum politica
agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacro-
Sancta Theologia severitatem a quibus-
dam Equivocationum, mentalium re-
servationum, & piarum fraudum Ma-
gistris tam fœde constitupratam? neque
hoc obiter, aut jocosè, aut in Albis A-
micorum, ubi vanâ verâque par is securi-
tate tam scribi quâm depingi solent: sed
ex professo, & de suggestu, & cum privi-
legiò & autoritate Superiorum: Ve-
rum Scioppinis est qui surrexit. Et quid
expectet me responsum? Sanè memi-
ni familiam meam cum Venetiis esset
Anathemate percussam in Parænesi Ba-
onianâ. Memini tum etiam a Go-
mittulo Jesuitâ Perusino, & ab Antonio
Possévino eujusdem farine quadam in me
jacta: Quæ quanquam ab exulceratis
animis effuerent utcunque tacitus fer-
bam: Quippe hi erant viri non indigna
existimationis saltem apud suos: & ip-
sorum auctorum qualiscunque claritudo
teniebat injuriam: Sed cum famelica
transfuga & Romana curia lutulentus
circulator scriptitat solum ut prandere
possit; Cum semicoloæus Grammatica et
nulla ante hac solidiore disciplinâ tinctus Ecclesiasticâ tractât; Cùm ves-
pillonis, & castrensis Scorti * spuma irreverenter in Re-
gem debacchatur, cùjus ex-
imia in divinis, humanísque sapientia & constans justi-
tenor cuicunque vel privato venerationem conciliaret; Cùm homo Germanus exut à patriâ probitate & modéstâ, nihil alind per totum opus quàm eversionem Regum Regnorumque spirat; Cùm
denique idem os quod Iesuiticam societatem * Parricidalem Cohor-
tem vocaverat, nunc post-
quam culinas Rome olere coepit, eandem Prætoriam * Ecclesiasti-
* Castrorum Dei cohortem cus Scioppii vocat, Quis inique Tam pag. 371.
patients urbis (qua istud animal pabu-
latur) tam ferreus ut teneat se? Igitur, semotâ omni festivitate, te seriò, te ex animo (Ornatissime Velseâ) in 
bac Epistolâ convenio: orans, obtestâns-
que per commune humanitatis vinculum, per ejusdem Baptismi, ejusdem symbo-
li conscientiam, ipse velis (pro authoritate quà té scio valere apud tuos) istos Sci-
oppios
oppios compescere; ut egestis e cetero Christiano similibus hominum propudio, Caussarumque sanet vel optimarum de-bonestamentis, sua bonis viris existimatio, sua Principibus dignitas maneat; Non vexentur Nundine prostitutis Parasitorum calamis; Non typi (nobile Germanorum inventum) adeo miserere torquentur, sequatur denique quantum infirmitas nostra ferat illa Regnorum Ecclesiaramque requies quam nobis commendavit supremus pacis præceptor simul & exemplum. Quod si impudentem illam dicacitatem (quam ab infami ortu multa aevoloyos traxit) non deponere poterit sine magno ventriculi incommodo; saltem dignus est certè cui curtetur esca ob execrandam argutiam quæ sibi videatur vel ipsis Tridentinis Patribus oculati- tor. Illi *Traditiones &

*8 April. Sess. 4. Scripturam Sacram pari tantum pietatis affectu & reverentia suscipiendas, primi omnium (quod ego sciam) decrevere. At iste novus Ecclesiasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pulcherrimi syntagmathis sui, p. 485. majorem traditi quam scripti verbi Divini authoritatem blasphemo & pudendo ore pronun-
To Sir Arthur Throgmorton.

Sir,

I have been desirous of some fit opportunitie to render you humble thanks for a very kinde Letter which I received from you; and I cannot have a fitter then by the return of this Gentleman, who beareth much devotion to your Name. I will therefore by his honest hand present you the Service of a poor Scholer; for that is the highest of my own Titles, and in truth, the farthest end of mine ambition: This other honour (wherewith it hath pleased His Majestie to clothe my unworthinesse) belonging unproperly unto me: Who, I hope, am both borne and forme...
formed in my education, fitter to be an instrument of Truth than of Art. In the mean while till his Majestie shall resolve me again into mine own plaine and simple elements, I have abroad done my poor endeavour according to these occasions which God hath opened.

This Gentleman leaveth Italie in present tranquillity, though not without a little fear of some alteration on the side of Savoy: Which Prince seemeth to have great and unquiet thoughts, and I think they will lack no fomentation from abroad. Therefore after the remembrance of my most affectionate poor service to your self, and to my honourable Ladies your Wife and Daughters, and your whole House (with which we are now so particularly conjoin'd) I commit You and Them to our mercifull GOD.

Your willing Servant,

Henry Wotton.
To the Earl of Holderness.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

In a late Letter from Your Lordship by my Servant, I have, besides your own Favours, the Honour of Employment from the King, in a piece of his Delight: which doth so comfort with the opportunitie of my Charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with some excellent Florists (as they are stiled); and likewise with mine own disposition, who have ever thought the greatest pleasure to consist in the simplest Ornaments and Elegancies of Nature; as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore Your Lordship shall see how I will endeavour to satisfy this Command. I had before Order by Master Secretarie Calvert, to send his Majefty some of the best Melon Seeds of all kinds; which I have done some weeks since, by other occasion of an expresse Messenger; and sent with all
a very particular Instruction in the Culture of that Plant. By the present Bearer I do direct unto Your Lordship, through the hands either of my Nephew, or Master Nicholas Peys (as either of them shall be readiest at London) for some beginning in this kind of Service, the Stem of a double Yellow Rose, of no ordinary nature: For it flowereth every month (unlesse change of the Clime do change the propertie) from May, till almost Christmas. There hath gone such care in the manner of the Conveyance, as, if at the receiving it be presently put into the earth, I hope it will prosper. By the next commodity I shall send His Majestie some of the rarest Seeds.

Now for mine own Obligations unto Your Lordship, (whereof I have from some friends at home very abundant knowledge) What shall I say? It was in truth (my Lord) an argument of Your Noble Nature, to take my fortune into Your Care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own business. I am a poor Student in Philosophy, which hath redeemed me not
not only from the envying of others, but even from much solicitude about myself. It is true, that my most Gracious Master hath put me into civil practice, and now after long Service, I grow into a little danger of wishing I were worth somewhat: But in this likewise I do quiet my thoughts: For I see by Your Lordships so free, and so undeserved estimation of me, that like the Cripple, who had lien long in the Pool of Bethesda, I shall find some body that will throw me into the water when it moveth. I will end with my humble and hearty thanks for Your Favour, and Love.

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To the Marquessde of Buckingham.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Know Your Lordship cannot want Presents of the best kind from all Countries, if you would be but pleased to bewray Your Desire: For Your Favour is worthy to be studied, both be-
cause You are powerfull, and because in the common judgement (of which we hear the sound, that are far off) You impoy your power nobly.

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto anything proportionable to Your Dignity, nor even to mine own mind; yet I must not suffer Venice (where I have served the King so long) to be wholly disgraced. And therefore I have taken the boldnesse, in a Ship newly departed from this Harbour, to send Your Lordship two boxes of poor things: which because they need a little explication, not so much for their value, as their use, I have desired Master Nicolas Pey, one of the Clerks of His Majesties Kitchin, who is my friend of trust at home in all my occasions, to acquaint Your Lordship with a note of them. Wherein my end is plain, only to excite Your Lordship with this little task, to command me further in whatsoever may better please You. And so I most humbly commit You to Gods blessed Love.

Venice, this 16. of May. Your Lordships with all devotion to serve You, H. Wotton.
To the Lord Bacon, Vicount St. Albans.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I have your Lordships Letters dated the 20th. of October, and I have with all by the care of my Cousin Mr. Thomas Meawtis, and by your own special favour, three Copies of that Work wherewith your Lordship hath done a great and everliving benefit to all the Children of Nature; and to Nature herself in her uttermost extent and latitude: who never before had so noble, nor so true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your Lordship) never so inward a Secretary of her Cabinet: But of your said Work (which came but this week to my hands) I shall finde occasion to speak more hereafter; having yet read only the first Book thereof, and a few Aphorismes of the second. For it is not a banquet, that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their pockets; but in truth, a solid feast, which requireth due manifestation. Therefore when I have once my self perused the whole, I deter
mine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domestick College, as an ancient Author. For I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extreamly mistaken in the computation of Antiquity, by searching it backwards, because indeed the first times were the youngest; especially in points of natural discovery and experience. For though I grant that Adam knew the natures of all Beasts, and Solomon of all Plants, not only more than any, but more than all since their time; yet that was by divine infusion, and therefore they did not need any such Organum as your Lordship hath now delivered to the world; nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their wisdom.

But I am gone further than I meant in speaking of this excellent Labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain Congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordships studies, will scant let me cease: And indeed, I owe your Lordship even by promise (which you are pleased to remember, thereby doubly binding me) some trouble this way: I mean by the com-
commerce of philosophical experiments, which surely, of all other, is the most ingenuous Traffick: Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordship a pretty thing which I saw coming down the Danube, though more remarkable for the Application, then for the Theory. I lay a night at Linz, the Metropolis of the higher Austria; but then in very low estate, having been newly taken by the Duke of Bavaria: who, blandiente fortuna, was gone on to the late effects: There I found Kepler, a man famous in the Sciences, as your Lordship knowes, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your Books, that he may see we have some of our own that can honour our King, as well as he hath done with his Harmonica. In this man's study I was much taken with the draught of a Landskip on a piece of paper, me thoughts masterly done: Whereof enquiring the Author, he bewrayed with a smile it was himself, adding he had done it, non tamquam Pictor, sed tamquam Mathematicus. This set me on fire: at last he told me how. He hath a little black tent (of what stuffe is not much
much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a field, and it is convertible (like a Wind-mill) to all quarters at pleasure, capable of not much more then one man, as I conceive, & perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an inch and an half in the Diameter, to which he applies a long perspective-trunke, with the convexe glasse fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without are intrometer, falling upon a paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his Pen in their natural appearance, turning his little Tent round by degrees till he hath designed the whole aspect of the field: this I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it, for Chorography: For otherwise, to make Landskips by it were illiberall; though surely no Painter can do them so precisely. Now from these artifici-all and natural curiosities, let me a little
little direct your Lordship to the contemplation of Fortune.

Here, by a sleight Battel full of miserable errours (if I had leisure to set them down) all is reduced, or neer the point. In the Provinces there is nothing but fluctuation and submission, the ordinary consequences of Victory; wherein the triumphs of the field do not so much vex my soul, as the triumphs of the Pulpit: For what noise will now the Jesuite disseminate more in every corner, then victrix causa Deo placuit; which yet was but the Gospel of a Poet: No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things Zisca did in the first troubles of his Countrie, that were grounded upon conscience, I am tempted to believe the All-distinguishing-eye hath been more displeased with some humane affections in this business, then with the business it self.

I am now preparing my departing toward my other employment, if in my first instructions I had a power to go hence when this controversy should be decided, either by Treaty, or by Fortune; whereof now the worser means
meanes have perverted the better.

here I leave the French Ambassadors upon the Stage, as I found them; being willing (quod solum superest) to deale between the Emperour and Bethlehem Gabor, with whom I have nothing to doe as he is now singled.

Betwixt this and Italy I purpose to collect the memorablest observations that I have taken of this great Affaire, and to present a copy thereof unto your Lordships indulgent, not to your severe Judgment.

The present I cannot end (though I have too much usurped upon your precious time) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lordship for the kind remembrance of my Cousin Mr. John Meawtis in your letter to mee, and of your recommendation of him before; being a Gentleman, in truth of sweet conditions and strong abilities: I shall now transport him over the Alps, where we will both serve your Lordship, and love one another. And so beseeching God to blesse your Lordship with long life and honour, I humbly rest,

Your Lordships, &c.

To
To Sir Arthur Throgmorton.

Sir,

I Am sorry, that having so good opportunity to write unto you, joyned with so much obligation, I have withall so little matter at the present: yet I will intartaine you with a few Rapfodies.

My Lord, my brother is returned a day sooner then he thought out of Kent, for that the King (who is now at Hampton-Court) hath appointed all his Counsellors and all the Judges to meet him here to morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced, perhaps to cover some greater subject, and yet Monie is a great one.

On Saturday the King goeth to Wind- for, there to honour with his presence both his Sons and his Favourits at their Instalments.

On Sunday last the new Venetian Ambassadour had his first Audience at Greenwich: at which time the old took his leave, and received from the
King three honors, An addition of the English Lion to his Coat-Armour, Knight-hood, and the Sword with the furniture from the King's side, wherewith he had knighted him: which last, being more then was done to any of his predecessors, and done to him who had deserved less then any, is enough to prove, that wise Kings know how to do graces, and hide affections: so mystical things are Courts.

Now, to lead you a little abroad; for I have no more to say within our own visible Horizon: We have advice out of Germanie, that they have extorted from the Emperor his consent to make Matthias King of the Romans: so as having first spoyled him of obedience and reverence; next, of his estates and titles, they have now reduced him to so low a case, that he is no longer Patron of his own Voice. Howsoever, this violent Cure is likely to settle the Motions of Germany; out of which Countrie, when they are quiet at home, they may perhaps send us some suters hither. This is all (Sir) that I can write at the present; which is your Advantage;
tage; for if there had been more, you had been further troubled: And so with many hearty thanks for your kind letters, and with many hearty wishes for the prosperitie of your whole House, I humbly rest

3 of May. Your most affectationate poore
1611. Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

To the PRINCE.

May it please Your Highnesse,

Beside that which I have now represented unto Your Highnesse, by my Letter to Your worthy Secretarie, I must humbly crave leave herein to be delivered of a boldnesse wherewith my Pen is in travell.

I have observed in Your Highnesse, among other noble Endowments of Your Mind, a quick and delightfull apprehension of the fundamentall Cau-

s
Letters, &c.

fes of all Secrets, both naturall and artificiall, that have been brought to Your View; which surely is the highest pleasure of a discoursive Soul. Now of this part of Your Highnesse his delegation, I am desirous to take hold. For having been a long Lover of Philosophy, and from the contemplative Part, being slid into the practicall; I shall hope for pardon, if I take so much freedom from the ingenuity of mine own nature, and Studies, as to entertain Your Highness, now and then, with some experiments, especially such as do not end in wonder, but reach to publick Use: For meer Speculations have ever seemed to my conceit, as if Reason were given us like an half Moon in a Coat of Armes, only for a Logical Difference from inferiour Creatures, and not for any active power in it self. To begin therefore, by Your Gracious Leave, this kind of Intelligence with Your Highnesse; I have charged this Gentleman with the humble Presentation of a Secret unto You, not long since imparted to this State, and rewarded with a Pension to the Inven-
ter, and to his posteritie; the scope being indeed of singular use, and at the first hearing of as much admiration: namely a way how to save Gun-powder from all mischance of fire in their Magazines, to which they have been very obnoxious by a kind of fatalitie. The thing it selfe in a small Bulk, with the description thereof according to mine own triall and observations, will be consigned to Your Highnesse apart from this Letter.

And so having laid a beginning to these poor Philosophical Services, with hope of Incouragement therein, by Your Favourable Acceptation, I will conclude with my humblest prayers to the Soveraign Lord of all Nature, and Fountain of all Knowledge, to continue his Sweet and Dear Blessings upon Your Highnesse. To whom I remain,
May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Arch-Bishop of Armach, been directed hither with a most humble Petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. Wil. Bedel (now Resident upon a final Benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your Colledg at Dublin, for the good of that Societie; And my self being required to render unto your Majestie some testimonie of the said William Bedel (who was long my Chaplain at Venice in the time of my first Employment) I am bound in all Conscience and Truth, (as far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgement) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformitie to the Rites of your Church, and zeal to advance the Cause of
of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians. For it may please your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known unto the King Your Father of most blessed Memorie. And so, with your Majesties good Favour, I will end this needless office: For the general fame both of his Learning, and Life, and Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which Himself hath dedicated unto Your Majesty do better describe him.

Your Majesties

Most humble and faithfull Vassal,

H. Wotton

To
To the Lord Treasurer Juxon.

Right Reverend, and Right Honourable, my very Good Lord,

Having not yet passed with Your good Lordship so much as the common duty of Congratulation (to whom I am so obliged, both for your love to my dearest Nephew, and for your gracious remembrances of mine own poor Name) I thought it even a particular duty to my selfe, to acquaint your Lordships Secretarie, my ancient and worthy Friend, with the Story of mine own evils, that your Lordship may know my silence to have been, as I may well term it, a Symptom of my infirmity.

I am now strong again to serve your Lordship, and I know that I have a Friend of trust at home (it is honest Nicholas Pey that I mean) who hath often leave, by your Favour, to wait upon.
on you. Therefore I could wish, if this place (where I am grown almost a free Denison) may yield any thing for your use or delight, that you would be pleased either to acquaint me by my said friend plainly (which shall be a new obligation) with your Commands, or at least to let him mark your Desires. Now in the mean time, because I know that I can do your Lordship no greater Service, then to give you occasion of exercising your own goodness, I will take the freedom most humbly and heartily to recommend unto your charitable and honourable affections, a very worthy Person, whose fortune is no better at the present, then to be my Chaplain; though we are, or at least ought all to be the better by his vertuous example, and our time the better spent by his learned conversation. I shall, I think, not need to name him to your Lordship, and as little to insist either upon his morall or intellectual merit. Therefore I will so leave it, and commit him to your gracious Memorie, upon some good occasion that God may lay before
fore you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordship first, how we stand here at this date. For Ambassadors (in our old Kentish Language) are but Spies of the time.

We are studying how we may safely and cheaply countenance the new Motions of the Grifons, with an Army on our own Borders pointing that way; which even Reason of State requireth, when our Neighbours are stirring. And therefore yet the King of Spain can take no scandal at a common wisdom. If the Successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, Prosperity, peradventure, may invite us further to the Feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my Counsels, they had been long since ingaged, both within and without Italy. But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds. And so concluding with my hearty Congratulation for your Lordships Promotions, both Spiritual and Civill, and with my prayers for your long enjoyment of them, I will unfainedly subscribe myself

Your Good Lordships devoted to serve you.
To the Lord Treasurer Juxon.

May it please your good Lordship,

I was in hope long since to have waited on your Lordship with an account, I dare not say of any fruit, yet at least of some use of my private time: But through certain fastidious fumes from my Splene (though of late I thanke God well allayed) I have been kept in such Jealousie of mine owne conceptions, that some things under my pen have been born very slowly. In the meanwhile, remembring an old Pamphlet of mine, of the Elements of Architecture, which I cannot in any modesty suppose that your Lordship had ever seen, though it hath found some vulgar favour among those whom they call gentle Readers, I have gotten such a copy as did remaine to present unto your Lordship: And because my fortunes were never able to erect
erect any thing answerable to my Speculations in that Art, I have newly made at least an essay of my Invention, at least in the Structure of a little poor Standish, of so contemptible value, as I dare offer it to your Lordship without offence of your integritie. If I could have built some Rural Retreat worthie of your Reception, according to the six Precepts of my Master Vitruvius, I would have invited and entertained your Lordship therein, how homely soever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this world; and I would then have gloried to have under my Roofe as worthie a Counsellor and Treasurer as ever served the best of Kings: But as I am, I can say no more for your Lordships gracious respects and goodness towards me, then that I live in a tormenting desire, some way to celebrate the honour of your Name, and to be known

Your most humble, professed, and obliged servant,

H. Wotton.

To
To the KING.

May it please my most Gracious Sovereign,

If I were not more afraid to break the Laws of that humble Modeftie, which becometh the meannesse of my desert, then I am to exceed the bounds of your Majesties Royall Goodnesse: I should be a poor Suppliant unto your Majestie to confer upon me the Mastership of the Savoy, in case Doctor Belcanquell (my good Friend) shall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the Deanrie of Durham; wherein the Remove and the Substitution are but one stroak of your Benignitie.

God knows, and the value of the Thing it self may speak as much, that I do not aime therein at any utilitie: Only, it may be some easie of expence, and Commodity of Lodging, when I shall come (as I am afraid shortly) to oversee certain poor things of mine own at Presse: wherewith yet I hope your Majestie, whose Honour only I studie
I have further considered with myself, that the said place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by your Majesty's intercession with your ever blessed Father, as it may please you to remember, though you forget nothing so easily as your own bounties: which place here never before subsisting in the memory of man, without some addition. I have now near fourteen years sustained in that integrity as I found it, and with as good scholars sent annually to your Royall Colledge at Cambridge, of my particular choice, as have gone thither since the foundation; whereof I could shew your Majesty a published testimony out of that University, in Doctor Wintertons Dedication of Dionysius de situ orbis unto me; if it were not a miserable thing for me to make up so slight a merit even with a vanitie. Besides this, I most humbly confess, that though my fortunes are poor, & my studies private, yet I cannot deny certain sparkles of honest ambition, remaining in me, whereby I desire the world should know, that my most vertuous, and most Dread
Dear and Royall Master hath not utterly forgotten me. And so I most humbly rest,

Your Majesties most humble, faithfull, heartie Subject and Servant, H. W.

To the Arch-bishop.

May it please your Grace.

Emboldened by your favour, I humbly present herewith to your Grace, and through your only hands (which in our lower Sphere, is via Laetea) my Letter to his Majesty, and the Copie thereof. If it shall passe the file of your Judgment, my poor Lines will have honour enough; but if they take effect by the vertue of your Mediation, I shall be forrie that I cannot be more

Your Grace his then I am, and will ever be,

H. Wotton.
To Master

Sir,

It was a special favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer then to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr. H. I would have been bold, in our vulgar Phrase, to mend my draught (for you left me with an extreme thirst,) and to have begged your conversation again, joyntly with your said Learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the ancient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charged me with new Obligations, both for a very kinde Letter from you, dated the $6^{th}$ of this Moneth, and for a dainty peice of entertainment that came therewith. Wherein I should much commend
mend the Tragicall part, if the Lyricall did not ravish me with a certaine Do- rique delicacy in your Songs and Odes; whereunto I must plainly confesse to have seen yet nothing Parallell in our Language: Ipsamollities. But I must not omit to tell you, that I nowonly owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the Work itself I had viewed some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common Friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R's Poems, printed at Oxford; whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the Accessory might help out the Principall, according to the Art of Stationers, and to leave the Reader Con la bocca dolce.

Now Sir, concerning your Travels, wherein I may challenge a little more priviledge of discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch Paris in your way; therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few Lines to Master M. B. whom you shall easily finde attending the young Lord S. as his Governor, and you may surely receive
from him good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into Italy, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own recesses from Venice.

I should think that your best Line will be thorow the whole length of France to Marseilles, and thence by Sea to Genoa, whence the passage into Tuscany is as diurnall as a Gravesend-Barge. I hasten, as you do to Florence, or Siena; the rather, to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety.

At Siena I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipioni, an old Roman Courtier in dangerous times, having been Steward to the Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this only man that escap’d by foresight of the Tempest; with him I had often much chat of those affaires; into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour, and at my departure toward Rome (which had been the Center of his experience) I had won confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry my self securly there,
there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. Signor Arrigo mio (sayes he) I Penfetti ftretti, & il viso fciolto: That is, Your thoughts close, and your comvenance loose, will go safely over the whole World. Of which Delphian Oracle (for so I have found it) your judgment doth need no Commentarie; and therefore (Sir) I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining

Your friend as much at command, as any of longer date,

H. WOTTON.

Postscript.

SIR, I have expressly sent this my foot-boy to prevent your departure without some acknowledgment from me of the receipt of your obliging Letter, having my self through some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinarie conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain you
you with Home-Novelties; even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.

Right honorable,

M After Nicholas Pey (through whose hands all my busineffes did pass both in my former imployments here, and now) hath betray'd your Honour unto me in some things that you would desire out of this Country, which if he had not done, he had betray'd me: For I have long wished nothing more then some occa- sion to serve you; And though this be a kind of inftitution, to infert my felfe in this manner into your desires; yet I hope it will please you to excufe it, because I doe it not only with willing- ness, but in truth with pleafure: For it falleth out, that I have a little skill, or at least an intereft of Affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own nature doth lead me to serve you, besides my dutie. I have begun with a very poor Present of
of strings for your Musick, wherof I will provide hereafter better store, and if it be possible of better qualitie: by the first ship your honour shall receive some Lutes of Sconvelt and Mango, and with all a chest of glasses of mine owne chusing at Murano, wherein I doe somewhat pretend; and those artificers are well acquainted with me. Thus much in private: For the Publike, I have made by this bearer a dispatch unto the whole body of his Majesties most honorable Counsell, wherein your worthy Person is comprehended: and therefore, I hope, that writing twice to your Honor now at once, it may serve (by your favour) for some redemption of my former silence. The subject of my Dispatch is as high as ever befell any forraign Minister; wherein, though mine owne conscience (I thank God) doth set me at rest, yet I shall be glad of your honorable approbation, if it will please you to afford it me. And so I humbly commit your Honor to Gods blessed love, remaining at your commandments.
Much Honoured Sir,

Since I had the Favour & the Delight of any Letters from you, you have had the trouble of two or three from me, besides the present, which I hope will find you according to my continual wishes, in perfect health, though you live in a Theater of Tragical Acts this year. I am here newly delivered of one of the most fastidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the week of our Annual Election of Scholers, both into this Seminarie, and out of it for Kings-Colledge in Cambridge, whereunto hath been a marvellous Concourse, and much distraction in our Votes through Letters from Court. Pardon me (Sir) a Question by the way, Have you no Child of your own, or at least of some of your Friends, whom you could wish trained in this course? I would fain beg some employment from you, which makes me offer you this, or any other of those poor Services, which lie within
within my Circumference, as this Bearer hath particular charge from me. This is that Nicholas Oudart, for whom you did a great favour in procuring the Cardinall Infanta's Letters to Mechelen in his behalfe: which took so good effect, as he is now personally flown over to consummate that Businesse; having information from his Correspondents there, that it is ripened for him. He hath served me from a little Page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my Domestick Affairs; so as if it were not for his own urgent occasion, I could hardly misse him that short time within which I expect his return. You will find him, I hope, worthy of your love, I am sure of your trust. His Profession is Physick, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned Languages: but his Scope now is Businesse, not Knowledge. If there shall by chance remain any thing to be added unto your former honourable Courtesie, for the expedition of his Cause and Return, you have given us both good cause to be confident both in your Power
power and friendship. And so (Sir) leaving him in your loving Armes, I rest for ever.

Your obliged and faithfull friend to serve you,

H. Wotton.

To the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

It may please your Grace,

We very humbly acknowledge that your Grace hath made us confident in your favour, both by your former Letters, (which are the true images of your mind) and by that report which Mr. Weaver and Mr. Harison brought us from your most Reverenced Person: yet, till after the Tearm, when we might suppose your Grace somewhat freer then before (though ever environed with more Honour then Ease) we were tender to trouble you with
with any prosecution, on our parts, of
your good Intents towards this Colle-
giat Bodie, about the yet unperfected,
though well imprinted. Business of New-
Windsor. But now, after due Remem-
brane of our humble Devotions, I am
bold to signify unto your Grace in
mine own, and in the name of the rest,
that having (according to the fair Li-
bertie which you were pleased to yeild
us) consulted with our Counsell at law
about some convenient forme, for the
setling of that which his Majestie hath
already granted by your Grace his
Intercession, we find, the King can
no way be bound but by his owne
Goodness, neither can we with his
Majestie in better or in safer Bonds:
Therefore we hope to propound an Ex-
pedient, which to my understanding,
will (as Astronomers use to say) save
all Appearances; Namely, Master Clea-
vers Election shall be the more hono-
red, by being a single Example; In
whose Person we are forrie for nothing,
but that he needs not thankes for his
Choice. And so doubting as lit-
tle of your Grace his Favour, as we
doe of your Power, in the consummat-
ing of our humble, and as we hope
they will appear, of our moderate de-

From the Colledg
this 30. of July
1637.

At all your Grace his
Commands,
H. WOTTON.

Right Honourable and our very good
Lord, The Lord Keeper.

It is so open and so generall for any
that flye unto your Lordships Tri-

bunall to receive there a faire and
equitable measure: as it hath (we
know not how) wrought in us a kinde
of unnaturall effect: For, thereby we
have been made the flower to render
your Lordship our most humble thanks
in our own proper Case, because we
knew not how to single it from the
common benefit which All finde in your

Good-
Goodness. But we can now forbear no longer to joyn among our Selves, and with the universall voice, in a blessing upon your Name.

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgment in our particular, that this College is bound to celebrate your Honour for that charitable Injunction wherewith you have sustained a great and important portion of the livelihood of so many Young Plants of good Literature, till a farther discussion of our Right: So we likewise most humbly beseech your good Lordship in the sincerity of our own desires of quietness, and in the confidence of our Cause, that you will be pleased to entertain with favour a Petition which our Council will present unto your Lordship, for some Day of hearing that shall best fort with Your great Affairs. And so with all our joynt and heartie prayers, both of Young and Old, for Your long preservation, We rest

Your most humble and devoted Servants.
My most Honoured Lady,

Your young kinsman shall be welcome hither at your pleasure, and there shall want no respect on my part to make the place both fruitful and cheerful unto him.

Touching the other part of your last, wherein I am so much obliged by your confidence, which, in truth, is the greatest of Obligations; Let me assure your Ladiship by all the protestations of a Christian man, that I never heard before the least whispering of that whereof you write concerning my Niece: Neither, in good faith, did I know so much as that there was a Lord T. Your Ladiship sees in what darkness, or with what incuriosity I live.

I shall, ere it be long, be my self in Kent among my Friends; but I will write more speedily, according to your command.

In the meanwhile (if I may be par-
Letters, &c. 445

pardoned so much boldnesse) I could wish your Ladie'ship would take some hold of one well known in Court on both sides; namely, Master Nicolas Pey. He is a right honest and discreet Man in himself, and of great trust with my Ladie T. the Grand-mother, under whom my Neece was bread, and likewise with her Father and Mother: and I am not tender that your Ladie'ship should tell him, you have understood so much from me, if it please you to send for him. And so I most humbly rest,

Your Ladie'ships with all devotion to serve you.

H. WOTTON.

To Sr. Richard Baker Knight.

Sir,

Conceave that you have been pleased, out of our ancient friendship, (which was first, and is ever best elemented in an Academy) and, not out, of any valuation of my poor
poor judgment, to communicate with me your Divine Meditations on the Lords Prayer, in some several sheets, which have given me a true taste of the whole; wherein I must needs observe, and much admire the very Character of your Stile, which seemeth unto me to have not a little of the African Idea of St. Augustines age, full of sweet Raptures and of researched conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not how) with a certain equal facility. So as I see your worldly troubles have been but Pressing-Irons to your heavenly cogitations.

Good Sir, Let not any Modesty of your Nature, let not any obscuritie of your Fortune smother such an excellent employment of your Erudition and Zeal: For, it is a work of Light and not of Darkness. And thus wishing you long health, that can use it so well, I remaine

Your poor Friend to love and serve You,

H. Wotton.

To
To his Sacred Majesty.

I do humbly resume the ancient manner, which was *adire Cesarem per libellum*: with confidence in the Cause, and in Your Majesties Gracious Equitie, though not in mine own Merit.

During my late Implement, Sir E. P. then Master of the Rolles died. By his death Sir Julius Caesar claimed not only the Succession of that place, but the gift of all the Clerkships of the Chancery, that should fall void in his own time.

Of these Clerkships Your Majestie had formerly granted two Reversions: The one to the late Lord Bruce; for which Master Bond, Secretarie to my Lord Chancellour, had contracted with him. The second to me. The said Bond got his Grant through the favour of his Master, to be confirmed by Sir Julius Caesar before his entrance into the Rolles: but through my absence in Your Majesties Service, and
want of pressing it in the due season; my Grant remained unconfirmed, though Your Majesty was pleased to write Your Gracious Letter in my behalf. Which maketh me much bewaile mine own case, that my deserts were so poor, as Your Royall Mediation was of lesse value for me, then my Lord Chancellours for his Servant: The premisses considered, my humble Suit unto Your Majesty is this: That Sir Julius Caesar may be drawn by Your Supream Authoritie, to confirme unto me my Reversion of the second Clerkship, whereof I have a Patent under Your Great Seal. Wherein I have just confidence in Your Majesties Grace, since Your very Laws do restore them that have been any waies prejudiced in Servitio Regis.

Your Majesties long devoted poor Servant,

Henry Wotton.
Sir,

Besides the Address of my publick Duties unto your hands, I have long owed you these private lines, full of thanks from my heart for your favour and affection in all my occasions at home, and particularly in the Point of my Privie Seal, about my German Accounts: wherein (as I am abundantly informed both by my Nephew, and by Master Nicolas Pev, whom I repute my best Oracles in the information of mine own Obligations) it pleased you to stand by me, not only Da vero Amico, but indeed, Da vero Cavaglierie: From which, though the benefit which did remain in my purse, after the casting up of what was lost, was (as God knows) so little, that I may justly build some hope of your further charitie in the authorizing of such Demands as I now send: yet on the other side, I must confesse, that without your former so friendly, and so noble compassion, I had received a most
most irrecoverable ruine and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very strange; for I should have been undone by the Kings goodnesse, upon assurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my Train. Now Sir, this acknowledgment of your singular Love, I was never more fit to pay you then at the present, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new sickness, which with losse of much bloud, even no lesse then twenty ounces within these fourteen days, hath brought me low. In which time (if God had called me from the Travels of this earth) I had left you, out of my narrow fortune, some poor remembrance of my thankfulnesse: which I have now (finding my selfe by Gods pleasure in a good way of recoverie) transmitted to my above-said Friend Master Pey. Before I end, I must not forget to ease your Honour of such thanks as in your Letters you have been pleased to bestow on me, in respect of your kinsman Master B. because his being with me I do very
rightly reckon among my bands to your selfe: for in good faith, his integrity and discretion doth sustaine my house; besides his fellowship in certain Studies, wherein we aime at no small things, even perchance at a new System of the World; at least, since we cannot in the Practicall and Moral, I would we could mend it in the Speculative Part. But left these private Contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your Favours; and with commending your honoured Person to the Author of all Blessing; remaining ever, &c.

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Most Dear Lord,

While I had your Lordship (as I am alwaies bound) in my Meditation, and somewhat under my Pen wherewith I hope in due time to express how much I honour your Noble Vertues) I am (as if I had not been overladen before) surprized with a
a new Favour (For that is the true Title of your Commands) touching a fine boy of this Colledge, whom I perceive by your Letters of the 30th. of the last Month to pertain to your care. *Quid multa?* It shall be done: Only in one thing I must crave pardon, to passe a little gentle Expostulation with your Lordship. You are pleased in your Letter to except my inconveniences, as if in the Nobleness of your Nature (notwithstanding your desire) you would yet allow me here a libertie of mine own Judgment, or Affection. No, my Good Lord, That priviledge comes too late, even for your selfe to give me, when I once understand your mind. For let me assure your Lordship, that I have such a conscience, and reall feeling of my deep Obligations towards your Noble Person, as no value nor respect under Heaven can purchase my voice from him on whom you have bestowed it. It is true, that the King himselfe, and no longer then three or four daies before the Date of your Letters (so nimble are the times) did write for another; but we shall satisifie
satisfie His Majestie with a pre-Election, and yours shall have my first nomination; which, howsoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year. For there belongs (after they are chosen) a little soaking, as well as a baking before, into our Boyes. And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience: I humbly lay my self, and whatsoever is, or shall be within my power, at your Lordships feet, remaining,

Your Lordships in the truest, and heartiest devotions,

****************************************

Worthy Sir,

ALL health to your selfe, and to yours both at home and abroad. Sorrie I was not to be at Eton when Master B. your Nephew and my Freind came thither to visit me, being then in procinct of his travels: But I had some good while before, at an other kind visitation, together with your sons and Master S. given him a Cato-
tholick Rule which was given me long since by an old Roman Coutier with whom I tabled in Siena, and whose Counsels I begged for the government of my selfe at my departure from him towards the foresaid Court, where he had been so well versed. Siror Arrigo (saies he) There is one short remembrance will carrie you safe through the whole world. I was glad to heare such a preservative contracted into so little roome, and so besought him to honor me with it. Nothing but this (faith he) Gli Pensiere stretti, & il viso sciolto: That is, as I use to translate it, Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loose. This was that moral Antidote which I imparted to Mr B. and his fellow-travellers when they were last with me, having a particular interest in their wel-doings, both as they are Yours, and as they have had some training under my poore Regiment: To which ties of freindship you have added a third, that they are now of the Colledge of Travellers, wherein if the fruit of the time I have spent were answerable to the
the length, I might run for a Deacon at least.

If I had not been absent when Mr. B. came last, I would have said much more in private between us; which shall be supplied by letter, if I may receive a safe forme of address from you. I continue mainly in the same opinion which I touched unto them, That after their impriming in France I could wish them to mount the Pirenies into Spaine. In that Court (as I heare) you have an assured Friend; And there they may consolidate the French vivacitie with a certain Sosiego (as they call it) till they shall afterwards pass from Barcelona over to Italy, where lies the true meane between the other two humors. You see (Sir) by this discourse, that I am in mine owne Countrie at leisure; I pray pardon it, whatsoever it be: because it proceedeth from heartie good will: And so I rest

At your Commands,

H.W.

Sir, My servant the bearer hath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of Paint-
Painting, which I would fain send to your house in the Country, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded Frame already.

Right Honourable.

I Received such a Letter from you touching my poor Pamphlet of Architecture, which I yet preserve among my pretiousest Papers, as I have made it a resolution to put nothing forth under my Name, without sending one of the first Copies unto your indulgent hands.

There is borne a small welcome to the King from Scotland (whom I have not yet seen since his Returne) I know not how, out of a little indignation. They have sent us over from Leiden, from France, from Polonia, &c. a tempest of Panegyrics, and Laudatives of their
their Princes, whereupon I debated with myself; What? Have we not as good a Theam and Theater as they? Or do we want Sense, or Zeal to express our Happinesse? This stirred my verie Bowels, and within a while my Pen, such as it is. I confess the Subject is so high, as I fear may condemne my Obscuritie to have undertaken it; but withall so true, as I hope will not misbecome mine Ingenuity. Howsoever, I submit it to your judgment: and if in charitie you shall be pleased to like any thing in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleased to take some occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himself; for though I aime at nothing by it, save the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgments then my own; And so I most humbly rest

At &c.
To Doctor Castle.

Worthy Sir,

Till the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both Universities; and one from Brussels, Ejusdem Argumenti; I thought, in good faith, that as I have lived (I thank God) with little Ambition; so I could have died with as much silence as any man in England. But I now see that the most unvaluable things may serve to make a noise.

And I have now no more to say, but that while the foresaid report shall be false; The underwriter

Is Truly Yours,

H. Wotton.
Sir,

Having not long written unto you, whose friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me; I send you a report of a late Transaction, even for a little entertainment, lest you should think me to live without observation.

For that the case of the late Cavalier, Anthony Foscarini hath been diversely misrepresented, and perhaps not the least, even by those that were his Judges, to cover their own disgrace; I have thought a little curiosity not ill spent in research of the whole proceeding that his Majesty (to whom he was so well known) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is among the partitions of this Government a very awful Magistracie under Title of Inquisitor di Stato; to which are commonly deputed three Gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all secret
secret delations in matter of practise against the Republick, and then referre the same, as they shall judge the consequence thereof, to the Decemviral Councell, being the supremest Tribunal in criminal Inquiries; of which Bodie they are usually themselves.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of April last, came two fellows of mean condition, borne about the Lago di Garda, but inhabitants in Venice, by name Girolamo and Domenico Vani; as some say, Uncle and Nephew: certainly, neer of kindred, which in this report is a weightie circumstance: for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united testimonies of the lesse validitie. These persons capitulate with the Inquisitors of that time (whose names may be civilly spared) about a reward (which is usuall) for the discoverie of some Gentlemen, which at undue times and in disguised formes did, haunt the houses of forraine Ministers, and in particular of the Spanish Agent: who being the most obnoxious to publick jealouzie, these Accusers were likeliest upon that
that Subject to gaine a favourable hearing. In the head of their secret List they nominate *Antonio Foscarini,* then an actuall Senatour, and thereby upon paine of death restrained from all conference in this ombragious State with publick Instruments, unless by speciall permission. To verifie their discove-rie, besides their own testimonies, they alledge one *Giovan Battista,* who served the foresaid *Spanish* Agent, & had, as they said, acquainted them with the accessses of such and such Gentlemen unto him: But first they wished, or so the Inquisitours thought fit, to proceed against *Foscarini* upon this double attestation, without examining the foresaid *Giovan Battista,* because that would stir some noise, and then perhaps those other whom they meant to delate, might take fear and escape: Hereupon *Foscarini* coming from the next Senate at night down the Palace, was by order of the Inquisitours suddenly muffled, and so put in close Prison, and after usuall examinations, his own single denyall being not receiveable against two agreeing Informers, he was by sentence.*
at the Council of Ten, some fifteen days after his retention, strangled in Prison, and on the 21st. of the foresaid April, was hanged by one legge on a Gallows in the publick Piazza, from break of day till Sun set, with all imaginable circumstances of infamie: His verie face having been bruised by dragging on the ground, though some did confert that for a kind of favour, that he might be the lesse known.

After this the same Artificers pursue their occupation, now animated with success; and next they name Marco Miani: But one of the Inquisitors, either by nature more advised then the rest, or intenerated with that which was alreadie done, would by no means proceed any farther without a pre-examination of the foresaid Giovan Battista: which now might the more conveniently, and the more silently be taken, because he had left the house of the Spanish Agent, and was married in the Town to a Gold-smiths Daughter. To make short, they draw this man to a secret accompt: where he doth not only disavow the having ever seen
seen any Gentleman in the Spanish Agents house: but likewise all such interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never spoken with any of them, but only three words by chance with the elder, namely, Girolamo, upon the Piazza di St. Stephano. Hereupon the Inquisitors confronting him with the Accusers, they confess without any torture their malicious plot; and had sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the executed Cavalier, namely, Nicolo and Girolamo Foscarini, make haste to present a Petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunall, That the false Accusers of the aforesaid Marco Miani might be re-examined likewise about their Uncle. The Councell of Ten, upon this Petition did assemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before, and there they put to voices whether the Nephews should be satisfied.

In the first Ballotation the Balls were equal: In the second, there was one
one Ball more (as they say) in the negative Box: either because the false Witnesses, being now condemned men, were disabled by course of Law to give any farther testimonie, or for that the Councell of Ten thought it wisdom to smother an irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, no possible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government, had been likewise a stop to their own Fortunes) but by means of the Confessor, to whom the Delinquents should disburden their souls before their death; and by him, at importunity of the said Nephews, the matter was revealed: whereupon did ensue a solemn Declaration of the Councell of Ten, touching the innocencie of the forefaid Anthonio Foscarini, eight months and 25. days after his death. Whether in this casethere were any mixture of private passion, or that perhaps some light humors, to which the Party was subject, together with the taint of his former imprisonment, might precipitate the credulity of the Judges, I dare
dare not dispute: But surely, in 312 years, that the Decemvirall Tribunall hath stood, there was never cast upon it a greater blemish; which being so high a Piece, and on the reputation of whose grave and indubitable proceedings the Regiment of Maners hath most depended, is likely to breed no good consequence upon the whole. Since the foresaid Declaration, the Nephews have removed the Bodie of their Uncle from a place where condemned persons are of cuftome interred, to the Monument of their Ancesters in another Temple, and would have given it a solemn Burial: But having been kept (though rather by disfwaion then prohibition) from increasing thereby the publick Scandal, they now determine to repaire his fame with an Epitaph, the last of miserable remedies. It is said, that at the removing of his Body, his heart was found whole, which kinde of conceits are easily entertained in this Country, and scant any notable case without some superstition adjunct: It is said likewise, that by Testament he did appoint a great summer.
fumme for him that should discover his innocencie: which receiving from credible Authors, I was willing not to omit; because it argueth, that notwithstanding some outward lightnesse, he was composed of generous Elements. Certain it is, that he left divers Legacies to the best Patriots, as now appeareth not Artificially. But here I may breed a question, with which I will end this report: How a man in his case could dispose of his Fortune? I must answer, that in the composition of this State Confiscations are rare, be the crime never so high, unless in case of interverting the publick mony; which the Delinquent is commonly condemned to repair, not so much in the quality of a Taitor, as of a Debtor: Whereof searching the reason, I finde this to be the most immediate; That if in a Dominion meerly managed by their own Gentrie, they should punish them as much in their means as in their persons. It would in conclusion prove a punishment, not of particulars, but of the generall. For it is a rule here, that the poorest families are the looest.
Right Honourable,

Of my purpose to depart from Vienna, and to leave the Emperor to the Counsels of his own Fortune; I gave his Majesty knowledge by my servant James Vary.

I will now make you a Summary account of what has happened here, which is to be done both out of duty to your place, and out of obligation to your Friendship.

The Count Tampier had some twelve days since taken from the Hungarians by surprisal in the field, thirteen Cornets of horse, and one Ensigne of Foot; which here with much ostentation were carried up and down, and layed on Sunday was seven-night under the Emperor's feet, as he came from the Chapel.

Some note, that the vanitie of this triumph was greater then the merit; For the Hungarians by their ordinarie discipline abound in Cornets, bearing one.
one almost for every twentieth horse, so as Flags are good cheap amongst them, and but slightly guarded: Howsoever the matter be made more or lesse, according to the wits on both sides, this was breve gaudium, and it self indeed some cause of the following disas-ter; For the Count Tampier, being by nature an enterprising man, was now also inflamed by accident, which made him immediately conceive the surprisfall of Presburg, while the Prince of Transilvania was retired to the siege of Guns, some six or seven Leagues distant. A project in truth, if it had prospered, of notorious utility.

First by the very reputation of the Place, being the Capitall town of Hungaria.

Next, the accessse to Comar and Rab, (which places only the Emperour retaineth in that Kingdom of any considerable value) had been freed by water, which now in a manner are blocked up.

Thirdly, the incursions into these Provinces, and ignominious depredations had been cut off.
And lastly, The Crown of Hungary had been recovered, which the Emperor Matthias did transport to the Castle of Presburg after the desposition of Rodolph his Brother, who always kept it in the Castle of Prague; which men account one of the subtile things of that retired Emperour, as I hear by discourse. So as upon these considerations, the enterprise was more commendable in the designe, then it will appear in the execution; being thus carried.

From hence to Presburg is in this moneth of October an easie nights journey by water. Thither on Thursday night of the last week, Tampier himself, accompanied with some four or five Colonels, and other remarkable men of this Court, resolves to bring down in 25 Boats, about 3000 Foot, or such a matter; having given order, and space enough before for certain Horse, partly Dutch, and partly Polonians, to be there and to attend his coming about two houres before Friday morning. And to shadow this purpose, himself on Thursday in the afternoon with
which affected noise goes up the River the contrary way, though no reasonable imaginations could conceive whither; for the lower Austria was then all reduced. By which Artificial delay, and by some natural stops in the shadowes of the water, when they fell silently down again, it was three or four hours of clear day before he arrived at Pressburg the next morning: Where his meaning was, first to destroy the Bridge built upon Boates, and thereby to keep Bethlem Gabor, (as then on the Austrian side) not only from succouring the Town; but from all possibility of repassing the Danubie nearer then Buda. Next, to apply the Petard to one of the gates of the Cittadell. Some say, he had likewise inward intelligence, that at his approach, the wicket of the Castle should be opened unto him by one Palfy an Hungarian Gentleman; which conceit, though perchance raised at first to animate the Souldier, yet hath gotten much credit by seeing the enterprise against all discourse continued by day-light. Be that point how it will
will, his fatall hour was come: for approaching a skonce that lies by the Castle-gate, and turning about to cry for his men to come on, he was shot in the lowest part of his skull nearest his neck, after which he spake no syllable, as Don Carolo d'Austria (second base son to Rodolph the Emperor, and himself at that time saved by the goodnesse of his armour) doth testify. After which, some two or three Souldiers attempting to bring away his bodie, and those being shot, the rest gave it over, and the whole Troupes transported themselves to the other side, leaving the Boates behind them, as if they had meant to contribute new provision for the mending of the Bridge, whereof they had only broken one little piece.

This was the end of the Count Tam-pier; By his fathers side a Norman, by his mothers a Champagne, a servant twentie two years to the house of Austria. Himself Captain of a thousand Horse: but Commander divers times in chief, especially before the coming of the Count-Bucquey, from whom he was
was fever'd to these nearer Services, being incompatible natures: A valiant, and plotting Souldier: In Encounters more fortunate then Sieges: Gracious to his own, and terrible to the Hungarians. To the present Emperour most dear, though perchance, as much for Civil, as Militarie Merit: for this was the very man that first seized upon the Cardinall Clefel, when he was put into a Coach, and transported hence to Tirol; so as now we may expect some Pamphlet the next Mart from Ingolstat, or Collen; That no man can end well, who hath laid violent hands upon any of those Roman Purpurati.

To this Point, I must add two remarkable Circumstances; The first, that Tampier, amongst other Papers found in his pockets, is said to have had a Memorial of certain Conditions, whereon it should be fit to insist in his Parley with the Town, as having already swallowed the Castle. The other, that his head having been cut off by a Souldier, and sold for five Dollars to another, who meant to have the merit of presenting it to the Prince.
the Presenter was rewarded with a
stroak of a Sable, for insulting over
the dead Carcasse of a Gentleman of
honour.

Sir,

One Reason of my writing now
unto you, is because it seemeth
a great while unto me since I did so.
Another, to give you many thanks
(which upon the casting up of my
reckonings I find I have not yet don)
for that Gelding wherewith you so
much honoured me: which, in truth,
either for goodness or beauty runneth
for one of the very best about
this place; And I have had a great
deal of love made unto me for him
by no small ones. After this, I must
plainly tell you, that I mean to per-
swade you, I am sorry I cannot say,
to invite you, (for my Mind would
bear that word better then my For-
tune) to bestow your selfe, and your
whole Family upon us this Shrove-
tide.
tide, if it be not for three days at the conjunction of the Thames and the Rhene, as our ravished Spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare; the expense of time, but little; of money, inconsiderable; you shall see divers Princes, a great confluence of Strangers, sundry entertainments to shorten your patience, and to reward your travell: Finally, nothing spared, even in a necessary time. I will add unto these Arguments, that out of your own Store at home, you may much increase the beautie of this Assembly; and your daughters shall not need to provide any great Splendour of clothing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the Kings own testimonie of them. For though I am no longer an Ambassadour, yet am I not so bankrupt of Intelligence, but that I have heard of those rural passages.

Now let me therefore, with this hobbling pen; again and again pray you to resolve upon your coming: if not with all the fair Train, yet your self and my Lady,
Lady, and my Nephew and his wife, or at the least of leasts, the Masculine.

We begin to lay off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not sick. The King will be here to-morrow: The Friday following he goeth to Windsor, with the Count Palatine, about the Ceremony of his Instalment. In the mean time, there is expected the Count Henry of Nassau to be at the said Solemnity, as the Representant of his Brother. Yesternight, the Count Palatine invited all the Councell to a solemn Supper, which was well ordered: He is a Gentleman of very sweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, then lost anything after the first Impression. And so, Sir, having ended my Paper, I will end my Letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperitie of your selfe, and yours, ever resting

Your faithfull poor Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

To
To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I cannot (according to the Italian Phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a Nation otherwise of so civil Language) accuse the receipt of any Letter from you, since your remove from these parts, save of two by this Bearer, my Servant and yours, as all mine shall be. Neither can I satisfy my imagination (so far I am from quieting my desire) where a third (which you intimate in your last) may yet lie smothered in some pocket, for which I should have made a great Research, if that were not the diligentest way to miss it. The truth is (as I do highly estimate every line from your Pen; so on the other side, I am as jealous that any of them should stray: For when a Friend of mine, that was lately going towards your City, fell casually into some discourse with me, how he should cloath himself there,
I made some sport to tell him, (for a little beguiling of my Melancholy Fumes) that in my opinion the cheapest stuffe in London was Silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to speak and write safely, that is, honestly: Always, if we touch any tender Matter, let us remember his Motto, that wrote upon the Mantle of his Chimney, where he used to keep a good fire, Optimus Secretariorum.

I owe you abundant thanks for the Advertisements in your last, so clearly and judiciously delivered: you cannot do me a greater Favour: for though I am a Cloystered Man in the Condition of my present Life, besides my Confinement by Infirmitie, yet having spent so much of mine Age among Noise abroad, and seven years thereof in the Court at home, there doth still hang upon me, I know not how, a certain Concupiscence of Novelties.

I am sorry I have nothing in that kind at the present to interchange with you.

In mine own sickness, I had of late, for
for one half Night, and a whole Day following, a perfect Intermission like a Truce from all Symptoms: but some of them are returned again, and I am afraid it will be hard to throw out altogether this same Saturnine Enemie, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the Leeches, I have found sensible benefit.

If I could get a Lodging near Paul's Church, I would fain passe a Week there yet before the great Festivall.

Pardon me (Good Sir) this Communication with you of my Domestick Purposes. And pardon me likewise the use of another man's hand in this Letter, for a little ease of mine own Head and Eyes. And so I rest

Your hearty Friend and Servant in all occasions,
H. Wotton.

SIR, Your subscription of Aldrovan dus putteth me in minde of a mishap which befell me in the time of my private Travels: I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended Author; Namely, Joannes Britannicus de re Met-
Metallica, and could never see him but in the Library of the brave Monks of Mont 'Oliveto in the Contado di Siena; Where while I had taken order to have him transcribed, Aldrovando passing that way, borrowed him from the Monasterie; And I sending not long after unto him in Bologna, my friend found him newly dead: And this was the period of my fruitlesse curiosity.

To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I see by your Letters, by your discourses, and by your whole conversation, that you are a Friend of great Learning, & (which are commonly consoiated) of as great humanitie: which shall make me studie by any means, within the narrownesse of my Fortune and judgment, to deserve your love.

The rest I leave to this bearer, my Servant.

As I am Yours,

H. Wotton.

HEN-
HENRICI VI
Angliæ & Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, Etonensis ad Tamefin Collegii Conditoris, Vita & Excessus.

Scriptore HENRICO WOTTONIO Anglo-Cantiano Ejusdem Collegii Praefecto.

Iter honestam requiem quam Etonense Collegium Vergentibus jam Annis nostris indulget, Subinde me invasit hac Cogitatio: Haud multum distare silentes à Defunctis. Quippe, quid interest nos terminet fatalis Dies, an præstingnat Inertia? Unde reputanti mecum quid aggrederer, non ingratum omnino videatur præsentis Otii pretium fore, si Regis HENRICI VI. Vitam (cujuS beneSficâ Pietate fovemur) è sanctioribus Memo-
memoriiis exproemerem à primo fere vagitu ad extremum usque Diem; quo innocentius quidem quam felicius Imperium clausit. Quod si obscuriora jam pridem amplexus Studia Magnorum Nominum Glorie quæ sub Calamum cadent minus satis fecerim. At interea quodcumque futurum sit, pro diverticulo saltem valeat ad fallendam Canitiem quæ indies obrepit.

Age ergo, Revolvamus varios humanorum Casuum Fluctus & Procellas. En mirum sub Rege, maximè omnium, quietis avido, turbulentissima Scenæ Spectaculum: Eoque tristi exitu, quo blandioribus initiis, ut nulla Optimo Principi defuisse videatur, aut ludentis Fortunæ aut sævientis Calamitas. Sed in ipso limine parcadum publico Mœrori. Paulisper indefleti jaceant tot fortium virorum, tot illustrium Familiarum Cineres. Ne ut plerique Scribentium, pomposo nimirum genitu, conceptum opus praegavarem. Téque potius (Serenissime CAROLE Rex & Dïmine) justi tenax, verique patiens, & cujus mores non minus quàm leges cuncta temperant; Te, inquam, vete-
rum Ritu ante Exorcism compellare liceat, ut his conatibus benigna fronte adesse velis, Dum priorum jam longe temporum Ærumnas (quas divinum Numen sopivit) liberius quam facundè peragam.

Lancastrii Stemmatiis Majestas (quoquo modo parta) per duorum Dominantium virtutes pariter & successus occœperat panlatim valescere. De Henrici Quarti primordiis jam circumquaque Silentium: Ant ob testa murmura comprimente (ut solet) Vulgi voces lato hastenus domi forisque Fortuna afflatu. At neque Nobilium videbantur inquieta Consilia, quorum ferocior Pars aperto Marte, ant conjurationibus exhausti, Molliores Tempori serviebant. Quin & quedam subfulsit futura securitatis Fiducia. Quippe viginti jam trium Annorum dilapsu (tot enim ad primi Lancastrii Imperio ad insequentis Obitum interfluxerant) Wallia post Oweni Glendori miserrimos Imperitus, sub Henrico IVto composita, Scotiaque Confinio per Henrici VIi Solertiam contra subitos incursus satis pro vide munito; Si quid hic forsan adhuc Tur-
Turbidi, si quid Insidi detegeretur, promptum erat aliorum transfundere, & interna Suspicionum in Galliam velut exantilare, Quo tum Tempestas incubuit.

In hoc statu Rerum Henricus V. post Victoriam in Gallos ad Agennicuriam (omnis Ævi Memoria illustrem) ingrascescente Morbo, quem fortè inter belendi Sudores contraxerat, Sit Sæculi Fulmen, & brevi (prob nimium!) Ætate, Gloria Satur, concessit Fatus, relieto vix quadrimestri Filiolo.

Hic est ille Henricus Sextus, cujus Tempora in praesens meditamur, tot sortis Humana Documentis inclyta, quot uulù usquam Ætas in unum congregsit.

Sed antequam ulterius processerim, non incongruum reor paucis aperire, Qualis situm esset Christiani Orbis Facies, Quænam apud nos Externorum Motuum, Quæ Civilium Origo, Quantum Anglorum Arma tum foras obtinuerint, Quid intro sperandum, Quidve timentum fuerit.

Desunt cætera.
To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,  

Henceforward no Complementall formes between us. Let others repute them according to the Latine denomination, Fine civill fillings of speech and Letters. For my part, in good faith, \textit{ex Diametro}, I ever thought they were meer emptinesses: Yet they may chance serve between some natures to kindle good will; but I account our Friendship no longer \textit{in fieri}.

You have so represented—unto me, as me thinks I see him walking, not like a \textit{Funambulus} upon a Cord, but upon the edge of a Razor. What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty Accident in a sad Subject. There was, you know, inhabitant in —, a young Widow of value: Who lately dying at London, whither she went to solace with some of her friends, left order by Will that her body should be buried in her dwelling Parish, as it was this
this week, where—made the funeral
Sermon, who had been one of her pro-
fessed suitors: And so she did not want
a passionate Elogist, as well as an excel-
lent Preacher.

For the estate of mine own Bodie; it is not so well as my servant seemes by
your Letter to have layed it before you.
It is true, that the Symtomes are well al-
layed, or otherwise peradventure Cu-
Stome hath taught me to bear them
better, being now familiarized and
domesticated evils, jam mansuetamala:
Yet still the hot fumes continue in the
night, and the salivation by day, but
in somewhat a lesser measure; besides
a streightnesse of breathing, which I
should be glad to know whether you
observe in other Hypochendriacall Pa-
tients. And if you can advise me of a
good Errynum, I have a strong Fan-
cie, ex Fernelio, that it will discharge
my head: but such juices and expres-
sions as he appointeth, are not now to be
had. Sir, Pardon me this trouble. And
God have you in his love,

Your affectionate Friend to serve
you unceremoniously, H. W.

X 3 To
Letters, &c.

To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I now return unto you your secret Papers again; whereof, least I should violate the Communications of such a Freind, I have not so much as reserved a Copie (though I might have done it by your leave) but I have perused them so often, as I thinke, I can lay them without Book. The Scene seemeth since then much changed to the worse; yet I hope all will resolve into nothing: And that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be nearest a Calme; According to your great Aphorisme in Physick: Nox ante Crisim est molestissima.

I beseech you (Sir) not to conceive by the tarditie of my Answer unto you, any faintnesse in the acknowledg- ment of your favors: but to prosecute your friendly intelligence upon occasion, even when I shal be on the other side of you, as perchance I shal be shortly in my Genial soile. For I wil teach the
the Foot-Posts of that place to find your Lodging. And so leaving you in God's dear love, I rest,

Your professed poor Friend,
and Servant,

H. Wotton.

To Doctor C.

Sir,

Let me pray you, that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your Counsel and good Affection, the bearer of them, Master John Gainsford, the nearest Kinsman on my mothers side that I have living; and yet my neerer Freind; so as I have more then a single interest in his health: He is much travelled with an exorbitant effusion of ——, which, though it be a natural preventive to some evils; yet surely, without either stop or moderation, must needs exhaust his spirits. He hath had heretofore
fore some taste of your acquaintance at large, and you have left in him il-
los aculeos which you doe in all that (after the Scotifh phrase) get but a gripe of you: For you are indeed a woun-
ding Man, as my servant Nicolas faith, to whom I shewed your last Letter. This my dear Cousin, in one thing espe-
cially, is capable of good hope from your advice, that he beleeves in it by my discourse with him, who truly must confesse that I have received much be-
nefit by yours, touching my spleneti-
call Infirmity; which differeth from his no more then the stopping or running of the same spout. Besides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon, be-
cause he hath yet tryed no remedie, not so much as the ordinary diversion of o-
pening another veine. Sir, I com-
mend him moft heartily into your hands; And because you have two Ca-
pacities (as our Lawyers speak) a Poli-
ticall and Philosophicall, from both which I draw much good; Give me leave to intertain you with a Letter of some few novelties from Oxford, recei-
volved as I was thinking to shut up the pre-
sent,
sent, which shall end in ever professing my self,

Your very hearty poor Friend,

H. Wotton.

To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

You are the very man who hath authenticated unto me that sentence which we read in the life of Atticus, delivered by Cornelius Nepos, That Prudentia est quaedam divinatio. So as truely hereafter, when I shall receive from the intelligences of your Friends, and your own judgment upon them, any sinister Prognostick, it will make me open your next Letter with trembling Fingers.

It is one among many wonders unto me, that the young Lord C. hath made a transition to the contrary Partie. I thought he had been better elemented at Eton.

I send you herewith for a little ex-
change, the Copie of an Elegant Letter which came unto me by the last Boate from a friend: both of Studies and Affaires touching forraine troubles; which it is not amisfe to contemplate, if it be but for some diversion from our own; Christendom was never, within our age, so inflamed. I hope the ends of the World are come upon us.

I shall shortly remove into Kent; But while I am absent, there is one shall wait on you weekly in London, to receive and to convey any of your Commands to me; for that is the true name of all your Requests.

To your professedplaine Friend,

H. Wotton.

Postscript

My Lords Grace of Canterbury hath this week sent hither to Mr. Hales very nobly a Prebendaryship of Windsfor unexpected, undesired, like one of the favours (as they write) of Henry the Seventh's time.

To
To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I have received your last of the 24th of May, through the hands of Mr. Jones of Windsor, immediately upon my return to mine ordinary Cell; whence I made a short retirement during the late Solemnities, with intention, in truth, to have visited the City of Bath, and to see whether among all kinds of affected persons confluent thither, I could pick out any counsel to allay that sputative Symptome which yet remaineth upon me from my obstructions of the Splene. But that journey is laid asleep:

Now, Sir, in answer to your said Letter. It grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my servant well knoweth; That I am for the future Election of this year so engag'd already to four Privie Counsellors (and three of them of the highest) and moreover to a Friend of great interest in all the breath that I have to bestow; that in good faith,
I know not how to struggle for a voice for a child of rare & almost prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor Scholers; and much less for any other propounded so late as your Friends Son. For it is now more then a month since the day of our Election was proclaimed on our Colledge and Church gates: The World is nimble in the anticipating of Voices; And for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things else, I am in this likewise no reserver of my good will till the last. I must therefore heartily beseech you, as I have delivered my self at your disposall, so to dispose of me when I am my self, which I am not now. And so I rest,

Unquiet till I shall some way serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir.

It is one of the wonders of the World unto me, how your Letters come so slowly, which if either themselves or their
their Beares knew how welcom they are, would fly. I speak this both by some other before, and by your last of the 19th. of December, which was almost nine dayes on the way: And I hope the Scene of Scotland much changed in the mean while to the better.

But to let go exotick matter, if that may be so termed; I must congratulate with you your actual possession of the Place in the—. For although your own Merit was (before you had it) in their judgments that understand you, a kind of present Investiture; yet I learned long since of our old Master at Oxford, That Actus is better than Potentia: which yet I hope will not divert you from your Philosophical Profession, wherein I know no man of sweeter or sounder ability. And so Sir, I rest

Very truly and affectionately at your Command,

H. Wotton.
To the Queen of Bohemia.

Most Resplendent Queen, even in the Darkness of Fortune.

Most humbly salute Your Majesty again, after the longest silence that I have ever held with you, since I first took into mine heart an Image of your excellent Vertues.

My thoughts indeed, from the exercise of outward duties, have been confined within myself, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and losses; which I was afraid, if I had written sooner unto your Majesty, before time had dried them up, would have freshly bled again. And now, with what shall I entertain your sweet Spirits? It becomes not my weakness to speak of deep and weighty Counsels; nor my privatenesse, of great Personages. Yet, because I know your Majesty cannot but expect that I should say somewhat of the Duke of Buckingham,
ham, whom all contemplate; I will begin there, and end in such comforts as I can suggest to your present Estate: which shall be ever the Subject both of my Letters, and of my Prayers. But before I deliver my conceit of the said Duke, I must use a little Preface.

I am two ways tied unto Him: First, for his singular love towards my never forgotten Albertus: therein likewise concurring with your Majesties inestimable affection. Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his Mediation, this poor place, as indeed I may well call it for the benefit, though not for the contentment: But if it were worth Millions or Worlds, I protest unto your Majestie (to whom I owe the bottom of mine heart) I would not speak otherwise of Him then I conceive. I will therefore spend my opinion (which is all my free-hold) without fear of Parliaments, or hopes of Court. And truly (my most Gracious and Royall Mistresse) I cannot weigh his case without much wonder (being one of the strangest (all considered) that I ever yet took into my fancie.
Not that the—now should sift, and win the actions, even of the highest of the Nobilitie: Not, that an obscure Physician then among them (where that Profession is very rarely) should give the first on-set on so eminent a Personage: Not that such a popular Pursuit being once begun by one, and seconded by a few other, should quickly kindle a great Partie.

These are in their nature no Marvels, nor Novelties: Neither, can I greatly muse, that in a young Gentleman, during the space of 13 years of such prosperitie and power, the height of his place exposing him to much observation, and curiositie, the—likewise opening the way to all kind of complaints (as they did,) and examining nothing upon oath (as they never do,) there should be matter enongh gleaned to make up 13. Objections, and none of heinous degree. Therefore, I can passe all this over with ease believe: For where there are such boultings to the quick, there must needs be some bran everywhere. But there is a consideration which doth much confound
my judgement. First, for the matter it selfe, That this very Nobleman, who in the Parliament of 1623. was so universally applauded, and celebrated in every corner, as a great Instrument of the publick Good, (In so much as for my part, I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been in all Ages before; no lesse Favourite, I mean to the People, then to the King) should be now pursued with these dis-likes, when for the most part, the very same Objectors were in the foresaid Parliament, and the very same Objections (except one or two) might as well then have been allledged. This is—— The rest is lost.

Honourable Sir,

For this time, I pray you, accept in good part from me a Bottle made of a Serpentine Stone, which hath the quality to give any wine or water that shall be infused therein, for four and twenty hours, the taste and operation of the Spaw-water, and is very medi-
nable for the Cure of the Spleen and the Gravell, as I am informed: But sure I am, that Sir Walter Raleigh put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the Spoiles of the Governour of St. Omy, in his last fatall Expediti-
on, and by his Page understood the vertues thereof, and that his Captain highly esteemed it. And surely, some good Cures it hath wrought, since it came into my hands, for those two In-
firmities, &c.

_Extracted from a Letter of the Earl of Cork, written to Sir Henry Wotton. Decemb. 22th. 1636._

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_Sir,_

FIrst I must thank you for the fruiti-
on of your L. at life here though it was too short. Next, for your Pi-
cures: whereof I returne one by this first Boat, and retaine the other longer by your courtesie.

Thirdly, and most of all, for a pro-
mise which I receive from you by my ser-
servant, or at least a hope that you will send me some of your own rural Poesie. That will be a neerer image of your inward self, especially when you were retired into your self. I do therefore expect it greedily by this; For I well remember to have seen some Lines that flowed from you with much strength and grace. When you have any great piece of newes, I pray now and then Candidus Imperti to

Your professed servant,

H. Wotton.

Sir,

Although I am now a retired and cloystered man, yet there do still hang upon me, I know not how, some relics of an harkening humour.

The easiest way for you to quench this appetite in your poor Friend, is, to emptie your self into my Servant, whom I send to salute you, and to know two things:

First,
First, whether you be of the Parliament your self. Next, whether I should be sorrie that I am not of it. You can by this time resolve me of both. We are here only fed with certain Aires of good Hope, *Cameleons* food.

More I will not say now, and you see by this little how tender I am to usurpe upon your time. Yet before I end, Let me ask a third question; Have you no playing and breathing days? If you be of the House, might you not start hither for a night or two? The interposing of a little Philosophical diet may perchance lighten a mans spirits surcharged with publick thoughts, and prevent a surfeit of State. Howsoever, hold me fast in your love; And Gods mercy be where you are.

*Your poor friend and servant,*  
*Alla suicrerata,*  

H. WO T T O N.
To Doctor C.

Worthy Sir,

I find in the bowels of your last (which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my Nicolas) much harsh and stiffe matter from Scotland, and I believe insusceptible of any farther Concoction, unless it be with much time, quod conoquis omnia. But let me lay all publick thoughts aside for the present: having now with you a bosom-businesse, which may perhaps fall out to concerne us more here. Our Nicolas (for I account him at least halfed between us) tells me that you have good means to know when — will be in Town. About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain (as I think for my part) well conceived wishes (though but yet in the Air) touching a vertuous conjunction between him and —; so dear unto me, both in my affection and judgment, and in all respects, that if our neernes in blood did not make me more tender
tender to violate mine own modestie; then I need to be with such a Friend as your are; I would boldly say, that there are few better Matches in this Kingdom, for the endowments of her person and fortune; nor in the whole World, for the sweetnesse and goodnesse of her minde. And on the other side, albeit I have no acquaintance with the Gentleman; yet I hear likewise so much good of him, as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiaritie. I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you: being on my wings towards Canterbury; whence I shall returne hither again within sixe or seven dayes. And this bearer, my domestick Friend (a German Gentleman of value) will from London meet me at Canterbury, by whom I shal be glad to hear from you, about what time the foresaid is expected of return to the City, and any thing else that you shall think fit to be told me: But I pray let this privacie which I have pafFed with you sleep between us.

As I rest in your love,

H. Wotton.

To
To Sir C. C.

Sir,

Let me first thank you much for that Rurall Communication with your own Thoughts, the best of all Companions. I was first taken with the Virginitie (as I may say) of the Inscription in our Vulgar. Next, with a natural Suavity in the Elocution; which, though it be Lyricall, yet it shews you can put on the Buskin when you lift: And when you are tempted again to solicit your own Spirits, I would fain have you venture upon some Tragicall Subject, though you borrow it out of Arabia; For I am glad our England cannot yeild it. I hear, for matter of Noveltie, That Sir Thomas Roe (a well chosen Instrument) is to take his leave on Sunday next at Court: being designed to be one of the great Synod of Protestant Ambassadours, that are to meet at Hamborough; which to me sounds like an Antiphone to the other malign
maligne Conjunction at Colen. And so (Sir) committing you to Gods dear love, I rest

At your Commands,  
H. W.

Sir, I retain your Poeme for a Pawn that I shall have the rest.

And I send you a few poor Lines, which my paines did beget: I pray keep them under your own favourable judgement, and impart them tenderly to others; for I fear that even the best of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.

Sir,

I had sooner given you an account of your two last kind Letters, even for mine own sake, upon whom otherwise you should have had just cause to beflow no more of your excellent intelligence; But that I have had this my servant (and I can assure you as much yours) every day upon his wings towards you a pretty while.

To abbreviate Complement, which never
never agreed with my Nature. In a few plain words, both myself, and all about me are yours.

Sir, I was glad by your last, to see in the Scotch Ruptures a Thread of Hope yet left. It is like an Instrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the strings broken or cut; especially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord—a popular Orator, is sent thither to smooth the way towards a pacificall Treatie, between certain of the Kings Deputation, and others of the Covenant.

This Bearer will tell you what we hear of certain rumorous Surmises at N. and the Neighbouring Townes, (God (who is himselfe the true Center of Rest) make us all quiet, and have you in his Love.

By your affectionate, professed poor Friend,

H. Wotton.
My deare Nic. Pey.

This is the account of me since you saw me last.

My going to Oxford was not meerly for shift of Aire, otherwise I should approve your Counsel to prefer Boughton before any other part whatsoever. That Aire best agreeing with me, and being a kind of Resolving me into my own beginnings; for there was I borne.

But I have a little ambitious vanity stirring in me, to print a thing of my Composition there: which would else in London run through too much noise before hand, by reason of the Licences that must be gotten, and an eternall trick in those City-Stationers to rumour what they have under press.

From Oxford I was Rapt by my Nephew Sr. Edm. Bacon, to Redgrave, and by himselfe, and by my sweet Niece detained ever since (so I say); for beleve me, there is in their conversations and in
in the freedome of their entertainment
a kind of delightful violence.)

In our way hither we blanched
Paul's Perry, though with in three miles
of it, which we are not tender to con-
sels (being indeed our manifest excuse;)
for therby it appears the pains of the
way did not keep us thence.

In truth, we thought it (coming
immediately from an infected place)
an hazardous incivilitie, to put our
selves upon them; for if any sinister
accident had fallen out about the same
time (for Coincidents are not al-
waies Causes) we should have rued it
for ever.

Here, when I had been almost a
fortnight in the midst of much con-
tentment, I received knowledge of Sir
Albertus Morton his departure out
of this world, who was dearer unto
me then mine owne being in it. What
a wound it is to my heart you will easily
beleeve. But his undisputable will must
be done, and unrepiningly received by
his own Creatures, who is the Lord
of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when
he taketh now one, and then another.
till the expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and to wrap up even the Heaven itself, as a Scroll of Parchment.

This is the last Philosophie that we must study upon the earth: let us now, that yet remain, while our glasses shall run by the dropping away of friends, re-inforce our love to one another; which of all virtues both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself shall not end it. And Good Nic. exercise that love towards me in letting me know, &c.

Your ever poor Friend,

H. Wotton.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Right Honourable,

Of my Appearing to this State, and of my Reception here, I gave your Lordship notice by my former Letters.

The Counsels of this State I find to be calm; for the new Pope hath assu-
red them, He will keep Stormes out of Italy.

True it is, that he hath bravely denied already passage to the Neopolitan Cavalry and Infantry through the Ecclesiasticall State, though instantly pressed by the Spanish Embassadour; in which Humour, if he shall persevere without warping, we shall think him here a well season'd piece of Timber.

We hear of an Embassadour from Savoy on his way to you, C.C.: a plain Instrument from a subtle Prince, and therefore the more proper to deceive us, and to be first deceived himselfe. The businesse I shall not need to tell you, nor indeed can I say much of the hope of it.

How we stand here, will appear by the two enclosed Copies.

—But for those things I shall give his Majestie continuall advertisement, as time shall change the prospect of this Theater, whereon I am placed.

So with all my duties remembred, as well those of Thankfulness, as those of Affection, I will subscribe my selfe, as truely I am, Your Lordships, &c.

Y 3 Post-
POSTSCRIPT.

This very Morning, which is the Nuncio's ordinary day of Audience, He hath surprized the Duke and Senators with presentation of a Jubilie unto them from his Master. Some discourse, that it is to gain Fame and Favour by an indulgent Beginning.

My dear Nic.

More then a voluntarie motion doth now carrie me towards Suffolk, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent Physician at B, whom I brought my self from Venice; where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmitie of the Spleen; to which the very seat is generally inclined, and therefore their Physicians (who commonly studie the inclinations of places) are the likelyest to understand the best remedies.

I hope to be back by ———

It wrinckles my face to tell you, that my
my will cost me 500. I. that done, my thoughts are at rest, and over my studie door you shall finde written, INVIDIAE REMEDIIUM. Let me end in that word, and ever rest

Your heartiest poor Friend,

H. Wotton.

Postscript.

I forbear to write further, having a World of Discourse to unload unto you; Like those that weed not a Garden till it be grown a wood.

To Iz. Wa.

In answer of a Letter, requesting him to performe his promise of Writing the Life of Dr Dunne.

My worthy Friend,

I Am not able to yeeld any reason, no, not so much as may satisifie myself, why a most ingenuous Letter of Y 4 yours.
yours hath lyen so long by me (as it were in lavender) without an answer, save this only, The pleasure I have taken in your Stile and Conceptions, together with a Meditation of the Subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber. But, being now awakened, I do herein returne you most heartie thanks for the kinde prosecution of your first motion, touching a just office, due to the memory of our ever memorable Friend: To whose good fame, though it be needless to add any thing, (and my age considered, almost hopelesse from my Pen); yet I wil endeavour to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the Life of so deserving a man, I may perchance overlive mine own.

That which you add of Dr King, (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated into my native foile,) is a great spur unto me. With whom I hope shortly to conferre about it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb, (which was my gentiaall Aire) and invite him to a friendship with that Family where
where his predecessor was familiarly acquainted. I shall write at large to you by the next Messenger (being at present a little in business); and then I shall set down certaine generall heads, wherein I desire information by your loving diligence; hoping shortly to injoy your own ever welcome company in this approaching time of the Fyfe and the Corke. And so I rest,

Your very heartie poor Friend to serve You,

H. Wotton.

To the Same.

My worthy Friend.

Since I last saw you, I have been confin'd to my Chamber by a quotidi-an Feaver, I thank God, of more contumacie then malignitie. It had once left me, as I thought; but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of those spleneticke vapors that are call'd Hypocondriacal; of which
which most say, the cure is good company; and I desire no better Physician than your self. I have in one of those fits indavour'd to make it more easie by composing a short Hymn; and since I have appareled my best thoughts so lightly as in Verse, I hope I shall be pardond a second vanitie, if I communicate it with such a friend as your self; to whom I wish a cheerfull spirit and a thankfull heart to value it as one of the greatest blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

Your poor Friend to serve you,

H. Wotton.
A Hymn to my God in a night
of my late Sickness.

O thou great Power, in whom I move,
For whom I live, to whom I die;
Behold me through thy beams of love,
Whilest on this Couch of tears I lye;
And Cleanse my sordid soul within,
By thy Christ's Blood, the bath of sin.

No hallowed oyls, no grains I need,
No rags of Saints, no purging fire,
One rose drop from David's Seed
Was worlds of seas, to quench thine Ire.
O precious Ransome! which once paid,
That Consummatum est was said:

And said by him, that said no more,
But seal'd it with his sacred breath.
Thou then, that haft dispung'd my score,
And dying, waft the death of death;
Be to me now, on thee I call,
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

HEN. WOTTON.

POEMS.
A Poem written by Sir Henry Wotton, in his youth.

O Faithless World, and thy more faithless Part,
A woman's heart!
The true shop of variety, where fits
nothing but fits
And feavers of desire, and pangs of love,
which toyes remove.
Why was she born to please, or I to trust
words writ in dust?
Suffering her Eys to govern my despair,
my pain for air;
And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
the food of youth.
Untrue she was: yet, I beleev'd her eys.
(tinstructed spies)
Till I was taught, that Love was but a scool
to breed a fool.
Or sought she more by triumphs of deniall,
to make a triall
How far her eames commanded my weakness?
Yield and Confess:
Excuse no more thy folly; but for Cure,
blush and indure
As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:
and think, 'tis gain
To know, that Love lodg'd in a woman's brest,
Is but a guest. H.W.

Sir,
Sir Henry Wotton, and Serjeant Hoskins, riding on the way.

Ho. Noble, lovely, vertuous Creature, 
Purposely so fram'd by nature 
To enthrall your servants wits.

VVo. Time must now unite our hearts: 
Not for any my deserts, 
But because (me thinks) it fits.

Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought, 
And yet wert thou to be bought 
With my life, thou wert not dear.

VVo. Secret comfort of my mind, 
Doubt no longer to be kind, 
But be so, and so appear.

Ho. Give me love for love again, 
Let our loves be clear and plain, 
Heaven is fairest, when'tis clearest.

VVo. Left in clouds, and in differing, 
We resemble Seamen erring, 
Farthest off, when we are nearest.

Ho. Thus with Numbers interchanged, 
VWotton's Muse and mine have ranged, 
Verse and Journey both are spent.

VVo. And if Hoskins chance to say, 
That we well have spent the day, 
I, for my part, am content.

H. W.
On his Mistres, the Queen of Bohemia.

You meaner Beauties of the Night,
That poorly satisfy our Eyes
More by your number, then your light,
You Common people of the Skies;
What are you when the Sun shall rise?

You Curious Chanters of the Wood,
That warble forth Dame Natures lays,
Thinking your Voyces understood
By your weak Accent; what's your praise
When Philomell her voyce shall raise?

You Violets, that first appear,
By your pure purpel mantles knowne,
Like the proud Virgins of the yeare,
As if the Spring were all your own;
What are you when the Rose is blowne?

So, when my Mistres shall be seen
In form and Beauty of her mind,
By Virtue first, then Choyse a Queen,
Tell me, if she were not design'd
Th' Eclipse and Glory of her kind.

H.W.
To a Noble friend in his Sickness.

Un timely Feaver, rude insulting guest,
How didst thou with such unharmonious heat
Dare to distune his well composed rest;
Whose Heart so just and noble stroaks did beat?

What if his Youth and Spirits wel may beare
More thick assaults, & stronger siege then this?
We measure not his courage, but our fear: (miss.
Nor what our selves, but what the Times may

Had not that bloud, which thrice his veines did
Been better treasur'd for some glorious day:
At farthest West to paint the liquid Field,
And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay?

But let those thoughts(Sweet Lord) repose a while,
Tend only now thy vigour to regain;
And pardon these poor Rimes, that would beguile
With mine own grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.

A short Hymn upon the Birth of Prince Charles.

You that on Starres do looke,
Arrest not there your sight.

Though
Though Nature's fairest Book
And signed with propitious light,
Our Blessing now is more divine
Then Planets that at Noone did shine.

To thee alone be praise,
From whom our Joy descends,
Thou Cheerer of our Days,
Of Causes first, and last of Ends.
To thee this May we sing, by whom
Our Roses from the Lilies bloom.

Upon this Royal flower,
Sprung from the Chastele Bed,
Thy glorious sweetness shower,
And first let Myrtles crowne his head,
Then Palms and Laurels wreath'd betwene;
But let the Cypress late be seen.

And so succeeding men,
When they the fulness see
Of this our Joy, shall then
In comfort joyn as well as wee,
To Celebrate his Praise above,
That spreds our Land with fruits of Love.

H. W.
An Ode to the King,
At his Returning from Scotland to the Queen: after his Coronation there.

Rouse up thy selfe, my gentle Muse,
Though now our green Conceptions be gray,
And yet once more do not refuse
To take thy Phrygian Harpe, and play,
In honour of this cheerful Day.

Make first a Song of Joy and Love,
Which chastely flame in Royal Eyes,
Then, tune it to the Spheres above
When the benignest Stares doe rise,
And sweet Conjunctions grace the Skies.

To this, let all good Hearts resound,
While Diadems invest his Head:
Long may He live, whose Life doth bound
More then his Laws, and better Lead
By High Example, then by Dread.

Long may He round about him see
His Roses and his Lilies bloom:
Long may His Only Dear, and Hee
Joy in Ideas of their own,
And Kingdoms Hopes so timely sown.

Long may They both contend to prove,
That Best of Crowns is such a Love.

H. W.
Upon the sudden Restraint of the Earle of Somerset, then falling from favor.

Dazelfd thus, with height of place,
   Whilst our hopes our wits beguile,
No man markes the narrow space
   ’Twixt a prison, and a smile.

Then, since fortunes favours fade,
You, that in her arms doe sleep,
Learne to swim, and not to wade;
For, the Hearts of Kings are deepe.

But, if Greatness be so blind,
As to trust in towers of Aire,
Let it be with Goodness lin’d,
That at’least, the Fall be faire.

Then though darkned, you shall say,
When Friends faile, and Princes frowne,
Vertue is the roughest way,
But proves at night a Bed of Downe.

H. W.

The Character of a Happy Life.

How happy is he born and taught,
   That serveth not an others will?
Whose Armour is his honest thought:
And simple Truth his utmost Skill?
Whose Passions not his masters are,
Whose soul is still prepared for death;
Untide unto the world, by care
Of publick fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that chance doth raise,
Nor vice hath ever understood;
How deepest wounds are given by praise,
Nor rules of state, but rules of good.

Who hath his life from rumors freed,
Whose conscience is his strong retreat:
Whose state can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruine make oppressors great.

Vvho God doth late and early pray,
More of his grace, then gifts to lend:
And entertaines the harmless day
Vvith a Religious Book, or Friend.

This man is freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall:
Lord of himselfe, though not of lands,
And having nothing: yet hath all.

H. W.
On a Banck as I sate a Fishing,
A Description of the Spring.

And now all Nature seem'd in Love,
The lusty Sap began to move;
New Juice did stirre the embracing Vines;
And Birds had drawne their Valentines:
The jealous Trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a wel-disembled Flic:
There stood my friend, with patient Skill
Attending of his trembling quill.
Already were the Eaves posleft
With the swift Pilgrims daubed nest.
The Groves already did rejoice
In Philomels triumphing voyce.

The showers were short; the weather mild;
The Morning fresh; the Evening smil'd.
Jone takes her neat-rub'd paile, and now
She trips to milk the Sand-red Cow;
Where, for some sturdy foot-ball Swaine,
Jone strokes a fillibub, or twaine.
The Fields and Gardens were beset
With Tulip, Crocus, Violet.
And now, though late, the Modest Rose
Did more then halfe a blush disclose.
Thus all look'd gay, all full of Cheer,
To welcome the New-lively'd year.

H. W.
My soul exalt the Lord with hymns of praise:
O Lord my God, how boundless is thy might?
Whose throne of state is cloth'd with glorious raies,
And round about hast roab'd thy self with light,
Who like a curtain hast the heavens displaid,
And in the watery roofs thy chambers laid.

Whose chariots are the thickned clouds above,
Who walkst upon the the winged winds below,
At whose command the airie spirits move:
And fiery meteors their obedience show.
Who on his base the earth didst firmly found,
And mad'st the deep to circumvest it round.

The waves that rise would drown the highest hill,
But at thy check they flie, and when they hear thy thundring voice, they post to do thy will,
And bound their furies in their proper sphere:
Where surging floods, and valing eb's can tel,
That none beyond thy marks, must sink or swel.

Who hath dispos'd but thou, the winding way (bear,
Where springs down from the steepy crags do

At which both fother'd beasts their thirsts alay,
And the wild asses come to quench their heat;
Where birds retort, & in their kind, thy praise
Among the branches chant in warbling laies.

The
The Mounts are watered from thy dwelling Place,
The Barns and Meads are fill'd for Man & Beast,
Wine glads the heart, and oil adorns the face, (reft:
And Bread the Staffe whereon our strength doth
Nor Shrubs alone feel Thy suffizing hand,
But even the Cedars that so proudly stand.

So have the Fowls their sundry Seats to breed,
The ranging Stork in stately Beeches dwells,
The climbing Goats on Hills securely feed,
The mining Conies shroud in rockie Cels: (get,
Nor can the heavenly Lights their course for.
The Moon her Turns, or Sun his times to set.

Thou mak'lt the Night to over-vail the Day;
Then savage Beasts creep from the silent Wood,
Then Lions whelps lie Roaring for their Prey,
And at Thy powerfull Hand demand their food.
Who when at Morn they All recouch again,
Then toiling Man till Eve pursues his pain.

O Lord, when on Thy various Works we look,
How richly furnish'd is the Earth we tread!
Where, in the fair Contents of Nature's Book
We may the Wonders of Thy Wisdom read;
Nor Earth alone, But Lo, the Sea so wide,
Where great and small, a world of Creatures glide.

There go the Ships that furrow out their way,
Yea, there of Whales enormous Lights we see,
Which yet have Scope among the Rest to play,
And All do wait for their Support on Thee;
V Vhohast assign'd each Thing his proper food,
And in due season do'ft dispence Thy Good.

They gather when Thy Gifts Thou dost divide,
Their Stores abound if Thou Thy Hand enlarge;
Confus'd they are, when thou thy Beams doft hide:
In Dust resolv'd, if Thou their Breath discharge.
Again, when Thou of Life renew'st the Seeds,
The withered Fields revest their cheerfull
(weeds.

Be ever gloried here Thy Soveraign Name, (made,
That Thou maist smile on All which Thou hast
VVhose Frown alone can shake this Earthly Frame,
And at whose Touch the Hills in smoak shall vade.
For Me, may (while I breathe) both Harp and
(Voice
In sweet Inditement of Thy Hymns rejoyce.

Let Sinners faile, Let all Profaneness cease,
His Praise (My Soul) His Praise shall be Thy
(Peace.

H. Wotton.
Tears at the Grave of Sir. Albertus Morton (who was buried at Southhampton) wept by Sir H. Wotton.

Silence (in truth) would speak my sorrow best,
For, deepest wounds can least their feelingstel:
Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest,
But time to bid Him, whom I lov'd, Farewel.

O my unhappy Lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton Cries,
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent. Here my Albertus lies.

This is the Sable Stone, this is the Cave
And womb of Earth that doth his Corp's imbrace,
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding Numbers, to adorn the Place.

Here will I paint the Characters of woe,
Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead,
And here my faithfull Tears in showrs shall flow
To humanize the Flints whereon I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchlefe losse alone,
And none between my weaknesses judge and me,
Yet even these gentle walles allow my Mone,
Whose doleful Echoes to my Plaints agree.

But, is He gon? and live I Ryming here,
As if some Muse would listen to my Lay?
When all distant'd sit waiting for their Dear,
And bathe the Banks where he was wont to play?

Dwell thou in endless Light, discharged soul:
Freed now from Natures, & from Fortunes trust:
While
While on this fluent Globe, my Glass shall role,
And run the rest of my remaining dust.

H. Wotton.

Upon the death of Sir Albert Morton's Wife.

He first deceas'd: She for a little tri'd
To live without Him: lik'd it not, and di'd.

H. Wotton.

This Hymn was made by Sir H. Wotton,
when he was an Ambassador at Venice,
in the time of a great Sickness there.

Eternal Mover; whose diffused Glory,
To shew our grovelling Reason what Thou art,
Unfolds it self in Clouds of Natures Story,
Where Man, thy proudest Creature acts his Part;
V Vhom yet (alas) I know not why, we call
The V Vorld's contracted Sum, the little All.

For, what are we, but lumps of walking Clay?
Why should we swell? whence should our spirits rise?
Are not brut Beasts as strong, and Birds as gay,
Trees longer liv'd, and creeping things as wise?
Only our Souls was left an inward Light,
To feel our weaknesses, and confess thy Might.

Z

Thou,
Thou then, our Strength, Father of Life and Death,
To whom our Thanks, our Vows, our Selves we owe,
From Me thy Tenant, of this fading Breath,
Accept those Lines, which from thy Goodnes flow.
And Thou that art thy Regal Prophets Muse,
Do not thy Praise in weaker Strains refuse.

Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy Throne,
Where Majesty doth sit with Mercy crown'd,
Where my Redeemer lives, in whom alone
The Errours of my wandring Life are drown'd:
Where all the Quire of Heav'n resound the same,
That only Thine, Thine is the Saving Name.

Well then, my Soul, joy in the midst of Pain;
Thy Christ that Conquer'd Hell, shall from above
With greater Triumph yet return again,
And conquer his own Justice with his Love;
Commanding Earth and Seas to render those
Unto His Bliss, for whom He paid his Woes.

Now have I done: now are my Thoughts at peace,
And now my Joyes are stronger then my Griefe:
I feel those Comforts that shall never cease,
Future in Hope, but present in Beliefe.
Thy words are true, thy promises are just,
And, thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

HEN. WOTTON.
POEMS

Found among the Papers of S. H. Wotton.

A Description of the Countrey's Recreations.

Uivering feares, Heart-tearing cares,
Anxious fighes, Untimely tears,
Fly, fly to Courts;
Fly to fond wordlings sports,
Where strain'd Sardonick smiles are glosing still,
And greife is forc'd to laugh against her wil;
Where mirth's but mummery;
And sorrow's only real be.

Fly from our Country pastimes! fly,
Sad troop of humane misery;
Come serene lookes,
Cleare as the Christal brookes,
Or the pure azur'd heaven, that smiles to see
The rich attendance of our poverty,

Peace
Peace and a secure mind,
(Which all men seek) we only find.

Abused Mortals! did you know
Where Joy, Hearts ease, and comforts grow.
You'd scorn proud towers,
And seek them in these bower,
(Shake.)

Where winds sometimes, our woods perhaps may
But bustling care could never tempest make,
Nor murmur's e're come nigh us,
Saving of fountains that glide by us.

Here's no fantastic Mask, nor dance,
But of our Kids, that frisk and prance:
Nor wars are seen,
Unless upon the green
Two harmless Lambs are butting one the other;
Which done, both bleating run, each to his mother.
And wounds are never found,
Save what the Plow-share gives the ground.

Here are no false entrapping baits,
To hasten too too hasty fates;
Unless it be
The fond Credulity
Of silly Fish, which worldling-like, still look
Upon the bait, but never on the hook:
Nor envy, unless among
The Birds for prize of their sweet song.

Go! let the diving Negro seek
For Gemmes hid in some forlorn creek:
We all Pearles scorn,
Save what the dewy morné

Congeals
Congeals upon each little spire of grass;
Which careless shepards beat down as they pass;
And gold ne're here appears,
Save what the yellow Ceres beares.

Blest silent Groves! O may ye be
For ever Mirths best Nurcery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their tents
Upon these Downs, these Meads, these Rocks, these
And Peace still flourishes, by these purling Fountains!
Which we may every yeare
Find when we come a fishing here.

\textit{Ignoro.}

\textit{Imitatio Horatiana Odes. 9. Donec gratus eram tibi, Lib. 3.}

\textbf{A DIALOGUE between God and the Soul.}

\textit{Soul.}

\textbf{Whilest my Soul's eye beheld no light}
\textbf{But what stream'd from thy gracious sight?}
\textbf{To me the worlds greatest King}
\textbf{Seem'd but some little vulgar thing.}

\textit{God. Whilest thou prov'dst pure; and that in thee:}
\textbf{I could glass at my Deity:}
\textbf{How glad did I from Heaven depart,}
\textbf{To find a Lodging in thy heart.}

\textit{Z. 3. S. Now.}
Poems.

S. Now Fame and Greatness bear the sway,
   ('Tis they that hold my prisons Key:)
   For whom my Soul would dy, might thee
   Leave them her Immortality.

G. I, and some few pure Souls conspire,
   And burne both in a mutuall fire,
   For whom I'd dy once more, ere they
   Should miss of Heavens eternal day.

S. But Lord! what if I turn againe,
   And with an adamantine chain,
   Lock me to thee? WHAT if I chase
   The world away to give thee place?

G. Then though those souls in whom I joy
   Are Seraphins, Thou but a Toy,
   A foolish Toy, yet once more I
   Would with Thee live, and for thee die.

IGNOR.

Doctor B, of Tears.

Who would have thought, there could have bin
Such joy in tears, wept for our sin?
   Mine eyes have seen, my heart hath prov'd
   The most and best of earthly Joyes:
   The sweets of love, and being lov'd,
   Maskes, Feasts, and Plays, and such like toyes.
Yet, this one tear, which now doth fall,
In true delight exceeds them all.

2. Indeed, mine eyes at first let in
Those guests that did these woes begin,
Therefore mine eyes in tears, and grief,
Are justly drown'd: but, that those tears
Should Comfort bring, is past belief:
Oh God! in this thy grace appears,
Thou that mak'st light from darkness spring,
Mak'st joyes to weep, and sorrow sing.

3. Oh where am I? what may I think?
Help, help, alas my heart doth sink;
Thus lost in seas of woe,
Thus laden with my sin,
Waves of despair dash in,
And threat my overthrow.
What heart opprest with such a weight
Can choose but break, and perish quite?

4. Yet, as at Sea in storms, men use
The ship to save, the goods to loose;
So, in this fearfull storm,
This danger to prevent,
Before all hope be spent,
Ile choose the lesser harm:
My tears to seas I will convert,
And drown my eyes to save my heart.

5. Oh God my God what shal I give
To thee in thanks? I am and live
In thee, and thou didst safe preserve
My health, my fame, my goods, my rent,
Thou makest me eat while others starve:
Such unto me thy Blessings are,
As if I were thy only Care.

536 Poems.

6. But, oh my God! thou art more kind;
When I looke inward on my mind:
   Thou fillest my heart with humble joy
   With patience, meekness, fervent love,
   (Which doth all other loves destroy)
With faith (which nothing can remove)
And hope assur'd of heavens blisse;
This is my state: thy grace is this.

By Chidick Tychborn (being young
and then in the Tower) the night
before his Execution.

1. My prime of youth, is but a frost of Cares,
   My feast of joy, is but a dish of pain,
My Crop of Corn is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vaine hope of gain:
The day is past, and yet I saw no fun,
   And now I live, and now my life is done.

2. The spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung:
The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green:
My youth is gon, and yet I am but young:
I saw the world, and yet I was not seen:
   My thred is cut, and yet it is not spun:
And now I live, and now my life is done.

3. I fought my death, and found it in my wombe,
I look'd for life, and saw it was a shade:
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tomb.
And now I die and now I am but made.
The glass is full, and now my glass is run,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

I. Rise, oh my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
   And with Divinest contemplation, use
   Thy time, where times eternity is given, (buse,
   And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts a-
   But downe in darkness let them lie,
   So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die:

2. And thou (my soul) inspir'd with holy flame,
   View and review, with most regardful eie,
   That holy Cross whence thy Salvation came,
   On which thy Saviour, and thy sin did die:
   For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
   And in that Saviour, is my life, my treasure.

3. To thee (o Jesus) I direct my eie,
   To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees,
   To thee my heart shall offer sacrifice,
   To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only
   To thee myselfe, myselfe and all I give:
   To thee I die, to thee I onely live.

     Ignoto.
Sir Walter Raleigh the night before his Death.

Even such is time that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with Age and dust,
Who in the dark and silent Grave
(When we have wandered all our ways)
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.

W. R.

The World.

The World's a bubble: and, the life of man
Less than a span.
In his conception wretched: from the womb,
So to the tomb.
Nurst from his cradle, and brought up to years,
With cares and fears.
Who then to fraile Mortality shall trust,
But lymns on water, or but writes in dust.

Yet, whilest with sorrow here we live oppressed,
What life is best?
Courts are but only superficial schools
to dandle fools:

The
The rural part is turn'd into a den
   of savage men;
And where's a city from soul vice so free,
But may be term'd the worst of all the three?

Domestic cares afflicts the Husband's bed,
   or pains his head,
Those that live single, take it for a curse,
   or doe things worse, (none,
These would have Children; those that have them,
   or with them gone:
What is it then to have, or have no Wife,
But single thraldom, or a double strife?

Our own affections still at home to please,
   is a disease.
To cross the seas to any forrain soyle,
   peril and toyle.
Wars with their noise affright us, when they cease
   w' are worse in peace. (cry
What then remains but that we still should
For being born, and being born to die?
   Ignoto.

De Morte.

Mans life's a Tragedie. His mothers womb
   (From which he enters) is the tyring room.
This spaceous earth the theater. And the stage
That country which he lives in: Passions, Rage,
Folly, and Vice are actors. The first cry
The Prologue to th' ensuing Tragedy.
The former act consisteth of dumb showes:
The second, he to more perfection growes:
I'th' third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin.
I'th' fourth declines. I'th' fifth diseases clog
And trouble him: then Death's his Epilogue.

**EPIGRAM.**

If breath were made for every man to buy,
The poor man could not live; rich would not die.

**FINIS.**

*Imprimantur.*

*Na. Brent.*