

William Cornwallis:
Paradoxes and Encomions.

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Introduction

Better known for his pioneering use of Montaigne's method and his contribution to the history of the English essay, Sir William Cornwallis the younger (c. 1579-1614) also wrote paradoxes, of which ten are extant. Six were published posthumously. Critics widely underline his modest attitude towards his paradoxes and Cornwallis himself, in a letter to his kinsman and legal agent John Hobart, confessed that "in keepinge them secreatt [I] have sh[ew]/ed some littill discretion: I knowe their weaknes to/vnmeet obieackts for your Syght [...] & the inteant whearfore I seant them was one[ly] to Paralell christmas games" (Bennett 1931, 220). Cornwallis was following a literary fashion: his friend John Donne wrote his own paradoxes in the early 1590s (Peters 1980, xv), while Munday's translation of Ortensio Lando's *Paradossi* via Estienne's French translation had appeared in 1593.

Around 1600, Cornwallis composed four paradoxes, "That a great redd nose is an ornament to the face", "That it is a happines to be in debt", "That miserie is true Foelicity" and "That Inconstancy is more commendable then Constancie", which remained in manuscript form until 1931, when they were published by R.E. Bennett.

In 1616, two years after Cornwallis's death, Richard Hawkins published *Essayes or rather, Encomions, prayses of sadnesse: and of the emperour Iulian the Apostata. By Sir Wil-*

liam Cornewallis, the younger knight (At London: Printed by George Purslowe, for Richard Hawkins, and are to be sold at his shop in Chauncery lane, neere Seriants Inne, 1616), featuring only two paradoxes (on sadness and on the Emperor Julian) which he got possession of in 1614. In the same year, Thomas Thorpe published an anonymous collection titled *Es-sayes Of Certaine Paradoxes* (At London, Printed for Th. Thorp 1616): it contained four new texts, “The prayse of King Richard the third” (although the authorship of the text has been debated), “The prayse of the French Pockes”, “The prayse of Nothing” (both translations, respectively of Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo’s “[Discurso] Que trata de las excelencias de las bubas” and of Jean Passerat’s Latin poem *Nihil*), and “That it is good to be in debt”, which were reissued in 1617 by Richard Hawkins in a new edition with the original 1616 version of *Essays or rather, Encomions*. He also kept the title-page of the latter to separate the two parts of the volume while the new general title-page read *Essays of certaine Paradoxes. The second impression, enlarged* (London: Printed for Richard Hawkins, and are to be sold at his Shop neare Serjeants-Inne in Chancery-Lane) (Bennett 1933, 198).

1. *The Praise of King Richard the Third*

The Praise of King Richard the Third is the first of the four paradoxes included in Thorpe’s collection and certainly the most discussed in relation to its authorship. While the following two are translations (praising the “French pocks” and “Nothing”) and the fourth (on debt) has a prior version which remained in manuscript and was published only in 1931, the history of this encomium is more controversial.

It appeared in print for the first time in Thorpe's edition but there are ten extant manuscript versions, four of which with evidences of authorship: the Devonshire and the 1612 Folger manuscript bear the name of William Cornwallis (the former dedicated to his "worthy friend Mr. John Donne") (Allen 1946, xvi), the Rawlinson manuscript the initials 'W.C.', and the British Museum manuscript 'Hen. W.' (dedicated to Sir Henry Neville) (Ramsden and Kincaid 1977, i-ii).

While Zeeveld argued that the Elizabethan manuscripts "are unquestionably recensions of a much earlier defense written by a contemporary supporter of Richard as a response to a calumniator sympathetic to the new Tudor regime" (1940, 947) and thus that Cornwallis appropriated the text, in his 1977 edition of the encomium Arthur Kincaid refuted these assumptions and persuasively demonstrated that Cornwallis should be considered the author. According to the critic there is no evidence of the existence of an earlier defence written in the early Tudor period by someone else; instead, he theorised "that Cornwallis came across the original Morton tract and set out to refute it, probably afterwards turning his work into something like a paradox" (Ramsden and Kincaid 1977, ii) (cardinal John Morton's attacks on Richard III circulated in manuscript in his lifetime but are no longer extant).

This encomium was the first printed text to attempt a defence of the king and an influence for later works, among which Sir George Buck's *The History of King Richard the Third*.

Although Cornwallis probably used Gerolamo Cardano's *Neronis Encomium* (firstly published in 1562) as a model for his piece, the text contains a partial quotation from it, most part of the defence was drawn from historians' accounts: ref-

erences to Thomas More, Philip de Comines, Edward Hall, and Holinshed give evidence of Richard's virtues – his discreetness, liberality, wisdom – alongside his abilities as a statesman: he instituted good laws, reduced taxes for his citizens and cared for the stability of the country already during the reign of his brother, Edward IV, whose orders he executed with discretion and success. Most of the accusations moved against him, from his claim to the throne to his dream before the battle of Bosworth, are dealt with as being caused by misunderstood reasons: once ascertained of the unlawfulness of his brother's marriage, Richard's rise to power was led by his concerns for the people and the nobility; if he did command Shaw's sermon held at Paul's Cross (which stated for the first time the unlawfulness of Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville and Edward V's claim to the throne, thus legitimating Richard III as the rightful heir), it was only to make the people partakers of his right to the throne and to show his sense of justice; the killing of his two nephews in the tower prevented any further dissension and granted peace to the people, but who can say it was not God's punishment for the sins of their father? As regards the dream which he had the night before his death, on the eve of the final battle against the future Henry VII, his accusers saw it as a sign of remorse for his tyrannous life, but even great leaders such as Caesar and Brutus had dreams just as horrible before their end. It was, in fact, his chance to make peace with God before asking his soldiers for forgiveness and facing his death.

At this point, the author concludes his argumentation by addressing directly the "judicious reader" (886): if one compares Richard III to other rulers, despite his reputation, the reader would find him "as innocent of cruelty, extortion, and tyranny as the most; as wise, politic, and valiant as any" (890).

2. *The Praise of the French Pox*

The Praise of the French Pox is the first of the two paradoxes translated from other texts included in the collection (the second one is *The Praise of Nothing*, from Jean Passerat's Latin poem *Nihil*): specifically, it is an adaptation of "[Discurso] Que trata de las excelencias de las bubas" by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo. *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento*, in which the chapter is contained, was firstly published between 1603 and 1604 and widely circulated when, in 1605, the essayist followed his father, Sir Charles Cornwallis, to Spain where he had been appointed resident ambassador (Whitt 1932, 163). As Bennett underlines, there are no prior evidences of his knowledge of Spanish (1931, 221), therefore during his several journeys delivering private communications between the Embassy and the Secretaries of State in London (Whitt 1932, 163) Cornwallis must have become enough acquainted with the language to produce a rough translation of Hidalgo's text. It is important to notice, however, that the reference is made more explicit at the end of the paradox with both the Spanish quote drawn directly from the original text, although "carezco" substituted with "padezco" (225), and the final line "Carnestoliendas de Castilla. Noche tercera." (227), indicating the circumstances in which the dialogue originally took place (as reported on the full title of the book, although Hidalgo writes *Carnestolendas de Castilla*).

In this paradox the author wants to defend what he considers "the most noble and illustrious disease" (7): the French Pox, what the syphilis was initially called. The disease was thought to have been brought to Spain by Christopher Columbus's crew but the first outbreak was recorded in Naples during the French invasion of 1495; this is why, as it is

also pointed out in the text, it was originally given different names: the French Pox, the Neapolitan Disease, the Scab of Spain – this classification reflects the desire to blame it on other Countries, since it was strongly associated with sexual promiscuity and prostitution. The term “syphilis”, as it is known nowadays, comes from the 1530 literary work of Girolamo Fracastoro, an Italian physician and scholar, titled *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus* (*Syphilis, or the French Disease*), in which the protagonist, a boy named Syphilus, is punished with the disease by the god Apollo after insulting him.

It is from the origin of the name that the author begins his argumentation: while the sole mention of it is offensive for people eager to judge those who have the pox, the same root of the Latin “bubones”, the French “bubes”, the Spanish “buvas” (other ways in which it was called) is also contained in estimated names like the Goddess Bubastis (Diana) or the star Bubulco. Brought by Columbus into Spain from the Indies, this “holy contagion” (40) makes people who have it Saints: the flesh, most affected by it, bears visible signs and makes the body unable to commit sins. After stressing that its many places of origin, great kingdoms and provinces, only contribute to its greatness and that, contrary to all other diseases, the term used to refer to it was, “after the style of kings and dukes and grandes” (115), plural (the word in the original text is in fact either “pocks” or “pockes”), the paradox continues with a series of advantages for those who bear it. The first inconvenience mentioned is that the infection affects all the hair on the body, causing it to come off and leaving people bald: in reality, the pox acts as Nature’s agent, helping them change their covering like trees with leaves and birds with feathers. Furthermore, one must not forget the noble and brave nature of the pox, as

only Lords, Cavaliers and noble Ladies are haunted with it, or the ability of any man infected to predict the changing of the weather much better than astrologer and stargazers, so revered and adored, simply with the aching in his bones and junctures. Lastly, it is pointed out that even if in lower social conditions, men with the pox are treated like Lords and served by everybody, and not only is their person considered sacred, but also their belongings are almost relics as no one dares to touch them. It is then very straightforwardly concluded that if a man has not been honoured with the pox it is simply because he is not worthy of it.

3. *That it is good to be in debt*

Of all the six paradoxes, *That it is good to be in debt*, the last text of the collection, is the only one which has a first draft which has been preserved in manuscript, entitled *That it is a happiness to be in debt* (among the Tanner MSS in the Bodleian Library, then published by Bennet in 1931). Even though, as Bennett underlines, the latter is not a revision of the earlier paradox (1931, 221), some of its material was used again in a more polished and less light-hearted form, although reaching a similar “spiritual and serious conclusion” (Salzman 2013, 477).

Cornwallis asserts very clearly from the beginning his intention to discuss this topic as a paradox to “rectify [human-kind’s] judgement” (6) but, as Salzman points out, the last paragraph, with its religious references and the explicit allusion to the “Pater Noster” prayer, closes the argumentation with a graver tone than one would expect (Salzman 2013, 477). In the text, Cornwallis alternates examples of debt as being an intrinsic component of the universe and lighter ev-

idences of the consequences of financial indebtedness on humankind. From the sun to man himself, in Nature everything is born with a bond of duty and hence a debt to the others; each part of our body is in some way in debt to another “as if Nature had rather man should not have been at all, than not to be a debtor in every part of him” (39). Borrowing and lending are what makes the world work, without them it would be chaos: the stars, the seasons, the elements, the Earth – they all depend on loans. Why, then, should someone be ashamed of being in debt? On the contrary, a debtor gains not only the favour of his creditors, who pray for his life and prosperity, but such a power over them that he becomes almost like their landlord, towards whom they must observe courtesy and show adulation. Furthermore, if he ever gets caught by the law, he does not have to fear any punishment because, unlike rogues, traitors and those who criticise the Church, whom Cornwallis puts in the lower levels of the “purgatory-wise” (134) prison, wasters and debtors are imprisoned in the higher level, closer to God and to a life of virtue. What emerges from the thoughtful conclusion is, however, that as much as any man may fear his material indebtedness – to the point of quoting Chaucer’s *Complaint Unto His Purse* (in which he begged his purse to remain full and keep him out of debt) – everything is destined to die with him and what will matter in the end is his credit to God, the only one capable of forgiving his debts.

In spite of debt being a rather popular subject among paradoxes (see Bennett 1931, 227, n. 2), it is interesting to notice that the text was plagiarised in 1644 by Thomas Jordan with the title *The debtors apologie, or, A quaint paradox proving that it is good to be in debt, and, in this age, may be usefull for all men by T. J.* (Written in the yeer of Engagements,

1644). Jordan has long been believed to have authored this text, as we can see in P.B. Mitchell's 1936 article "A Chaucer Allusion in a 1644 Pamphlet". Like Cornwallis's, Jordan's side note attributes the final ballade to Occleve: according to Mitchell he was familiar with the 1602 edition of the works of Chaucer, the last published before 1644, in which for the first time Occleve is indicated as the author (436): it is this version which Cornwallis must have read.

4. *The Praise of Sadness*

The Praise of Sadness is the first of the two paradoxes included in the collection titled *Essayes or rather, Encomions, prayses of sadnesse: and of the emperour Iulian the Apostata. By Sir William Cornewallis, the younger knight* published by Richard Hawkins in 1616, and the only one introduced by a short preface, "To the Reader".

As with other texts, Cornwallis states from the outset the unusual subject of his argument and his awareness of "the danger of cherishing and defending so unwelcomed a guest as Sadness" (18-9). However, being so condemned by opinion – enemy to wisdom and judgement – might be the first proof of her goodness. To support his assertions, Cornwallis begins by comparing her to her contrary: Mirth. Sadness and Mirth are the two weights that balance men's life and according to which they record their successes and failures. The former is a synonym for truth, sobriety and a discreet temper, while the latter for falseness, drunkenness and rashness of the tongue; they are the true forms of Virtue and Pleasure, respectively: one allows for a life of peace and certainty, while the other, with her inconstancy and false allurements, promises a calmness that quickly fades into anxieties and griefs.

However, in this comparison Sadness “hath but proved herself better than a worse, not approved her own goodness” (512-3): Cornwallis stresses then the need to “decipher” her, i.e. to give her a definition. He does so again by contraries, mentioning what he means not by the word “Sadness”. Her greatest merit is preparing men for the adverse seasons of life: she instructs and governs life with tranquillity, certainty and happiness; she fortifies men against the incursions of Pleasure, corruptor of youth, and Grief, enemy of old age; educates to wisdom and goodness, so to keep out vices and temper the mind. The Ancients well known for the excellence of their minds, including Socrates, prepared by Sadness chose a life of poverty to keep away Mirth and Pleasure.

In short, Sadness prepares for eternal life: her most visible form is wisdom, which makes her essential for anyone who wants to be reputed wise; she is feared by vanity and idleness; she obstructs vain desires and passions. Sadness is the “sweetest and best conditioned companion of the life of man” (2023-4), the inward power that makes men virtuous and happy.

Cornwallis’s text was later included in John Dunton’s collection *Athenian Sport: Or, Two Thousand Paradoxes Merily Argued, to Amuse and Divert the Age* published in 1707, as “Paradox XCVI: Mourning Joy, or a Paradox in praise of Sadnesse”.

5. *The Praise of the Emperor Julian the Apostate*

The Praise of the Emperor Julian the Apostate, second and last paradox included in *Essayes or rather, Encomions, prayeses of sadnesse: and of the emperour Iulian the Apostata*. By Sir Wil-

liam Cornewallis, the younger knight, is a complex text full of numerous references to classical sources.

Divided into three different sections, it is considered by critics “a rather complex imitation of *both* Julian’s literary forays into satire, the *Misopogon* and the *Caesares*” (Poole 2016, 174). The text opens on a traditional praise: Cornwallis admits his awareness of the general opinion about the subject he discusses – “he was an ill man, that was his loss, but this ill was only ill at the journey’s end; for most of his actions were good here, and had been good for ever, if they had not served an ill master” (73-8) – and then continues his argumentation with a few biographical references taken from Petrus Martinius Morentinus Navarrus’s 1566 *Praefatio* to Julian’s *Misopogon* and quotations from the Latin text. Cornwallis addresses some of Julian’s features such as his temperance, chastity, valour and prudence; amongst his vices, he covers his inconstancy, ill directed knowledge and ambition. In doing so, he also references other classical authors such as Ovid (citing his *Ars Amatoria*) and Tacitus (bringing extracts from his *Annales*).

For the second and third part of the paradox, titled “Julian’s Dialogue of the Caesars” and “Comparison between Alexander and Caesar”, Cornwallis’s main source is clearly Julian’s own satirical work *The Caesars*: according to his opinion, the best means to know a man is to become familiar with written works about him, either authored by him or by historians. In Julian’s text, Romulus invites to a feast his successors, who at their entrance are judged about their virtues and faults by Silenus, Jupiter’s jester. In his paradox, Cornwallis examines Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Macrinus and Severus Alexander,

and includes Latin quotes from Julian's *The Caesars*, Cassius Dio's *Roman History* and Herodian's *Roman History* as evidences of his assertions about them. In the last section, Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great are compared with regard to their faults, vices, rise to power, military conquests and relationship with both their enemies and their soldiers, before Augustus, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius speak again to defend their own actions. Besides the already mentioned classical sources, Cornwallis draws quotes from Suetonius's *De Vita Caesarum* (also known as *The Twelve Caesars*), Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, John Xiphilinus's epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, Petronius' *Satyricon* and Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* translated into English by Wilhelm Xylander in 1558.

Note on the Text

The following edition offers a modernised version of five of Cornwallis's paradoxes taken from both *Essayes of Certain Paradoxes* and *Essayes, or rather Encomions*, hence the choice for a title that would embrace both collections. The first three texts, "The Praise of King Richard the third", "The Praise of the French Pox" and "That it is good to be in debt", of which two witnesses are extant, present the 1616 text with a few corrections taken from the subsequent reprint and the relevant critical apparatus, while "The Praise of Sadness" and "The Praise of the Emperor Julian the Apostate" display a modernised text of the 1616 printed edition.

In modernising the texts, the paragraph division has been preserved as well as the indentation of the first line, but changes have been made to punctuation, capital letters – employed only for proper nouns and personifications – and orthography.

In particular, all special characters (like f, ß, ö) have been substituted with modern types; the use of the letters 'u'/'v' and 'i'/'j' has been modernised along with the words' spelling – the grapheme '-e' at the end of words has been kept only where useful to maintain the rhyme or poetic metre. Today archaic spellings such as 'doth' or 'hath' have been left unchanged.

Words in small caps have been written in lowercase;

terms in *italic* have been kept in the same font style, while **bold** has been used to emulate the blackletter – originally used in both witnesses for the poem in “That it is good to be in debt”.

The same criteria have been applied also to modernise the author’s notes included in this edition as footnotes.

The critical apparatus, where present, has been integrated with the main text: the layout of each page displays a portion of the text, followed by the relevant variants and explanatory footnotes. Each variant is presented according to the following pattern:

3 truly A⁵] truely B⁵

where the first number indicates the line where it occurs in the modernised text, witness A is the 1616 edition and witness B is the 1617 one. In case of two variants occurring in the same line, they have been separated by a blank space; otherwise they are divided by a semicolon.

The Praise of King Richard the Third

That princes are naturally ambitious, and that ambition makes them to effect their desires, rather than to affect the equity of their designs, may more truly than safely be avowed. For all of them, I think, were the record of their actions indifferent, might be taxed of this vice. But this excuse clears not the accused; yet it testifies that princes err against nature, if they aspire not. We hold (not without reason) that if the bill of the plaintiff¹ be stuffed with frivolous assertions, that the complaint savoureth more of malice than of wrong. Why should not the same axiom be a motive to clear this wronged Prince, whose accusers lay to his charge the anguish his mother felt

5
10

PRAYSE A] PRAISE B; 3 truly A⁵] truely B⁵; 8 We A¹¹] Wee B¹⁰;
9 bee A¹²] be B¹²; 11 bee A¹⁴] be B¹⁴; 13 Mother A¹⁶] mother B¹⁶

¹ “The party that brings a suit in a court of law; a complainant, a prosecutor. Opposed to *defendant*.” (*OED* n., 1a) The term “bill” here refers to the written statement of a case pleaded by the plaintiff in court.

when he came into the world? Than which accusation what can be more frivolous, it being a punishment hereditary to all women, from the first? His being toothed as soon as born, seems to me rather a blessing than any imputation, as being a presage of his future worthiness, and as all nurses will confess, an ease of much pain and danger.² But he was crook-backed,³ lame,⁴ ill-shapen, ill-favoured.⁵

² Cornwallis's main source seems to be Thomas More's biography of Richard III. Indeed his *History of Richard the Third* begins as follows: "Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage equal with either of them, in body and prowess far under them both, little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crookbacked, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard-favored of visage, and such as is in states called warly in other men, otherwise. He was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth, ever froward. It is for truth reported that the Duchess his mother had so much ado in her travail that she could not be delivered of him uncut, and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be born outward; and (as the same fame runneth) also not untoothed: whether men of hatred report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, which in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed." (Cited from Nina Levine, 2011, *Richard III: Evans Shakespeare Edition*, Wadsworth: Cengage Learning, 213) Shakespeare gives a similar description of Richard in his *Henry VI, part III*: "Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain, / And, yet brought forth less than a mother's hope, / To wit, an indigested and deformed lump, / Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree. / Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born, / To signify thou camest to bite the world: / And, if the rest be true which I have heard, / Thou camest—" (5.6.3044-51).

³ The term is similar to "hunchbacked".

⁴ I. e. disabled in a limb.

⁵ "Having a bad or unpleasing appearance, aspect, or features; ill-looking, uncomely. (Chiefly of persons)." (*OED* adj., 2.a)

I might impute that fault to Nature, but that I rather think it her bounty:⁶ for she, being wholly intensive⁷ to his mind, neglected his form, so that she infused a straight mind in a crooked body, wherein she showed her careful providence. For oftentimes, the care to keep those parts well formed withdraws men's minds from better actions and drowns them in effeminate curiosity. His lameness turned to his glory; for with those imperfect limbs, he performed actions most perfectly valiant.

How rightly his father *a*⁸ claimed his brother *b*⁹ obtained the sceptre is sufficiently known,¹⁰ and therefore superfluous and impertinent: and also how his brother dused¹¹ his right, (if right) by abrogating the oath, which he swore at York, that his coming in arms was only for that dukedom. *c*¹² But to dilate how variable and inconstant the people of those

23 thinke A²⁶] think B²⁵; 24 flee A²⁷] fle B²⁷; 25 minde in a crooked bodie A²⁸] mind in a crooked body B²⁷; 30 limmes, hee A³⁴] limbes he B³²; 36 he A⁴⁰] hee B³⁸; 37 only A⁴¹] onely B³⁹

⁶ Act of generosity.

⁷ "Devoting earnest attention or pains; paying regard or attention; attentive, heedful, assiduous, intent." (*OED* adj., 1)

⁸ "a Rich. D. of York, father of Edw. the fourth, George D. of Clarence and Rich. the third." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁹ "b Edw. E. of March, eldest son of R. D. of York, after K. by the name of Edw. the fourth." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰ Edward IV gained the throne in 1461 on the death of his father in battle after Richard of York challenged the rule of Henry VI.

¹¹ To dusk: "figurative. To obscure, darken, cloud, sully". (*OED* v., 2.2b)

¹² "c For the dukedom of York, as his right, from his father D. of York." [Cornwallis's own note]

times were, shall be more necessary and effectual
 that knowing their inconstancy, their traditions (like 40
 themselves) may the less be believed: so light-head-
 ed, so foolish, so irreligious, as their opinion (for
 what else are the thoughts of ignorance but opinion)
 made them break their oath to their Prince, *d*⁴³ and to
 such a Prince as they did not shame to dislike, only 45
 because he was too good. Him they abandoned, de-
 posed, after restored; not as desiring (being guilty of
 their own fault), but only that it stood with the lik-
 ing of *Warwick*⁴⁴ the child of their love. If then they 50
 were such (as indeed they were) and that those rela-
 tions we have must come from that people, it were
 better (I think) to bury their traditions than refute
 their objections, were not our age, apt to err, infect-
 ed with this folly.

For his brother *K. Edward*: *f*⁴⁵ though his vices 55
 seem not to add virtues to this condemned Prince,
 yet questionless they do; making all his ill-estim-
 ated actions of another nature. He obtained the crown,

40 inconstancie A⁴⁴] inconstancy B⁴²; 41 bee A⁴⁵] be B⁴³; 43 opinion) A⁴⁸] opinion?) B⁴⁶; 49 child A⁵⁴] childe B⁵¹; 50 (as indeede A⁵⁵] as (indeede B⁵²; 57 doe A⁶²] do B⁵⁹; 58 Hee A⁶³] He B⁶⁰

¹³ “d *K. Henry the sixth*.” [Cornwallis’s own note] King of England and France (as Henry II), he was deposed by Edward IV during the Wars of the Roses. He was restored to the throne few years after but lost the power again and was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

¹⁴ “e *Rich. Neville, Earl of Warwick, surnamed the King-maker*.” [Cornwallis’s own note] One of the leaders during the Wars of the Roses, he is known for his role of arbiter of the royal power switching side from Yorkist to Lancastrian.

¹⁵ “f *K. Edward the fourth*.” [Cornwallis’s own note]

but rather fortunately than wisely, were not all wisdom thought folly, to which *Fortune* lends not success. For I think, Lust, or if you will term it Love, could not more have prevailed with the most licentious creature than at once to break the bonds of amity, discretion and policy, and all to enjoy a woman, in respect of his height, base¹⁶: a widow, g¹⁷ and of his enemy, without bringing him either alliance, or riches; props¹⁸ most pertinent to his new-erected buildings. Wherein, besides his breach of regal discretion, with his chiefest friend the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he had sent into *France* to treat of marriage between him and the Lady *Bona*, h¹⁹ (wherein being deluded, he became his mortallest enemy) his abuse to God was more abominable; being before betrothed²⁰ (as his own mother constantly affirmed) to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*: in testimony whereof he had laid such earnest, i²¹ as should have bound any common man, much more a King, to performance. How soon

59 wifedome A⁶⁵] wifedom B⁶¹; 65 heighth A⁷⁰] height B⁶⁷; 67 proppes A⁷²] props B⁶⁸; 70 to treat A⁷⁶] to treat B⁷²; 72 hee A⁷⁷] he B⁷³; 75 testimony A⁸¹] testimonie B⁷⁷ hee had layde A⁸¹] he had laid B⁷⁷

¹⁶ "Low in the social scale; not noble, low-born; relating or belonging to the lower social classes. Now chiefly *hist.*" (*OED* adj., 7.6b)

¹⁷ "g Lady Eliz. Gray, widow of sir John Gray Knight, afterward married to K. Edward the fourth." [Cornwallis's own note] John Gray of Groby was a minor supporter of the House of Lancaster.

¹⁸ I. e. support.

¹⁹ "h Lady Bona, niece to the French King Louis the eleventh and daughter to Louis D. of Savoy." [Cornwallis's own note]

²⁰ "Engaged for marriage." (*OED* adj., 2.1)

²¹ "i For he had got her with child." [Cornwallis's own note]

the wrath of God followed this his irreligious inconstancy, his being driven from the *Seat-Royall*²² into exile; the birth of his son in a sanctuary,²³ (having no place else of freedom in his father's kingdom); the misery of all his partakers sufficiently testify. In which general misery, who did more truly follow him? Who more faithfully aided him than his now disgraced brother? Whereas his other brother *Clarence* not only left him but joined in marriage with the daughter of his principal enemy and helped to expulse him: with what love, what constancy, his endeavours, his adventuring his life to restore him doth witness.

Never was he noted all the life of K. *Edward* to thirst after kingdom; never denied he any commandment of his Prince, but performed all his employments discreetly, valiantly, successfully. The suspi-

83 misery A⁸⁹] miserie B⁸⁴ truly A⁹⁰] truly B⁸⁵; 86 onely A⁹²] only B⁸⁷; 88 constancy A⁹⁵] constancie B⁹⁰; 92 denyed hee A⁹⁹] denied he B⁹³; 93 employments A¹⁰¹] imployments B⁹⁴

²² I.e. the throne.

²³ Edward V was born in Westminster Abbey, where the Queen Elizabeth (Woodville) took shelter while the King was in exile.

²⁴ "k George D. of Clarence, second brother of K. Ed. the 4." [Cornwallis's own note]

²⁵ "1 He married Isabell, daughter of Richard Neville Earl of Warwick." [Cornwallis's own note]

²⁶ In both the 1616 and 1617 editions we find the archaic form "holpe", past tense of "to help".

cion of helping his brother *Clarence* to *m*²⁷ his end, 95
 was but a suspicion, since the King's old displeasure
 awaked by a new prophesy²⁸ was undoubtedly the
 cause; if otherwise (when he after repented him) he
 would have misliked of *Gloucester*, it being natural
 to sin; but unnatural, to ease others of their crimes. 100
 For the killing of the heir of the house of *Lancaster* at
Tewksbury, *n*²⁹ (if so) seems to me rather the effect of
 love to his brother than cruelty to the Prince: for he
 was an enemy, yea, the chief and principal enemy of
 the contrary faction. Yet it cannot be proved the ac- 105
 tion of *Richard*, but that it was an act wished by the
 King to be done, and executed in both their presenc-
 es, by the Duke of *Clarence*, the *Marquess Dorset*, the
 Lord *Hastings* and others.

96 kings A¹⁰³] Kings B⁹⁷; 102 *Tewksburie* A¹⁰⁹] *Tewksburie* B¹⁰³ mee A¹¹⁰]
 me B¹⁰³; 103 *crueltie* A¹¹¹] *cruelty* B¹⁰⁴; 105 *contrarie* A¹¹³] *contrary* B¹⁰⁶;
 108 *Marqueße* A¹¹⁶] *Marqueffe* B¹⁰⁹

²⁷ "m *He was drowned in a malmsey butt in the Tower.*" [Cornwallis's own note] He was imprisoned, put to trial and sentenced to death for treason against his brother King Edward IV, but his death is still surrounded by mystery.

²⁸ According to the prophecy that circulated at the time, someone whose name started with "G" would kill King Edward. He imprisoned and executed George, Duke of Clarence, instead of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The prophecy was reported by several historians and cited also by Shakespeare in his *Richard III*: "This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up, / About a prophecy, which says that 'G' / Of Edward's heirs the murder shall be." (1.1.30-41).

²⁹ "n *Edw. Prince of Wales, son of K. Henry the 6. slain after the battle of Tewkesbury.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

The death of *Henry o*³⁰ the 6. in the Tower, can 110
 no way belong to him, since the same reason that
 cleareth his brother, fitteth him: he being able, if de-
 siring his death, to have effected it by a more un-
 worthy hand. And indeed this accusation hath no
 other proof than a malicious affirmation. For many 115
 (more truly) did suppose that he died of mere mel-
 ancholy and grief, when he had heard of the over-
 throw of his friends, and slaughter of his son.³¹ But
 if it were true, though it spots him with blood, yet
 it confirms his love to his Prince; which love was so 120
 coldly requited³² as might have moved a true lover of
 rewards more than of virtue to have altered his en-
 deavours, whether it were a jealousy of the nobili-
 ty of his blood, or of the height of his spirit, whether
 the abundance of affection to be led by a woman, or 125
 that he was defective in all brotherly affection, cer-
 tain it is, he rather employed him than rewarded his
 employments. Contrary, the Queen's kindred, daily
 to rise, merely without desert, but that they were of
 her kindred; and their baseness being thus sudden- 130
 ly exalted, not only to pluck from him promotions,

110 *Henrie* A¹¹⁸] *Henry* B¹¹¹; 112 *hee* A¹²⁰] *he* B¹¹³; 114 *vnworthy* A¹²¹] *vnworthie* B¹¹⁴; 116 *truely* A¹²⁴] *truly* B¹¹⁷ *hee dyed* A¹²⁴] *he died* B¹¹⁷
melancholie A¹²⁵] *melancholy* B¹¹⁷; 117 *he* A¹²⁵] *hee* B¹¹⁸; 121 *mooued* A¹³⁰] *moued* B¹²²; 122 *indeauors* A¹³¹] *endeauours* B¹²³; 125 *bee* A¹³⁴] *be* B¹²⁶;
 128 *daylie* A¹³⁷] *dayly* B¹²⁹; 130 *fuddenly* A¹³⁹] *fodainly* B¹³¹

³⁰ "o *The death of Henry the 6. in the Tower.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³¹ Shortly after the battle of Tewkesbury, defeated and imprisoned, Henry VI died in the Tower of London.

³² I. e. paid for, rewarded.

due to his deserts, but to envy the Duke, and contend with him; how insupportable it must be to so magnanimous a spirit, whose memory bears witness of their unworthiness, his own worth, any like spirit it may imagine. 135

Thus continued this unequal contention, until the King, sent for before the great ^{a33} King of Kings, to make an account of his greatness, left his body, to testify the world's folly in contending for worlds; 140 when one little part of the earth must contain them. ^{b34} His successor at that time very young was wholly possessed by the mother's blood, whom the ^{c35} now Protector had great reason to fear, being ever his mortal enemy, and now most strong, by being 145 most nearly allied to this Prince. Therefore jealous of his own preservation, of the safety of the common weal,³⁶ and of the ancient Nobility, with great reason and justice he executed them, whom, if he had suffered to live, were likely enough to have been the destruction of him, it, and them. But the deed accomplished, stirred up no little fear in the Queen Mother, 150 and her faction: for the Queen's taking sanctuary

132 and A¹⁴⁰] & B¹³³; 134 magnanimous A¹⁴³] magnanimous B¹³⁴ memorie A¹⁴³] memory B¹³⁵; 139 greatnes A¹⁴⁸] greatnesse B¹³⁹; 141 contain A¹⁵⁰] containe B¹⁴¹; 142 successor A¹⁵¹] successor B¹⁴² yong A¹⁵¹] young B¹⁴²; 147 own A¹⁵⁶] owne B¹⁴⁷ safety A¹⁵⁶] safetie B¹⁴⁷; 149 hee A¹⁵⁸] he B¹⁴⁹; 152 Queen-Mother A¹⁶¹] Queene-Mother B¹⁵²

³³ "a *The death of K. Ed. the 4.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³⁴ "b *King Edward, Prince of Wales, son to K. Ed. the 4.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³⁵ "c *Richard D. of Gloucester made Protector.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³⁶ I. e. the common well-being.

with her younger son *d*³⁷ *Richard Duke of York*, with-
 out any cause that he knew, drove *Gloucester* to sup- 155
 pose that they doubted of their right, and put him in
 possibility of obtaining his own: wherein by ambi-
 tious *e*³⁸ *Buckingham* he was assisted, who then re-
 lated³⁹ to him afresh the unlawful marriage of his
 brother, that being unlawful, consequently his chil- 160
 dren were bastards, and so undoubtedly the crown
 was lawfully his; to which discourse he annexed pro-
 testations of furtherance. Though perhaps an earth-
 ly spirit would not have been moved with these mo-
 tives, but rather have desired safety than sover- 165
 eignty: yet in a true heroic spirit, whose affect is
 aspiring, they could not but be embraced, using the
 wings of *Time*, to bring him to that height. Be not
 obstinate (*Mortality*) against this claiming axiom,
 for hourly you commit worser errors, more grovel- 170
 ling, more base. Were it not common, every day's is-
 sue, it were admirable to note the impudence of man,
 who at this instant condemns actions, which him-
 self would instantly accomplish, were he permitted
 by occasion. The Queen Mother's fear, his own right, 175
Buckingham's aid and his own jealousy to erect a

155 hee A¹⁶⁴] he B¹⁵⁵; 158 he A¹⁶⁷] hee B¹⁵⁸; 161 and A¹⁷⁰] & B¹⁶¹ Crowne
 A¹⁷¹] Crown B¹⁶¹; 162 hee A¹⁷²] he B¹⁶²; 163 furtherance. Though perhaps
 A¹⁷²] furtherance, though (perhaps) B¹⁶³; 164 beene mooued A¹⁷⁴] been
 moued B¹⁶⁴; 165 Soueraignty A¹⁷³] Soueraigntie B¹⁶³; 166 Heroick A¹⁷⁵]
 Heroicke B¹⁶⁶; 174 he A¹⁸⁴] hee B¹⁷⁴; 175 owne A¹⁸⁵] own B¹⁷⁵;
 176 ayd A¹⁸⁶] ayde B¹⁷⁶

³⁷ "d Richard *D. of York, younger son of Edward the 4.*" [Cornwal-
 lis's own note]

³⁸ "e Hen. Stafford *D. of Buckingham.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³⁹ Here in the sense of "give an account of". (*OED* v., 1.2a)

Prince, too young to govern himself, much less others, but was likely to be governed by his mother, and her kindred, the *Protector's* mortallest enemies, men of mean birth, not inured⁴⁰ to government, such as were likely to destroy the ancient *peers*, to fortify their new nobility, could not but draw a true discerning spirit, to favour himself, to protect the ancient nobility, to defend the people from being wasted and oppressed by the ambition and tyranny of new unexperienced statists, and to respect his own preservation, rather than others. For well he saw he could not live, unless he were a King; that there was no safety, but in sovereignty. Should I put thee in choice (condemning Reader) whether thou wouldst not be rather than be King; thou wouldst perhaps answer no: but that answer should proceed, rather from the knowledge of thy want of power to royalise thee than through the abundance of thy⁴¹ modesty. No, no, it is a desire befitting the most worthy desirer and were all men's affections so high, their actions would not prove so unworthy.

The *State* being thus in labour with innovation, the *Peers* in council about their Infant King's coro-

178 bee A¹⁸⁸] be B¹⁷⁸; 179 *Protectors* A¹⁸⁹] *Protectors* B¹⁷⁹; 184 Nobilitie A¹⁹³] Nobility B¹⁸⁴; 187 hee A¹⁹⁷] he B¹⁸⁷; 188 hee were a King; that A¹⁹⁸] he were a King; that B¹⁸⁸; 189 Soueraigntie A¹⁹⁹] Soueraignty B¹⁸⁹; 190 choyce A²⁰⁰] choyfe B¹⁹⁰; 194 ofthy A²⁰³] of thy B¹⁹⁴; 198 Innouation A²⁰⁹] innouation B¹⁹⁸

⁴⁰ I. e. accustomed.

⁴¹ Mistyped as "ofthy" in the 1616 edition, it was corrected in 1617.

nation,⁴² all busy, yet dissenting in their business; 200
 in a council held⁴³ at the Tower, *Hastings* Lord f⁴⁴
 Chamberlain was apprehended, and no sooner ap-
 prehended, but executed. The not leisurely proceed-
 ing by form of law, may seem to plead *Hastings*' in-
 nocence, the *Protector*'s cruelty. But they that con- 205
 sider the nature of the people of that time, apt to
 sedition, greedy of innovation, and likely to be glad
 of so pitiful a colour (for *Hastings* was a man grown
 very popular) will hold the *Protector* in that action
 very judicial and, if guilty of anything, of discretion, 210
 and policy. But could *Hastings* be innocent, whom g⁴⁵
Communes reporteth to be a pensioner of the French

204 pleade A²¹⁵] plead B²⁰⁴; 205 the *Protectors* crueltie A²¹⁶] the *Protectors*
 cruelty B²⁰⁵; 208 fo pittiful a color A²¹⁹] fo pittifull a colour B²⁰⁸;
 209 *Protector* A²²⁰] *Protector* B²⁰⁹; 212 *Cōmines* A²²³] *Communes* B²¹²

⁴² Edward V was only 12 years old. (John Cannon and Anne Har-
 greaves, 2009, "Edward V", *The Kings and Queens of Britain 2 rev. ed.*,
 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 242-3)

⁴³ In both the 1616 and 1617 editions we find the archaic form
 "holden".

⁴⁴ "f Wil. L. Hastings, *Chamberlain to Edward the 4.*" [Cornwallis's
 own note]

⁴⁵ "g Phil. de Communes, *Lord of Argenton in his History.*" [Corn-
 wallis's own note] Philippe de Communes, French historian, wrote six
 books on Louis XI and two on Charles VIII known as *Memoires*. In
 book VI, he writes: "This Lord Hastings was at that time high cham-
 berlain of England, an office of great reputation, and executed singly
 by one man. It was with great difficulty and solicitation that he was
 made one of the king's pensioners: [...] he allowed him a pension of a
 thousand crowns a-year." (W.M. Dowall, ed., 1817, *The Historical Mem-
 oirs of Philip de Comines Containing: The Transactions of Louis XI and
 of Charly VIII of France and of Edward IV and Henry VII of England*,
 London: W.M. Dowall, 318)

King, *Louis* the 11. the only subtle Prince of that
time? He, of all others, that most affected tyranny,
and was naturally the mortal enemy of this kingdom. 215
Or was he fit to be a statesman or counsellor, who
being corrupted by the bribes of an enemy, had dis-
suaded his master, the late King *Edward* the 4., from
assisting the oppressed Lady *a*⁴⁶ the heir of *Burgun-*
dy, against *Louis* the French King,⁴⁷ whereby that La- 220
dy was driven to seek aid elsewhere, who, otherwise,
was likely to have married with the Duke of *Clar-*
ence, or some other English Prince, and so to have
united that Dukedom to this Crown, to the eter-
nal benefit and security of both countries. Who glo- 225
ried in his private revenges, who not only enticed his
master, but accompanied him in all sensuality: who
in the deflowering of men's wives, *c*⁴⁸ and such oth-
er his unprincelike actions, was his perpetual atten-
dant, and sometimes (as it is thought) would begin 230

214 he A²²⁵] Hee B²¹⁴; 215 enemy of this kingdome. A²²⁶] enemi of this
Kingdome? B²¹⁵; 216 he A²²⁷] hee B²¹⁶ Statefman A²²⁷] States-man B²¹⁶;
217 beeing A²²⁸] being B²¹⁷; 221 to feek ayd elfewhere A²³²] to feeke ayde
elfe-where B²²¹; 226 onely A²³⁸] only B²²⁶

⁴⁶ "a Mary sole daughter and heir of Charles D. of Burgundy, after married to Maximilian the Emperor." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁴⁷ "King Louis XI of France contested the inheritance, claiming Burgundy and its possessions as a fief of the French crown; he seized Burgundy [...] with a view to Mary marrying his son Charles and so securing the inheritance for his successors." (Campbell and Gordon, ed., 2005, "Louis XI", *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, n. p.)

⁴⁸ "*c Shore's wife*." [Cornwallis's own note] This refers to Jane Shore, the mistress of Edward IV, whose marriage to William Shore was annulled.

to him? ^d⁴⁹ Doctor *Shaw*'s sermon not a little illustrates the malice of his accusers: for I think, no man that is discreet will imagine this Prince so indiscreet, as to have witness that he commanded that sermon and gave instructions what should be said. Then how do our chroniclers report it for truth, were not their malice greater than either their truth or their judgement? But they are *historians* and must be believed. 235

Alas, poor men, how would they be believed, whose greatest authorities (as a learned and honourable Knight⁵⁰ writeth) are built upon the notable foundation of hear-say? Men that have much aid to accord differing writers and to pick truth out of partiality. But it is not mentioned that *Shaw* ever executed this action, with alleging him to be the cause. It is likely indeed that *Shaw* being ambitious, gap- 240 245

235 bee said A²⁴⁷] be said B²³⁵; 240 honourable A²⁵³] honorable B²⁴⁰;
242 aide A²⁵³] ayd B²⁴²

⁴⁹ "d *Doct. Shaw Sermon at Paul's Cross*." [Cornwallis's own note] Shaw's sermon delivered in 1483 "was the first public exposition of the duke of Gloucester's claim to the throne". (John A. Wagner, 2001, "Shaw's Sermon (1483)", *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 249-50)

⁵⁰ "*Sir Philip Sidney in his defence of Poetry*." [Cornwallis's own note] Sidney writes: "The historian scarcely gives leisure to the moralist to say so much, but that he, loaded with old mouse-eaten records, authorizing himself for the most part upon other histories, whose greatest authorities are built upon the notable foundation of hearsay; having much ado to accord differing writers, and to pick truth out of partiality [...] denies, in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of virtue and virtuous actions is comparable to him". (Cited in William Harmon, 2005, *Classic Writings on Poetry*, New York: Columbia University Press, 125).

ing after⁵¹ preferment, supposing some such intent in the *Protector* (as he had a reaching head) was bold to set his *rhetoric* to sale, to publish his fancies: but seeing his hopes vanish into smoke, and his expectation deluded, seeing the *Protector* neither rewarded, nor regarded his *rhetoric*, he soon after languished and died: a just example to teach *theologians* so boldly to intermeddle with Princes' affaires, before they be commanded, for (doubtless) had the *Protector* set him a work, he would have paid him his hire. But if it were so, that he commanded the sermon (as that is yet unproved) was that an offence to make the people so publicly partakers of his right, yea, to prostitute his cause to their judgements? For charging his mother with adultery, was a matter of no such great moment, since it is no wonder in that sex and surely he had more reason to adventure her fame than his Kingdom, because of two evils it is wisdom to choose the least. If it were true, it was no injustice to publish it; and what could be expected from him, but true justice, who was so impartial, that he would not spare his own mother? If untrue; good faith, he was therein to⁵² blame, and her innocence the more mer-

248 *Protector* (as hee A²⁶¹] *Protector* (as he B²⁴⁸; 249 *Rethoricke* A²⁶²] *Rethorick* B²⁴⁹; 251 *Protector* A²⁶⁴] *Protector* B²⁵¹; 252 *Rhethorick* A²⁶⁵] *Rethorick* B²⁵²; 253 dyed A²⁶⁶] died B²⁵³; 255 be A²⁶⁸] bee B²⁵⁴ *Protector* A²⁶⁹] *Protector* B²⁵⁵; 256 hee A²⁶⁹] he B²⁵⁶; 257 commaunded A²⁷⁰] commanded B²⁵⁷; 263 he A²⁷⁶] hee B²⁶³; 265 chofe A²⁷⁸] chufe B²⁶⁵; 266 and what could be A²⁸⁰] and could be B²⁶⁶; 267 hee A²⁸¹] he B²⁶⁷; 268 mother A²⁸²] Mother B²⁶⁸

⁵¹ "To gape after or for (also †to gape at, †to gape upon): to be eager to obtain, to have a longing for (something)." (OED v., 2.4a)

⁵² In both editions mistyped as "too".

itorious; but certain it is, the people approved his 270
 right: for he was crowned *f*⁶³ with such consent, and
 so great applause both of *Peers* and people, that if we
 will judge by the outward behaviour (the only mark
 our judgments may or can level at) we must deter-
 mine them so contented, as no actions which might 275
 testify the satisfaction of their minds, were omitted⁵⁴:
 surely, if ever the unjudicial multitude did anything
 judicially, it was in receiving this Prince, whom his
 chief disgracers cannot but acknowledge for val-
 iant; then who was more meet to restrain domes- 280
 tic, to subdue foreign seditions? For these civil dis-
 sensions⁵⁵ had almost wasted and made desolate this
 populous nation: discreet he was and temperate (two
 so rare and excellent qualities, as he that truly pos-
 sesseth them, meriteth the possession of a diadem) 285
 for in these virtues, joined with that *cardinal* vir-
 tue *Fortitude* (whereof also he had a very large por-
 tion) consisteth the soul of *sovereignty*, which who-
 soever wanteth (be he a while never so powerful) his
 own greatness so crusheth him, that he forfeiteth all 290
 in a moment; most liberal he was, desiring rather to

272 we A²⁸⁷] wee B²⁷²; 276 omttted A²⁹¹] omitted B²⁷⁶; 283 discreete hee
 was A²⁹⁸] discreet he was B²⁸³; 284 and A²⁹⁹] & B²⁸⁴ hee A²⁹⁹] he B²⁸⁴;
 288 *Soueraignty* A³⁰³] *Soueraigntie* B²⁸⁸; 289 he A³⁰⁴] hee B²⁸⁹;
 290 he A³⁰⁵] hee B²⁹⁰; 291 moft A³⁰⁶] Moft B²⁹¹

⁵³ “f *The Coronation of K. Richard the third.*” [Cornwallis’s own note]

⁵⁴ In the 1616 edition mistyped as “omttted”, then corrected in 1617.

⁵⁵ The civil war between Lancaster and York lasted for more than 30 years.

want, than to suffer worth unrewarded, and this *lib-*
erality is the only true nurse, and fosterer of virtue;
 virtue unrewarded being insensible, our flesh be-
 ing governed, advised, yea mastered by our senses. 295
 This worthy, this princely ornament some calum-
 niators have sought in him to deface, alleging that
 his liberality to some proceeded from his extortion
 from others: but even those cannot deny him to have
 been politic and wise. Then is it likely that a Prince 300
 of his wisdom and policy could not discern between
 the worthy and unworthy? And to take from unde-
 servers, to bestow upon deservers, must be acknowl-
 edged a virtue.

He was neither luxurious, nor an *epicure*, not given 305
 to any riot, nor to excess, neither in apparel, nor
 play: for had he been touched with any of these vic-
 es, doubtless they which object lesser crimes would
 not have omitted these: then (without question) he
 was largely interested in virtues (their contraries), 310
 but those (through malice) are either not registered,
 or (if registered) so infamed,⁵⁶ as if all his virtues had
 a vicious intent: yet to acknowledge the virtues of
 the vicious, in such a right, that what *historian* will-
 ingly omitteth them, therein becometh vicious him- 315

293 vertue A³⁰⁸] Vertue B²⁹³; 295 worthy A³¹¹] worthie B²⁹⁵; 297 alleaging
 A³¹²] alleadging B²⁹⁷; 299 deny A³¹⁴] denie B²⁹⁹; 300 been A³¹⁵] beene B²⁹⁹;
 303 to bestowe A³¹⁸] to beftow B³⁰³ bee A³¹⁹] be B³⁰³; 304 Vertue A³¹⁹]
 vertue B³⁰⁴; 306 riot A³²¹] ryot B³⁰⁶; 310 hee A³²⁵] he B³¹⁰ contraries)
 A³²⁶] contraries:;) B³¹⁰

⁵⁶ Archaic: "Made or become infamous; branded with infamy."
 (OED adj., 2.2a)

self. But in all that I have hitherto among the⁵⁷ vulgar observed:

*Culpatur factum, non ob aliud, quam exitum:*⁵⁸
 they approve, or disprove all things by the event;
 which though sometimes it proveth like the cause, 320
 yet it is more often governed by the will of the di-
 vine providence. And surely, but that the gracious
 goodness of God, to manifest the weakness of hu-
 man policy, overthrew his designs, took from him his
 kingdom;⁵⁹ and contrary either to man's hope, or our 325
 merit, united by a blessed and happy conjunction *a*⁶⁰
 the two dissenting factions, to the true establishing
 of sweet peace and prosperity of this desolate king-
 dom: for, otherwise, had he lived to have left issue to
 have succeeded him, such might have been his and 330
 their merits, that *Fame* would have been no more in-
 jurious to him than to his predecessors, the fourth
Henry and *Edward*, whose reigns were polluted with

316 tee A³³²] the B³¹⁷; 319 they A³³⁴] They B³¹⁹; 320 sometimes A³³⁵] fomtimes B³²⁰; 323 weakneffe A³³⁸] weaknes B³²³; 324 policy A³³⁹] policie B³²³; 325 Kingdome A³⁴⁰] kingdome B³²⁴ either A³⁴⁰] eyther B³²⁵; 328 sweete peace and prosperity A³⁴³] fweet peace & prosperitie B³²⁸; 331 been A³⁴⁷] beene B³³¹; 332 Predeceffors A³⁴⁸] predeceffors B³³²; 333 reignes A³⁴⁹] raignes B³³³

⁵⁷ Typed as "tee" in the 1616 edition, it was corrected in 1617.

⁵⁸ Line from Gerolamo Cardano's *Neronis Encomium*, which appeared for the first time in 1562. Cornwallis might have used it as a model for his own encomium.

⁵⁹ He was defeated in battle by Henry Tudor, who became king as Henry VII.

⁶⁰ "a *The two dissenting factions of York and Lancaster, united by the marriage of Henry the seventh to Eliz. the eldest daughter to Edw. the fourth.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

much more royal blood: for he omitted nothing, that
in wisdom, or true policy might secure himself, or
establish peace, or good laws in this kingdom. 335

His statutes are extant; what can be found in
them not becoming a King? What, not befitting the
service of God? The worship of religion? The good
of his country? Yea, I have heard of some, account- 340
ed both good lawyers and good statistes, that in those
three years of his government, there were more good
statutes for the weal-public enacted than in 30 years
before. He was no taxer of the people, no oppressor
of the commons, though he came to manage an es- 345
tate whose treasure was exceedingly exhausted; no
suppressor of his subjects, to satisfy either licentious
humours, or to enrich light-headed flatterers. But
(alas) who robs virtue, but ingratitude, detraction,
and malice? What a curse is it to *mortality*, that no 350
fashion of life, no merits, no regards can free Princ-
es from discontentments in their life, and infamy af-
ter death? Who is it that hears of anyone so endued,
so loaded with virtues, that judgeth him not happy?
Yet he is defamed; and by whom? Even by those, for 355
whom he cared, laboured, and omitted nothing that
might profit, committed nothing that might preju-
dice them.

334 royal bloud A³⁴⁹] Royall blood B³³⁴; 335 wifedome A³⁵⁰] wifdome B³³⁵;
336 Kingdome A³⁵²] kingdome B³³⁶; 340 Countrie? yea A³⁵⁶] Country? Yea
B³⁴⁰; 342 yeares A³⁵⁸] years B³⁴²; 343 inacted A³⁶⁰] enacted B³⁴³ yeares
A³⁶⁰] years B³⁴³; 345 Cōmons A³⁶¹] Commons B³⁴⁵; 348 humors A³⁶⁴]
humours B³⁴⁸; 349 robbes A³⁶⁵] robs B³⁴⁹; 350 and A³⁶⁶] & B³⁴⁹;
356 hee A³⁷³] he B³⁵⁶; 357 committed A³⁷⁴] cōmitted B³⁵⁷

This, the charge and commandment that he gave
 presently after his coronation, to the Lords and Gen- 360
 tlemen (whom he sent home into their countries)
 that they should in their countries see justice du-
 ly administered and impartially (that no wrong, nor
 extortion should be done to his subjects) doth testi-
 fy; this, his laws, and all his actions approve: yet nei- 365
 ther the care of his country, his laws, nor actions, are
 thought to be sufficient to plead his equity and inno-
 cence, for malicious credulity rather embraceth the
 partial writings of indiscreet chroniclers and witty
 play-makers,⁶¹ than his laws and actions, the most in- 370
 nocent and impartial witnesses.

It is laid to his charge (as a main objection) that
 he was ambitious; let us examine the truth of this ac-
 cusation. Was he ambitious, who was only content
 with the limits of his own country, who sought to be 375
 rather famous for instituting of good laws, than for
 achieving great conquests? No, no, he wanted noth-
 ing to make him an accomplished Prince, but that he
 was not ambitious enough: for had he imitated that
 worthy King *Henry* the 5. who, in a like unsettled es- 380

359 hee A³⁷⁶] he B³⁵⁸; 360 coronation A³⁷⁷] Coronation B³⁵⁹; 361 duly A³⁸⁰] duely B³⁶²; 364 bee A³⁸¹] be B³⁶³; 365 neither A³⁸³] neyther B³⁶⁵;
 366 Country A³⁸³] Countrey B³⁶⁵; 367 pleade his equity and innocency A³⁸⁵] plead his equitie and innocencie B³⁶⁶; 370 lawes A³⁸⁸] Lawes B³⁶⁹;
 373 hee A³⁹¹] he B³⁷²; 375 his own Countrey, A³⁹³] his owne Country? B³⁷⁴
 bee A³⁹⁴] be B³⁷⁵; 376 Lawes A³⁹⁵] lawes B³⁷⁵; 379 that worthie King
Henrie A³⁹⁸] that worthy King *Henry* B³⁷⁹; 380 vnsettled A³⁹⁹] vnfetled B³⁷⁹

⁶¹ Besides Shakespeare, Richard III had been the subject of several plays, including Thomas Legge's 1579 *Richardus Tertius* and the anonymous *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, published in 1594.

tate, led out the Nobility and people, to make wars
upon foreign enemies, to make conquest of France,
and to imbrue⁶² their warlike swords (lately blood-
ied against one another)⁶³ in the blood and bowels of
strangers: he might (perhaps) have had a fortunate 385
success, for he wanted not the like title, he was no
less valiant, no less politic. So might he have re-con-
quered that kingdom, and those territories, which by
the pusillanimity of some of his predecessors were
given away, and lost, and (peradventure)⁶⁴ so busied 390
that stirring heads of the nobility and people, that
they should have had no leisure to think upon any
innovation or part-taking at home: so might he hap-
pily have secured himself, and enlarged the bounds
of his conquests beyond any of his ancestors. What 395
lets or obstacles could hinder him from those glori-
ous enterprises? His subjects were warlike, trained
up in arms; somewhat too much exercised in blood,
because it was in their own. His neighbours, the
French, were governed by *b*⁶⁵ a king, who had some 400
policy, but so little valour, that he would rather yield

381 Nobility A⁴⁰⁰] Nobilitie B³⁸⁰ warres A⁴⁰⁰] wars B³⁸⁰; 383 Warlike
A⁴⁰²] warlike B³⁸²; 384 and A⁴⁰³] & B383; 385 strangers: he A⁴⁰⁴] strangers,
he B³⁸³; 386 For A⁴⁰⁵] for B³⁸⁵; 387 hee A⁴⁰⁶] he B³⁸⁶; 390 loft, & A⁴⁰⁹] loft;
and B³⁸⁹; 391 Nobility A⁴¹⁰] Nobilitie B³⁹⁰; 392 leysure A⁴¹¹] leasure B³⁹¹; 394
and A⁴¹³] & B³⁹³; 399 neighbours A⁴¹⁹] neighbors B³⁹⁸; 400 king A⁴²⁰] King
B³⁹⁹; 401 yeild A⁴²¹] yeeld B⁴⁰⁰

⁶² I.e. to stain.

⁶³ This refers to the internal political conflicts during the reign of Henry IV, such as the rebellion of Henry Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland and his son.

⁶⁴ I. e. perhaps.

⁶⁵ "b *Louis the 11.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

to any capitulation, than hear the sound of an adversary drum. So that his people, being unured⁶⁶ to wars, were easily to be conquered by that nation, which had so often beaten them in the height of their daring. 405

The Scots, their colleagues, he had already been victorious over: his name among them was grown terrible. For in the time of his brother he won from them many castles and holds. But principally he conquered ^c⁶⁷ Berwick, the chief and principal town upon their frontiers, a piece of special importance, either to make easy our entrance into that kingdom or to keep them from invading ours. So that I cannot justly accuse him of any crime so much, as that his ambition stretched not far enough. To justify his adversaries' accusation, in this time chanced the death 410 415

402 aduerfarie A⁴²²] aduerfaries B⁴⁰¹; 404 warres A⁴²³] wars B⁴⁰² Nation A⁴²⁴] nation B⁴⁰³; 407 he had already been A⁴²⁶] hee had already beene B⁴⁰⁵; 408 grown A⁴²⁷] growne B⁴⁰⁶; 409 Brother hee wanne A⁴²⁸] brother hee wan B⁴⁰⁷; 410 Castles, and Holds. But A⁴²⁹] Castles and Holds: but B⁴⁰⁸ he A⁴³⁰] hee B⁴⁰⁸; 411 Barwik A⁴³⁰] Barkwick B⁴⁰⁹ and A⁴³⁰] & B⁴⁰⁹ Towne A⁴³¹] towne B⁴⁰⁹; 413 kingdome, or to keep A⁴³³] kingdom, or to keepe B⁴¹¹

⁶⁶ Now obsolete: "Unaccustomed, unused". (*OED* adj., 2)

⁶⁷ "^c Berwick won from the Scots by Richard the third." [Cornwallis's own note] The possession of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the northernmost town in England, changed several times between England and Scotland: the last one when Richard invaded Scotland and retook it for England in 1482.

of his two young *d*⁶⁸ nephews in the Tower, whose deaths promising quiet to him, and wholly imposed upon him, how truly, I have reason to doubt, because 420
his accusers are so violent, and impudent, that those virtues (which in other men are embraced, for which they are esteemed as Gods) they impute to him rather to be enamellers⁶⁹ of vices, than really virtues: his humility they term secret pride; his liberality, prodigality; his valour, cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Yet in 425
these days, their partial opinions are thought to be of validity sufficient, to make proof of any imputation. But if it were so, that their deaths were by him contrived and commanded, the offence was to God, not 430
to the people: for the depriving them of their lives, freed the people from dissension. And how could he demonstrate his love more amply than to adventure⁷⁰

421 and A⁴⁴¹] & B⁴¹⁹; 424 His Humility A⁴⁴⁴] his Humilitie B⁴²³ pride: his Liberality, Prodigality A⁴⁴³] Pride: his Liberalitie Prodigalitie B⁴²³; 426 crueltie and bloudthirstineffe A⁴⁴⁶] Crueltie and bloodthirstineffe B⁴²⁴; 428 validitie A⁴⁴⁸] validity B⁴²⁶; 432 hee A⁴⁵³] he B⁴³¹

⁶⁸ “d *The death of Prince Edward, and Richard D. of York in the Tower.*” [Cornwallis’s own note] Known as “The Princes in the Tower”, “they were taken to the Tower of London by their uncle (the future Richard III) and are generally assumed to have been murdered, but whether at the instigation of Richard III or of another is not known; two skeletons discovered in 1674 are thought to have been those of the princes.” (“Princes in the Tower”, *Oxford Dictionary of English* 3 ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press)

⁶⁹ From “to enamel”: “*figurative*. To adorn magnificently; to impart an additional splendour to what is already beautiful; to embellish superficially”. (*OED* v., 1.1d)

⁷⁰ Here in the sense of “to risk”.

his soul for their quiet? But who knoweth, whether it were not God's secret judgement, to punish the father's transgression in the children? And if it be so, complain of their fate, not *Richard's* cruelty (for in these fatal things it falls out, that the high-working powers, make second causes unwittingly necessary to their determinations), yet, in policy, Princes never account competitors (how young so ever) innocent, since the least colour of right provokes innovating humours to stir up sedition, which (once kindled) threatens the subversion, both of Princes and subjects.

And if some wise and politic Princes have imprisoned, and put to death, such as have been reputed their heirs and successors, because some factious heads (weary of good government, and hoping for authority by alteration) have sought to establish them before their times (as commonly giddy-brained⁷¹ people do more reverence the sun's rising than his fall), had not King *Richard* great reason to deprive them of their lives, who were not to succeed him, but, in many men's judgements, had most right to be invested before him with the diadem? And (indeed) the removing such occasions of civil wars in a well-ruled commonwealth, is most prof-

436 Fathers A⁴⁵⁶] fathers B⁴³⁴; 445 Subiects A⁴⁶⁶] fubiects B⁴⁴³; 447 been A⁴⁶⁸] beene B⁴⁴⁵; 448 heires and fuceffors A⁴⁶⁹] Heires and Succeffors B⁴⁴⁶; 450 authority A⁴⁷¹] authoritie B⁴⁴⁸; 455 (but in many mens iudgements) A⁴⁷⁶] but (in many mens iudgments) B⁴⁵²; 456 to bee inuested A⁴⁷⁷] to be inuefted B⁴⁵³ Diademe A⁴⁷⁸] diadem B⁴⁵⁴; 457 remoouing A⁴⁷⁸] remouing B⁴⁵⁴; 458 warres A⁴⁷⁹] wars B⁴⁵⁵ Common-wealth A⁴⁷⁹] common-wealth B⁴⁵⁶

⁷¹ Giddy: "Mad, insane, foolish, stupid. *Obsolete*". (*OED* adj., 2.1a)

itable, most commendable; being no cruelty, but pity,
 a jealousy of their subjects, and a zealous regard of
 their own safeties. And (indeed) if we duly consid- 460
 er how much the duty we owe to a country exceeds
 all other duties, since in itself it contains them all,
 that for the respect thereof, not only all tender re-
 spects of kindred, or whatsoever other respects of 465
 friendship, are to be laid aside; but that even long-
 held opinions, (rather grounded upon a secret of
 government than any ground of truth) are to be for-
 saken: since the end, whereto anything is directed, is
 ever to be of more noble reckoning, than the thing 470
 thereto directed; that therefore the weal-public is
 more to be regarded than any person or magistrate
 that thereunto is ordained, the feeling consideration
 hereof moved King *Richard*, to set principally before
 his eyes the good estate of so many thousands, over 475
 whom he had reigned, rather than so to hoodwink⁷²
 himself with affection, as to suffer his realm to run
 to manifest ruin.

If any man shall object that his course was
 strange, and unlawful, let him know that new ne- 480

460 fubiects A⁴⁸¹] Subiects B⁴⁵⁸; 461 owne A⁴⁸²] own B⁴⁵⁸; 462 duely A⁴⁸³] duly B⁴⁵⁹ Countrey, exceeds A⁴⁸⁴] country exceeds B⁴⁶⁰; 466 layd A⁴⁸⁸] laid B⁴⁶³; 471 the weale publike A⁴⁹³] the weale-publike B⁴⁶⁹; 473 ordained, the A⁴⁹⁵] ordained: The B⁴⁷⁰; 474 King *Richard* A⁴⁹⁶] K. *Richard* B⁴⁷¹; 476 reigned A⁴⁹⁸] raigned B⁴⁷³; 477 Realm to run A⁴⁹⁹] Realme to runne B⁴⁷⁵; 480 vnlawfull: let A⁵⁰²] vnlawfull; let B⁴⁷⁷

⁷² “*figurative*. To blindfold mentally; to prevent (any one) from seeing the truth or fact; to ‘throw dust in the eyes’ of, deceive, humbug”. (OED v., 3.3)

cessities require new remedies;⁷³ and for him there was no remedy, but this one. Then if for this action he ought to be condemned, it is for indiscretion in the managing; for as safely might he have had the realm's general consent, in disposing of their lives, as of their kingdom. Had he held a secret execution best, he might have effected it more secretly: but he rather chose a middle way, content to let the people know it, holding their knowledge equal with their consents. And it should seem, the people (though they were at that time very factious) yet approved thereof: for we find not that in any action, either inward or outward, they showed any dislike. And (truly) such is the difference between the thoughts, the actions, the dispositions of princes and subjects, that I hold no subject sufficiently judicial to censure them: their courses so unlike, that what is meet, expedient⁷⁴ in a Prince, in a lower fortune is utterly unmeet, inexpedient. Therefore let no servile condition adventure to condemn them, since all such eyes lose their faculty, if they but gaze against the sun of Majesty. It is sufficient for us to know how to obey; this Nature commandeth and exacteth of us, but to search into the actions of our commanders, dilates more curiosity, than honesty – Nay, though

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484 hee A⁵⁰⁶] he B⁴⁸¹; 486 kingdome A⁵⁰⁸] Kingdome B⁴⁸² hee A⁵⁰⁸] he B⁴⁸³; 488 hee A⁵¹⁰] he B⁴⁸⁴; 494 between the thoughts, the actions, A⁵¹⁷] betweene the thoughts and actions, B⁴⁹¹; 496 subiect A⁵¹⁹] Subiect B⁴⁹²; 498 meete A⁵²⁰] meet B⁴⁹⁴; 501 facultie A⁵²⁴] faculty B⁴⁹⁷; 505 more curiofity, then honestie A⁵²⁸] more curiofitie then honesty B⁵⁰¹

⁷³ Verbatim from Sidney's *Arcadia* in a passage reminiscent of Machiavelli.

⁷⁴ I.e. suitable.

we would, we cannot: for our knowledge extends to
 things equal or inferior; those above us, in divinity,
 are comprehended only by faith; in terrene⁷⁵ matters
 (if superating⁷⁶ our estates) they are only snatched
 at by supposition. And this our laws approve, which 510
 appoint every man to be tried by his peers; shall
 then the head, the director of civil policy, the anoint-
 ed⁷⁷ Majesty of a King, be barred from the right al-
 lowed to subjects? No (surely), it is preposterous,
 most unlawful to condemn a king, if not found faulty 515
 by a *a*⁷⁸ Jury of Kings. Were man in his innocence,
 this advice were not lost: but being nuzzled⁷⁹ in mis-
 using of his malicious tongue, ever to condemn oth-
 ers, never to amend themselves, it is (as they will be
 for their abuse) perpetually lost; no more than for 520
 them.

Let us yet further clear this wronged Prince: it is
 constantly affirmed (say our chroniclers) that he first

506 we A⁵²⁹] wee B⁵⁰²; 507 diuinity A⁵³⁰] Diuinitie B⁵⁰⁴; 509 onely A⁵³²] only B⁵⁰⁶; 511 bee tried A⁵³⁴] by tryed B⁵⁰⁸ Peeres; fhall A⁵³⁵] Peeres: fhall B⁵⁰⁸; 512 anointed A⁵³⁶] annoynted B⁵⁰⁹; 514 fubiects A⁵³⁷] Subjects B⁵¹⁰; 515 king A⁵³⁸] King B⁵¹²; 516 Kings A⁵³⁹] kings B⁵¹²; 517 beeing A⁵⁴¹] being B⁵¹⁴; 523 Croniclars A⁵⁴⁷] Chroniclers B⁵¹⁹

⁷⁵ "Belonging to the earth or to this world; earthly; worldly, secular, temporal, material, human (as opposed to heavenly, eternal, spiritual, divine)." (*OED* adj., 1)

⁷⁶ I. e. surpassing, exceeding.

⁷⁷ I. e. consecrated.

⁷⁸ "a *A King not to be condemned, but by a Jury of Kings.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷⁹ "To train, educate, nurture (a person) in a particular opinion, habit, custom, etc." (*OED* v., 3.1a)

noised,⁸⁰ after, contrived the death of his wife: *b*⁸¹ and
 that it was bruited,⁸² before it was effected, there- 525
 by with her sorrows to confirm the report. This ev-
 idence they adjudge pregnant, and effectual enough
 to condemn him: did Fame never lie? What are more
 generally received for untruths than flying reports,
 seeing no creature sensible will give credit to Fame, 530
 or take her word, without a surety, whom they may
 assuredly know to be credible? But constantly (say
 our chroniclers) could their words be so constant,
 whose actions were the very stage of inconstancy,
 who opposed, deposed kings at their pleasure, and 535
 (to make sure to be no worse than they were) swore
 allegiance to two *c*⁸³ princes at once, and with both
 broke their oaths? But I will spend no more time, in
 proving the vanity of these chroniclers, since their
 own pen contradicts itself; first, showing the affec- 540
 tions of this people to be mutinous, and after, ap-
 proving them: for certain it is (but uncertain that
 the King caused it) that such a rumour there was,
 and that it made a great impression in the Queen,

524 wife A⁵⁴⁹] Wife B⁵²⁰; 527 pregnant, and A⁵⁵¹] pregnant & B⁵²³; 528 did
 A⁵⁵²] Did B⁵²⁴; 532 bee A⁵⁵⁷] be B⁵²⁸; 533 Croniclers A⁵⁵⁷] Chroniclers. B⁵²⁹
 could A⁵⁵⁸] Could B⁵²⁹ bee A⁵⁵⁸] be B⁵²⁹; 538 Othes A⁵⁶³] Oaths B⁵³⁴;
 539 Croniclers A⁵⁶⁴] Chroniclers B⁵³⁵; 541 pen A⁵⁶⁵] penne B⁵³⁶

⁸⁰ "To spread as a report; to report, rumour." (*OED* v., 2.2)

⁸¹ "b Anne Wife of K. Richard the 3., daughter of Ri. Neville E. of War. and widow of Prince Edward, son to Henry the 6." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁸² To bruit: "To spread as a report or rumour; to report." (*OED* v., 2.2b)

⁸³ "c To Henry the 6. and Edward the 4." [Cornwallis's own note]

deeming (as women are ever fearful) this prophetic- 545
cal relation to be the forerunner of her end: which
bewailing to her husband, he fought with all kind-
ness to remove that melancholy fantasy. What more
could he do to testify his love, to cure her passions?
But how absurd is it to think or imagine, that the 550
king contrived her death? Where, if he had pleased
to marry elsewhere (for that is made the cause) he
might and would have used a more safe means by
a divorce: did not the French king *Louis* the 12. (be-
cause *a*⁸⁴ his wife was barren, and crooked-backed) 555
sue a divorce, and obtained it from Pope *Alexander*
the sixth, and afterward by his dispensation married
with *Anne* Duchess of *Britain*, the widow of his pre-
decessor *Charles* the 8? Might not King *Richard* have
done the like: for he had the like cause (his wife be- 560
ing barren)⁸⁵ whereof he had often complained to
Rotherham then Archbishop of *York*? And the Popes
547 bewailing to her husband A⁵⁷²] bewayling to her hufband B⁵⁴³;
551 king A⁵⁷⁶] King B⁵⁴⁷ Where A⁵⁷⁶] where B⁵⁴⁷; 554 diuorce; did A⁵⁷⁹] diuorce. Did B⁵⁵⁰; 556 and A⁵⁸¹] & B⁵⁵²; 557 and A⁵⁸²] & B⁵⁵³ dispenfation A⁵⁸²] Dispenfation B⁵⁵³; 558 *Brittaine* A⁵⁸³] *Britaine* B⁵⁵⁴; 559 predeceffor A⁵⁸⁴] Predeceffor B⁵⁵⁵; 561 hee A⁵⁸⁶] he B⁵⁵⁷; 562 *Yorke* A⁵⁸⁸] *Yorke* B⁵⁵⁸

⁸⁴ “a *The wife from whom he was divorced, was Joan, daughter of Louis the 12. sister of Charles the 8. Gui. Lib. 4.*” [Cornwallis’s own note] There is a mistake in Cornwallis’s note as Joan was the second daughter of King Louis XI, his souce (Guicciardini) accurately reports: “perché sapeva il Re desiderare ardentemente di ripudiare Giovanna sua moglie sterile e mostruosa, e che quasi violentemente gli era stata data da Luigi undicesimo”. (Francesco Guicciardini, 1561, *L’Historia d’Italia*, Volume 1, Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 266)

⁸⁵ Richard III and Anne had only one child, Edward, who died at age 10.

of those times were not so nice conscienced⁸⁶ to deny Princes such requests, but were easily won thereunto, either by favour or rewards: therefore, that he contrived her death, was a slanderous, false and absurd accusation; but her *b*⁸⁷ time was come, which *Mortality* might sorrow, but sorrow might not prevent, Death being deaf to all human lamentations. 565

After her death, being desirous to reconcile himself to all such as held themselves offended (as at his coronation he had done with *Fogg*, a mean attorney who had highly offended him)⁸⁸ he laboured to win the one sort with benefits and rewards, and freely pardoned the others misbehaviours and offences: he had no cause to fear *Fogg*, therefore fear was not the cause. No, it was a worthy, a kingly humility, that would rather abate of his greatness, than 570 575

563 confcienced A⁵⁸⁹] confcioned B⁵⁵⁹; 566 false and A⁵⁹²] false, & B⁵⁶²; 569 beeing A⁵⁹⁴] being B⁵⁶⁵; 572 Attourney A⁵⁹⁹] Atturney B⁵⁶⁹; 573 he A⁵⁹⁹] hee B⁵⁶⁹; 574 win A⁶⁰⁰] winne B⁵⁷⁰; 575 misbehaiours A⁶⁰¹] misbehaviours B⁵⁷¹; 576 hee A⁶⁰²] He B⁵⁷² feare A⁶⁰³] Feare B⁵⁷³; 577 cause. No A⁶⁰³] cause: No B⁵⁷³ humility A⁶⁰⁴] humilitie B⁵⁷⁴

⁸⁶ "Having a conscience". (*OED* adj.)

⁸⁷ "b *The death of Anne wife of Richard the 3 and second daughter of Richard Neville Earl of Warwick.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁸⁸ In his *History of King Richard III*, Sir Thomas More reports that "he made an open proclamation that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and he there did openly pardon all offences committed against him. And to the intent that he might show a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fogge, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought then before him. Who, being brought out of the sanctuary nearby (for thither had he fled for fear of him) in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand." (Hilliard and Gray, eds., 1834, *Utopia: And History of King Richard III by Saint Thomas More*, Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 296)

to have it stained with the blood of so mean a vassal, for a crime committed against himself, yet was he guilty of counterfeiting his Royall hand and Signet, and of a most untrue and infamous libel:⁸⁹ therefore how falsely do our chroniclers seek to clear Collingborn, who was (as may appear by his inditement c⁹⁰) executed for treason against the state, nor for that rhyming, foolish, ridiculous libel? For neither they, nor any other can ever prove, that ever he revenged any injury whatsoever committed particularly against himself. For the good and safety of his kingdom and people, he was zealous, he was fervent: for, only for their peace, for their quiet, he was content to suffer his nearest kinsmen, his dearest friends to be executed; so now with the moth-

579 stained with the blood A⁶⁰³] stayned with the blood B⁵⁷⁵; 581 guilty A⁶⁰⁷] guiltie B⁵⁷⁷; 582 libell: therefore A⁶⁰⁹] libell. Therefore B⁵⁷⁹; 583 do our Croniclars A⁶⁰⁹] doe our Chroniclers B⁵⁷⁹; 584 inditement c) A⁶¹¹] Inditement) f B⁵⁸¹; 585 treason A⁶¹¹] Treafon B⁵⁸¹ fstate A⁶¹²] State B⁵⁸²; 586 libell? for neither A⁶¹³] Libell? for neyther B⁵⁸³; 587 prooue A⁶¹⁴] proue B⁵⁸⁴; 588 iniury A⁶¹⁴] iniurie B⁵⁸⁴; 589 he A⁶¹⁶] hee B⁵⁸⁶ hee A⁶¹⁷] he B⁵⁸⁷; 591 onely A⁶¹⁷] only B⁵⁸⁷; 593 mother Queene A⁶²⁰] mother-Queene B⁵⁹⁰

⁸⁹ "A leaflet, bill, or pamphlet posted up or publicly circulated; spec. one assailing or defaming the character of some person." (*OED* n., 4)

⁹⁰ "c Collingborn *executed for Treason, not libelling*." [Cornwallis's own note] William Collingborn, a landowner who conspired against Richard III, is credited for authoring the couplet "The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell our dog Rule all England under a hog", "referring to Sir William Catesby (d. 1485), Sir Richard Ratcliffe (d. 1485), Lord Lovell (1454–1487), whose crest was a dog, and King Richard III, whose emblem was a wild boar". (Elizabeth Knowles and Angela Partington, 1999, "William Collingbourne", *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 228)

er Queen he laboured reconciliation, he often solicit-
 ed it, at the last he effected it. This rare, this excellent 595
 work of *Christianity*, this true cognisance of a *reli-*
gious Queen, our *chroniclers* defame, and impute it to
 her as an horrible crime: such is the obstinate error
 of mankind, that, when hatred is by God absolute-
 ly prohibited, they dare say and maintain the con- 600
 trary: but (were not they thus corrupt, partial, gov-
 erned wholly by affection, not truth), their histo-
 ries would be the wisest guides, making men that are
 young in years, old in judgement, making experience
 most precious most cheap: for knowledge, judge- 605
 ment, and experience are dearly purchased, when
 we must wander into infinite errors, ere⁹¹ we can be
 perfect in our way; nay, they were most dear, were
 they had with no other expense, but growing old be-
 fore we enjoy them, waxing rotten, ere they grow 610
 ripe. The end and scope of this reconciliation was to
 unite himself in marriage with his *d*⁹² niece: a con-
 tract (no doubt) inconvenient and prohibited the *vul-*
gar; but amongst *statesmen* it is like to produce in-
 finite good, both to Prince and people. It is an incon- 615
 venience, most convenient, nothing strange, because

505 he A⁶²¹] hee B⁵⁹¹; 596 cognifance A⁶²³] cognizance B⁵⁹²; 598 fuch
 A⁶²⁵] Such B⁵⁹⁴; 605 moft precious) moft cheape A⁶³¹] moft precious, moft
 cheape B⁶⁰¹; 612 Neece A⁶³⁹] Niece B⁶⁰⁹; 614 *Statef-men* A⁶⁴¹] *States-men*
 B⁶¹¹; 615 incōuenience A⁶⁴³] inconuenience B⁶¹²

⁹¹ "Before". (OED prep., 2.1a)

⁹² "d *The Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to Edw. the fourth, after wife to Henry the seventh.*" [Cornwallis's own note] Rumours circulated after the death of Richard's wife Anne, that he would marry his niece.

usual and accustomed amongst princes: tolerated,
 yea allowed by their received oracle of divinity, the
Pope, who considering the cause, ordinarily dispen-
 seth with the *consanguinity*. It is granted that this 620
 desire of marriage was mentioned by this King, in
 respect of the public peace, to make satisfaction to
 the mother, in exalting the daughter, for the deject-
 ing⁹³ of the sons, and to avoid the effusion of much
 of the people's blood,⁹⁴ which was likely to be spilt, 625
 if his *niece* should marry elsewhere: as if (say our⁹⁵
chroniclers) the first could not be established, the lat-
 ter avoided without this *platform* of *policy*. No, had
 not God's secret working been beyond man's wis-
 est apprehension, it could not: for well he knew the 630
 head-strong obstinacy of this people could hard-
 ly be kept in awe by a man, therefore impossible to
 be restrained by children:⁹⁶ this made him dispossess
 them of their kingdom, and (peradventure) of their
 lives, for had they been suffered to live, they would 635
 ever have been the fire-brands of new seditions; and
 therefore he thought it more convenient, they should

618 diuinity A⁶⁴⁵] Diuinity B⁶¹⁵; 622 fatiffaction A⁶⁴⁹] satisfaction B⁶¹⁹;
 624 auoid A⁶⁵¹] auoide B⁶²¹; 626 Neece A⁶⁵³] Niece B⁶²² elfewhere A⁶⁵³]
 elfe-where B⁶²³ fayour *Chroniclers* A⁶⁵⁴] fay our *Chroniclers* B⁶²³;
 629 bin A⁶⁵⁶] beene B⁶²⁶; 631 obstinacy A⁶⁵⁸] obstinacie B⁶²⁷; 633 childē
 A⁶⁶⁰] children B⁶²⁹; 634 Kingdom, & A⁶⁶¹] Kingdome, and B⁶³⁰; 635 been
 A⁶⁶²] beene B⁵³¹

⁹³ Deject: "to overthrow". (*OED* v., 2.1a)

⁹⁴ Effusion of blood: bloodshed, slaughter. (*OED* n.)

⁹⁵ Written as "sayour" in the 1616 edition, it was corrected with
 "say our" in 1617.

⁹⁶ The two young Princes, Edward and Richard of York.

be quenched⁹⁷ with their own blood than with the blood of infinite numbers of the people; yet to make satisfaction for this wrong (if it were a wrong to deprive the disturbers of the common good), he was contended and much laboured to marry their sister, his niece; but he is therefore adjudged ill. Why? Because his accusers would be reputed good, though (without doubt) he was a good Prince, and they all, or the most part of all, evil, fantastic,⁹⁸ and seditious people. And even at this day, though the fortunate and successful government of our later Princes hath somewhat altered their natures and bettered their conditions; yet it were a less difficult quest to find one good man than many. But it pleased not the divine *ordainer of marriage* to permit that conjunction, but rather to set a *period*⁹⁹ at once to his kingdom and life.

About the time of the plotting of this marriage, the judicial *Buckingham*,¹⁰⁰ (not thinking himself sufficiently regarded) grew discontent, and got the

638 owne A⁶⁶⁵] oen B⁶³⁴; 639 infinit A⁶⁶⁶] infinite B⁶³⁵; 640 satisfaction A⁶⁶⁷] fatisfaction B⁶³⁶; 641 hee A⁶⁶⁸] he B⁶³⁸; 643 Neece: but he A⁶⁷⁰] Niece: but hee B⁶³⁹; 645 he A⁶⁷²] hee B⁶⁴¹; 648 & fucceffull A⁶⁷⁵] and fuccessefull B⁶⁴⁴; 649 fomwhat A⁶⁷⁶] fomewhat B⁶⁴⁵; 651 finde A⁶⁷⁷] find B⁶⁴⁷; 652 *Ordainer* A⁶⁷⁹] *ordainer* B⁶⁴⁸

⁹⁷ Cornwallis continues the metaphor that sees the two princes as “sparks, flames” to be “put out”.

⁹⁸ Here in the sense of “imaginative”.

⁹⁹ Here in the sense of “end”. Richard died defeated by Henry Tudor before the possible marriage.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Stafford, 2nd duke of Buckingham and ally to Richard III, is best known for Buckingham’s rebellion that took place in 1483 against the King.

Prince's favour to retire himself into the country;
 where (no doubt) his fantastic melancholy would
 soon have vanished (being a man more happy in the 660
 inheritance of his father than in the legacy of na-
 ture, discretion, or judgement) had not the prisoner
 corrupted the jailor: namely, *a*¹⁰¹ Moreton, Bishop of
 Ely (committed by King Richard to his custody) who
 finding this Duke discontented, more desirous to in- 665
 flame his grieves than to redress them, with his fiery
 wit so wrought upon the Duke's combustible mat-
 ter, that suddenly he brought him to kindle a fire of
 rebellion and to take up arms against his Sovereign:
 this K. Richard soon hearing, he prosecuted him as 670
 an enemy and so laboured (what by his own wis-
 dom, what by his especials)¹⁰² that within a while he
 took his head from *b*¹⁰³ his body, for being no better
 able to advise him in his proceedings: was it a fault
 to punish perjury¹⁰⁴ in him, who had sworn true al- 675
 legiance? Then, the executing of law is a sin; if so,
 let transgressors be accounted innocent, and mag-

661 Father A⁶⁸⁸] father B⁶⁵⁷; 662 iudgement A⁶⁸⁹] iudgment B⁶⁵⁸;
 668 suddenly A⁶⁹⁵] suddenly B⁶⁶³; 670 this A⁶⁹⁷] This B⁶⁶⁵; 671 wifedome
 A⁶⁹⁹] wifdome B⁶⁶⁷; 673 from *b* his body A⁷⁰⁰] from his *b* body B⁶⁶⁸;
 674 was A⁷⁰¹] Was B⁶⁷⁰; 676 law A⁷⁰³] Law B⁶⁷²

¹⁰¹ "a This Moreton was after in the reign of Henry the seventh
 Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal and Lord Chancellor of England."
 [Cornwallis's own note] John Morton, a fervent opponent to King
 Richard III.

¹⁰² From a corruption of the word *espial*, "spy" or "scout".

¹⁰³ "b The death of Henry Stafford D. of Buckingham beheaded at
 Shrewsbury." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰⁴ "The violation of a promise, vow, or solemn undertaking; a
 breach of oath." (OED n., 1b)

istrates and judges guilty of transgression. And had
 this been the action of some other Prince, it had been
 good, just, necessary; but being his, it is censured 680
 the contrary: so that sin is not sin, nor virtue ac-
 counted virtue, by their own natures or effects, but
 are made virtues or vices, by the love or hate that
 is born to the committer: such is our human under-
 standing, as they rather confound all things, than by 685
 distinguishing them to make choice of the worthiest;
 for let a nobleman be popular, if he have an ill face,
 it is termed warlike, his drunkenness is termed good
 fellowship, his slovenliness, humility, his prodigal-
 ity, liberality; thus is virtue suppressed, and forced 690
 with her own titles to adorn her mortallest adversar-
 ies. But, to return to our defamed King had not his
 mercy exceeded his cruelty, his safety had been bet-
 ter secured, and his name not so much subject to ob-
 loquy:¹⁰⁵ for though he cut off the head of a mighty 695
 conspirator, yet he suffered the conspiracy to take
 so deep root, that (in the end) the branches thereof
 overtopped his glory, and overshadowed his great-
 ness. c¹⁰⁶ For the Countess of *Richmond* labouring in
 her son's right, daily enticed and inveigled¹⁰⁷ many 700
 to be of her faction: to strengthen then which the

679 been A⁷⁰⁷] beene B⁶⁷⁵; 681 finne A⁷⁰⁸] fin B⁶⁷⁶; 686 choice A⁷¹³] choife
 B⁶⁸¹; 687 for A⁷¹⁴] For B⁶⁸²; 688 good fellowship, his flouenlinefs A⁷¹⁶] good-
 fellowship; his flouenlineffe B⁶⁸⁴; 690 thus A⁷¹⁷] Thus B⁶⁸⁵; 696 he A⁷²³] hee
 B⁶⁹¹; 699 c For A⁷²⁶] For c B⁶⁹⁴

¹⁰⁵ I. e. calumny.

¹⁰⁶ "c Margaret *Countess of Richmond, wife of* Thomas L. Stanley,
mother of K. Henry the seventh." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰⁷ "To blind in mind or judgement; to beguile, deceive, cajole. *Ob-
 solete.*" (OED v., 1)

more, it was plotted between the two mothers to
 join *a*¹⁰⁸ the two dissenting houses in unity, by *b*¹⁰⁹
 a marriage. This practice the King well knew; yet
 mercy, love, lenity so prevailed with him, that he
 only sought to prevent that conjunction by unit- 705
 ing his brother's daughter with himself and inflict-
 ed no other punishment on the Countess, but only
 the committing of her to the custody of her *c*¹¹⁰ hus-
 band. Would a cruel bloodthirsty prince have done 710
 so? Could anything have been performed with more
 mildness and lenity? Could he do less than let her
 understand that he knew her secretest practices?
 Surely, if he were an usurper (as that he could not be
 now, standing after the death of his nephews in the 715
 same rank, that *Edward* the fourth his brother did)
 yet his equity in justice, his mercy in pardoning of-
 fenders, his care of religion, his providence for the
 safety of the people, should and ought to have tem-
 pered the bitterness of his most malicious enemies, 720
 with no less merciful gentleness he used her hus-
 band, (and that) at such time as her son was already
 landed, and made claim to the kingdom: for he only

704 practice A⁷³¹] practife B⁶⁹⁹; 710 Husband A⁷³⁷] Hufband B⁷⁰⁴; 711 could
 A⁷³⁸] Could B⁷⁰⁶; 712 could he do A⁷⁴⁰] Could he doe B⁷⁰⁷; 716 brother A⁷⁴⁴]
 Brother B⁷¹¹; 720 enemies, with A⁷⁴⁸] enemies: With B⁷¹⁵; 722 husband
 A⁷⁴⁹] Hufband B⁷¹⁷; 723 kingdome: for hee A⁷⁵¹] Kingdome: for hee B⁷¹⁸

¹⁰⁸ "a Q. Elizabeth mother to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the fourth, and Marg. Coun. of Rich. mother to Henry the seventh, after King." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰⁹ "b York and Lancaster." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹¹⁰ "c Tho. L. Stanley, after by Hen. the seventh created E. of Derby." [Cornwallis's own note]

took his son *d*¹¹¹ the Lord *Strange* as an hostage and
 then suffered him to go into the country to levy¹¹² 725
 his forces: so far was he from blood and cruelty, as,
 though he knew his alliance to the contrary faction,
 a motive, sufficient to make him (as indeed he did)
 incline to their aid, though he might justly suspect
 him, and could not have wanted colour to have be- 730
 headed him (as being father in-law to his competi-
 tor), yet he only detained his son in his camp; and
 when he had assured notice of his father's disloy-
 al revolt, yet he suffered the hostage of his loyalty
 to live – an evidence effectual enough to testify, that 735
 he desired rather to settle than to overthrow the qui-
 et of this land; that he laboured to win the hearts of
 his subjects rather with meekness than cruelty; what
 Prince could have done less? Nay, what King would
 not have done more? Since both the effect and the 740
 present fear, are both such inward tormentors, that it
 is hard to determine which is most grievous: so op-
 posite, so contrary to the nature of a Prince (born,
 not to fear, but to be feared) that it is most just, most
 natural, to remove such a terror; but now *e*¹¹³ the *Heir* 745

724 hofstage A⁷⁵²] Hoftage B⁷²⁰; 727 contrary A⁷⁵⁵] contrarie B⁷²²; 729 hee
 A⁷⁵⁶] he B⁷⁴³ ayd A⁷⁵⁷] ayde B⁷²⁴ hee A⁷⁵⁷] he B⁷²⁴; 730 and A⁷⁵⁸] &
 B⁷²⁵; 732 only A⁷⁶⁰] onely B⁷²⁷; 733 hee A⁷⁶¹] he B⁷²⁸; 734 he A⁷⁶²] hee B⁷²⁹;
 737 win A⁷⁶⁶] winne B⁷³²; 738 cruelty; what A⁷⁶⁷] cruelty: What B⁷³³;
 744 Prince (borne A⁷⁷²] Prince borne, (not B⁷³⁸; 745 terrour; but A⁷⁷⁴)
 terror. But B⁷⁴⁰

¹¹¹ “d George *Lord Strange*, son and heir to Tho. L. Stanley.” [Cornwallis’s own note]

¹¹² “To enlist (armed men), enrol, bring into the field (soldiers, an army).” (*OED* v., 3.4)

¹¹³ “e Henry *the 7.*” [Cornwallis’s own note]

of Lancaster being come to challenge the Crown,
 what did the King? Did his spirits fail him? Was his
 magnanimous courage daunted? No, he then gath-
 ered new spirit, he new-steeled his courage, he with-
 stood him with the height of fortitude; protesting 750
 rather to die valiantly than to live less than a King.
 With what a *Roman-like* spirit did he resist fortune?
 Being overthrown, how heroically did he encounter
 with death? This our detracting *chroniclers* cannot
 but acknowledge: for so high, so powerful was his 755
 magnanimity, that (in spite of malice) it prevaieth,
 and (like the sun) breaketh through the misty clouds
 of his adversary's slanders:¹¹⁴ was it a fault to with-
 stand the *Lancastrian* heir's claim? Then those are
 faulty, who being in possession of lands, to prove 760
 good their title, prosecute suits, and are overthrown
 by the law, for the sentence of judgement makes
 them to perceive that to be an error, which before
 they imagined none. Besides, he knew well, that his
 kingdom and life had both one period, to which life 765
 he was persuaded his competitor had no right, and
 therefore he would never be guilty of such a sin (as
 wilfully to betray it) till he which had lent it him re-
 quired repentment.

748 daunted A⁷⁷⁷] danted B⁷⁴³; 749 he A⁷⁷⁸] hee B⁷⁴⁴; 751 dye A⁷⁸⁰] die B⁷⁴⁶;
 752 fortune A⁷⁸¹] Fortune B⁷⁴⁷; 754 *Chroniclers* A⁷⁸³] Chroniclers B⁷⁴⁹;
 758 slaunders: was A⁷⁸⁷] flanders: Was B⁷⁵³; 761 fuites, and are ouerthrown
 A⁷⁹⁰] fuits, & are ouerthrowne B⁷⁵⁶; 762 lawe A⁷⁹¹] Law B⁷⁵⁷; 766 and A⁷⁹⁵]
 & B⁷⁶¹; 767 finne A⁷⁹⁶] fin B⁷⁶² he which had lent it A⁷⁹⁷] he who lent it
 B⁷⁶³

¹¹⁴ I. e. calumny, defamation.

Had his life, his actions been most abominable; 770
yet (like a slave) to have yielded his throat to the ex-
ecution, would have been an imputation beyond all
other imputations: but could he as openly have man-
ifested his other virtues, as he did his valour and pol-
icy, the world's opinion had been otherwise, and 775
I neither had taken such pains to defend his inno-
cence, nor in some weak judgements to endanger
mine own. But surely he did courageously and val-
iantly withstand his enemies, with great expedition
rallying his forces, and performing all things with 780
wonderful celerity, he went to encounter the disturb-
ers of his quiet.¹¹⁵

It is reported that, the night before the day of
battle, he dreamed a most *a*¹¹⁶ dreadful and horrible
dream, which by our chroniclers is interpreted to be 785
a testimony of his wicked and tyrannous life.¹¹⁷ Did

770 been A⁷⁹⁹] beene B⁷⁶⁴; 771 throate A⁸⁰⁰] throat B⁷⁶⁵; 772 been A⁸⁰¹] beene B⁷⁶⁶; 773 he A⁸⁰²] hee B⁷⁶⁷; 774 valor A⁸⁰³] valour B⁷⁶⁸ policy A⁸⁰⁴] policie B⁷⁶⁹; 775 been A⁸⁰⁴] beene B⁷⁶⁹; 776 innocency A⁸⁰⁵] innocencie B⁷⁷⁰; 784 bataille A⁸¹³] battell B⁷⁷⁷ and A⁸¹³] & B⁷⁷⁸; 786 teftimony A⁸¹⁵] teftimonie B⁷⁷⁹

¹¹⁵ He faced Henry Tudor in the Battle of Bosworth.

¹¹⁶ "a K. Rich. *dream the night before the battle of Bosworth.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

¹¹⁷ According to H. B. Charlton, the dream was reported by Polydore Vergil, Edward Hall and Holinshed with the same assumption of being the result of a guilty and sinful conscience (H.B. Charlton, 1948, *Shakespearian Tragedy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 34)

not *Caesar*, ^{b118} before he attained the Empire, dream that he knew his own mother carnally? Had not both *Dion* and *Brutus* the figures of terrible spirits represented onto them, the night before their end? And yet these were reputed good men and lovers and protectors of their country; and because king *Richard* dreamed with some terror, must his life of necessity be evil? O vain! O frivolous objection! But they hold this dream to be a compunction¹¹⁹ of his conscience: happy Prince to have so indiscreet slanderers, for how could they more truly witness his integrity? Since only they which reverence and fear God, and endued with that inquiring conscience, which censureth their actions: for they which are given over to a reprobate sense, and insensible of that good angel, which seeketh by telling us our faults, to make us repent our sins past, and to be wary, lest we commit any more.

Surely, I think, his conscience (like a glass)¹²⁰ presented before him the figures of all his actions; 787 he A⁸¹⁶] hee B⁷⁸¹; 788 he A⁸¹⁷] hee B⁷⁸² had A⁸¹⁷] Had B⁷⁸²; 792 Countreie A⁸²¹] Country B⁷⁸⁶ king *Richard* A⁸²¹] K. *Richard* B⁷⁸⁶; 793 necessitie A⁸²³] necessity B⁷⁸⁷; 794 but A⁸²⁴] But B⁷⁸⁸; 796 flanderers A⁸²⁶] flanderers B⁷⁹⁰; 797 integrity? since onely A⁸²⁷] integrity, since only B⁷⁹¹; 798 and A⁸²⁷] & B⁷⁹²; 800 actions: for A⁸²⁹] actions? for B⁷⁹⁴; 802 faults A⁸³²] faults B⁷⁹⁶; 803 finnes A⁸³²] fins B⁷⁹⁷ and to bee A⁸³²] & to be B⁷⁹⁷

¹¹⁸ “b Plutarch in the life of Caesar, Dion and Brutus.” [Cornwallis’s own note]

¹¹⁹ I.e. remorse. Both Hall and Holinshed judge his dream as “a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience” (quoted in H.B. Charlton, 1948, *Shakespearian Tragedy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 34).

¹²⁰ Here in the sense of “mirror”.

which he faithfully examining, humbly craved pardon for his misdeeds: and so having made atonement with God, like a devout penitentiary settled his mind, he went with alacrity to the bloody court, 810 where the cause of his life was to be tried: where his sword being his advocate, pleaded most valiantly. In all which tumult, he failed neither in discretion, nor in execution, but boldly encouraged his soldiers, both by word and example. 815

There is extant in our chronicles, an *a*¹²¹ oration, which at that time he made to his soldiers, wherein he confesseth his errors, and desireth pardon of all the world, as he hoped his repentant tears had obtained mercy of God. 820

What a saint-like thing was this, for a King, to crave forgiveness of subjects? For a general, to humble himself to his soldiers? What could it be but the effect of a more divine, than terrene understanding? If (like the common fashion of men) he would 825 have put his affiance¹²² in humane assistance, and neglected his God, he might (in common reason) have promised himself the victory: being double in forces, and nothing inferior, either in valour or policy; but he acknowledged and confessed the power of 830

808 atonement A⁸³⁷] attonement B⁸⁰¹; 810 minde, he A⁸³⁹] minde, hee B⁸⁰²;
 811 tryed: where A⁸⁴⁰] tried, where B⁸⁰⁴; 818 errors A⁸⁴⁷] errorrs B⁸¹¹;
 822 forgiueneffe A⁸⁵¹] forgiuenes B⁸¹⁵ Generall A⁸⁵¹] General B⁸¹⁵;
 828 victory: being A⁸⁵⁷] victory, being B⁸²¹; 829 inferior A⁸⁵⁸] inferiour B⁸²²
 valor A⁸⁵⁸] valour B⁸²²; 830 hee A⁸⁵⁹] he B⁸²²

¹²¹ “a *The Oration of King Richard Holinshed’s Chronicle in the end of his reign.*” [Cornwallis’s own note, witness B]

¹²² I.e. trust, faith.

the most powerful: he knew that it was not the multitude of men, but God, that giveth the victory. And therefore having first made peace with his own soul, he humbled himself, and asked pardon of those over whom he had government: knowing no government 835 to be so perfect, wherein some good men are not offended.

This was the effect of his compunction; to put him in remembrance, that Princes are mortal, and that his being a King, bound him to a more strict 840 reckoning, than one that enjoyeth a lesser fame.¹²³ Now whether this merciful remembrance of God disgraceth him, judge ye that have grace. But now (both battles being joined) what did this valiant King? Did he only stand to give directions to others? No, he did 845 rigorous execution with his sword upon his enemies.

Did he, when he perceived some of his subjects disloyally to revolt, and that his forces were put to the worst, think upon yielding or flight? Though by some of his faithfullest servants he was counselled 850 to flee, and for that purpose presented with a horse

831 powerful A⁸⁶⁰] powerfull B⁸²⁴; 832 victory. And A⁸⁶¹] victory, and B⁸²⁵; 839 mortall A⁸⁶⁸] mortal B⁸³¹; 841 reckoning A⁸⁷⁰] reekoning B⁸³²; 844 batailles A⁸⁷³] battels B⁸³⁵; 845 he A⁸⁷⁴] hee B⁸³⁶; 847 he A⁸⁷⁷] hee B⁸³⁹; 849 thinke A⁸⁷⁹] think B⁸⁴¹

¹²³ The typo "Farme" is present in both the 1616 and 1617 editions, but it was already corrected when the text was reprinted in a 1750 collection (F. Cogan, 1750, *A Second Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects*, Vol. I, London: F. Cogan, 261).

of wonderful speed, yet he would not:¹²⁴ for having been inured to conquest, he scorned¹²⁵ to yield: having been a king, he would not die a vassal; and therefore, because the garland was a Crown, the prize a kingdom; victory, Majesty, and perpetual renown the reward, this Lion-hearted King courageously charging his spear, ran into the battalion of his adversaries; where, with his own hands he slew the stout *a*¹²⁶ Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer of his enemy: he overthrew the strong and valiant Sir John Cheney,¹²⁷ and singled out his competitor, who being

852 hee A⁸⁸²] he B⁸⁴⁴; 856 victory A⁸⁸⁶] Victory B⁸⁴⁸ and perpetual A⁸⁸⁶] & perpetuall B⁸⁴⁸; 857 reward A⁸⁸⁷] reward B⁸⁴⁹ Lyon-hearted King A⁸⁸⁷] Lyon-hearted-King B⁸⁴⁹; 860 enemy A⁸⁹¹] enemy B⁸⁵²; 861 Sir John Cheney, and A⁸⁹²] S. John Cheney, & B⁸⁵³; 862 Competitour A⁸⁹²] Competitor B⁸⁵⁴ being A⁸⁹³] being B⁸⁵⁴

¹²⁴ Although we are more familiar with the lines from Shakespeare's *Richard III* "A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!" (4.4), the anecdote was reported in Hall's chronicles: "When the loss of the battle was imminent and apparent, they brought to him a swift and a light horse, to convey him away. He, which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting away all hopes of hopes of fortunate success, and happy chances to come, answered, as men say, that on that day he would make an end of all battles, or else there finish his life". (Cited in Henry Morley, 1876, *Cassell's library of English literature, selected, ed. and arranged by H. Morley, Volume 3*, London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 29)

¹²⁵ I. e. despised.

¹²⁶ "a S. Wil. Brandon Standard-bearer to Henry the 7. slain. He was father to Charles Brandon, after created D. of Suff. by Henry the 8." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹²⁷ Master of the Horse to King Edward IV, after his death he changed sides and supported Henry Tudor's claim to the throne. In the Battle of Bosworth, he was part of Henry's personal guard.

the most heroic and valiant Prince of those times, yet
 had doubtless been slain, had not he been rescued by
 S. *William Stanley*,¹²⁸ who came happily with three 865
 thousand men to his rescue, who on all sides encom-
 passing King *Richard*, so assailed him, that though he
 did more than a man, though his sword acted won-
 ders, yet being oppressed by so great a multitude, he
 was there manfully slain; not overcome, for he con- 870
 quered the betrayers of men in danger, passion, and
 fear.

Thus lost he both kingdom and life, but nothing
 diminished his interior virtues: when the adjudged
 punishment is performed, our laws do account the 875
 offender as clear of the crime, as if he never had
 committed it. Why should this common benefit be
 denied a King, since if guilty, his blood made resti-
 tution, and being dead, his royal body was despoiled
 of all kingly ornaments, left naked, and not only un- 880
 royally, but inhumanely, and reproachfully dragged?
 Yet neither can his blood redeem him from injuri-
 ous tongues, nor the reproach offered his body, be
 thought cruel enough, but that we must still make
 him more cruelly infamous in pamphlets and plays. 885

863 and A⁸⁹³] & B⁸⁵⁵; 864 been A⁸⁹⁵] beene B⁸⁵⁶; 867 King *Richard* A⁸⁹⁷] K.
Richard B⁸⁵⁹ affayled A⁸⁹⁸] affailed B⁸⁵⁹; 868 Sword A⁸⁹⁹] fword B⁸⁶⁰; 869
 beeing A⁸⁹⁹] being B⁸⁶⁰; 870 hee A⁹⁰¹] he B⁸⁶²; 871 traiers A⁹⁰²] betrayers
 B⁸⁶³ passion, and feare A⁹⁰²] Paffion and Feare B⁸⁶³; 873 and A⁹⁰³] & B⁸⁶⁴;
 975 Laws do A⁹⁰⁵] lawes doe B⁸⁶⁶; 876 cleere A⁹⁰⁶] clear B⁸⁶⁷; 878 bloud
 A⁹⁰⁸] blood B⁸⁶⁹; 879 royall A⁹⁰⁹] royal B⁸⁷⁰ difpoyled A⁹⁰⁹] defpoiled
 B⁸⁷⁰; 880 and not only A⁹¹⁰] & not onely B⁸⁷¹; 882 bloud redeeme A⁹¹²]
 blood redeem B⁸⁷³

¹²⁸ Brother of Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby.

Compare him now (judicious Reader) impartially
 with other Princes; judge truly of all their actions,
 their form of government, and their statutes and or-
 dinances, the upholders, the strength, the sinews¹²⁹ of
 government; and thou shalt find him as innocent of 890
 cruelty, extortion, and tyranny as the most; as wise,
 politic, and valiant as any: if so, censure him, his ac-
 tions, his ordinances, according to their deserts, and
 this treatise of mine as a charitable well-wishing to a
 scandalised and defamed king. 895

Yet for all this know, I hold this but a paradox.

FINIS.

886 Reader A⁹¹⁶] reader B⁸⁷⁷; 887 Princes A⁹¹⁷] princes B⁸⁷⁷ truly A⁹¹⁷] truly B⁸⁷⁷; 888 ordinances A⁹¹⁹] Ordinances B⁸⁷⁹; 891 and A⁹²¹] & B⁸⁸¹; 895 king A⁹²⁶] King B⁸⁸⁵

¹²⁹ "Strength, energy, force". (*OED* n., 1.3)

The Praise of the French Pox

It is the complaint of an ancient writer, *Nulla tam modesta fœlicitas est, que malignitatis dentes vitare possit*:¹ there was never any felicity, whether moderately seasoned, or complete in perfection, so happy that could avoid the griping teeth of envy and backbiting. Out of which natural in-bred malice, men do not stick to defame and discredit the most noble and illustrious disease of the *French pocks*,² and to wrong those that be the worthy subjects in whom they reside: insomuch that the very mention of them is so noisome and offensive, and doth so much overcome their stomachs, as the naming of the things which are the purgings of the belly, and are with-

A: THE PRAYSE OF THE FRENCH *POCKES*] B: THE PRAISE OF the *French Pockes*; 1 writer, A²] Writer; B¹; 3 *poffit* A⁴] *poßit* B³ felicity A⁵] felicitie B⁴; 5 auoyde A⁸] auoid B⁵ enuie A⁸] enuy B⁶; 8 *Pocks* A¹¹] *Pockes* B⁹; 12 *ftomacks* A¹⁵] *ftomackes* B¹²

¹ From Valerius Maximus's *De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus* (4.7).

² Syphilis. In both the 1616 and the 1617 edition we find it written either "pocks" or "pockes".

in the ward³ and bailiwick⁴ of the girdle. Where-
 as the name of the *pox* is of so reverend estimation, 15
 and soundeth so pleasingly in the ears of them that
 are not passionate, that even *Diana* herself whom
 the *Paynims*⁵ adored for their goddess of chastity and
 honesty, took her name from them; whom the Lat-
 ins call *Bubones*, the French *Bubes*, and the Spanish 20
Buvas; so is she called *Bubastis*.⁶ Yea, the famous star
Bootes,⁷ which guides *Charles* his wain,⁸ admits these
 syllables into his name, and is called *Bubulco*. And
 why then should men here on Earth think scorn⁹ of

14 bailiweeke A¹⁷] bayliweeke B¹⁵; 15 *Pocks* A¹⁸] *Pockes* B¹⁶; 18 Chastity and
 honefty A²¹] Chastitie and honeftie B¹⁹; 20 cal A²³] call B²⁰; 21 she called
Bubastis A²⁴] shee called *Bubaftis* B²² fstarre A²⁵] Starre B²²; 22 thefe A²⁶]
 the B²³; 24 here A²⁷] heare B²⁵ thinke skorne A²⁷] think fcorne B²⁵

³ Here: the action of guarding, controlling.

⁴ "A district or place under the jurisdiction of a bailie or bailiff. Used in *English History* as a general term including *sheriffdom*; and applied to foreign towns or districts under a *vogt* or *bailli*." (*OED* n., 1a)

⁵ I.e. non-Christians, pagans. Here it refers to the Romans.

⁶ "Latrator Anubis Sanctaque Bubastis, Ovid *Meta.* lib. 9." [Cornwallis's own note] Feline Goddess worshipped in the ancient Egyptian city of Bubastis. Also known as Bastet, she is identified by the Greeks with Artemis, the equivalent of the Roman Diana.

⁷ Constellation in the northern sky known by the Greeks as Bootes and by the Romans as Bubulcus (Latin word for "herdsman"), here the term is used as an intended pun with the root *bubo*.

⁸ Charles's Wain: "The asterism comprising the seven bright stars in Ursa Major; known also as The Plough. As the name *Arcturus* was formerly sometimes applied loosely to the constellation Boötes and incorrectly to the Great Bear, the name *Carlewayne-sterre* occurs applied to the star Arcturus." (*OED* n.)

⁹ I. e. to mock.

this name, which is well brooked by stars of the first 25
 magnitude, and goddesses of the fairest beauty? But
 because *derivations* do many times *drive words out of*
fashion, and a notation of names is of all the artificial
 arguments in logic, one of the weakest, lest, by seek-
 ing to lift the pasty by one end, we mar¹⁰ all; let us 30
 fasten upon something more material, and from the
 original of the word, come to the beginning of the
 thing.

Amongst those rich treasures, which *Christopher*
Columbus brought home into Spain, after his discov- 35
 ery of the Indies, one of the chiefest was the *pox*; for
 in his fleet (amongst other fraught)¹¹ were wasted
 over certain Indian women, with whose happy con-
 versation the *Castilians* came home plentifully fur-
 nished with this holy contagion: holy I call it, be- 40
 cause the cure of it is that, which they call *lignum*
sanctum,¹² or *Guaiacum*; holy, for the place, where it
 is healed, which is the hospital, called by the French,
Maison-Dieu, and holy, because they are great helps

23 and A³¹] & B²⁸ Artificiall Arguments in Logick A³²] Artificial
 Arguments in Logicke B²⁹; 36 Indyes A³⁹] Indies B³⁶; 37 Fleete A⁴⁰] Fleet
 B³⁷; 38 Women A⁴¹] women B³⁸; 39 contagion: Holy A⁴³] contagion. Holy
 B⁴⁰; 44 , & holy A⁴⁷] ; and holy B⁴⁴ helps A⁴⁸] helps B⁴⁴

¹⁰ To mar: “*to mar all*: to act so as to prevent a project or operation from reaching fruition; to spoil everything, to act badly.” (*OED* v., 3.3c)

¹¹ “The cargo or lading of a ship”, now obsolete. See “freight” (*OED* n., 1.2).

¹² Literally “holy wood”, a plant used mostly as a home remedy to cure several diseases, including syphilis.

to make them that have them Saints. For, whosoev- 45
 er shall behold the outward mortification of a pocky
 companion, the delicacy of the tone of his voice;
 his pale and meagre face, his wan¹³ colour; and his
 whole body broken and disjointed, that a man may
 shake all his bones together in his skin; and lastly, 50
 shall see him wholly made a very picture and paint-
 ed table of repentance; he may see sufficient tokens
 (at least wise) of apparent holiness: for you nev-
 er see fat paunches, and plump cheeks, and idle fel-
 lows ever admitted into the school of repentance; 55
 nor into the stews,¹⁴ the workhouse of courtesans;
 nor in the hospital and lazar-house¹⁵ of the *pock-rot-*
ten adventurers.

Among the three capital enemies¹⁶ which with
 fire and sword do assail the soul, the greatest of 60
 them, which is the flesh, is wholly subdued by the
pocks: because by them it is made unable to exer-
 cise any unlawful act. Is there anything in the world
 that doth more open the gates to holiness than to
 take away the occasions of sinning? And what is 65
 there that hath more efficacy to withdraw a man or

48 wanne A⁵¹] wan B⁴⁸; 50 skinne A⁵⁴] skin B⁵⁰; 52 repentance; hee A⁵⁵] Repentance; he B⁵¹; 61 wholly A⁶⁴] wholly B⁶⁰

¹³ "Pallid, faded, sickly; unusually or unhealthily pale. Most frequently applied to the human face." (*OED* adj., 4.4a)

¹⁴ I. e. brothels.

¹⁵ "A house for lazars or diseased persons, esp. lepers; a leper-house, lazaretto." (*OED* n.)

¹⁶ According to Christian theology, they are the world, the flesh and the Devil.

a woman from occasions of evil than this holy leprosy?¹⁷ For if a woman knows that a man hath the *pox*, she flies from him as a ragged sheep from a bramble-bush. Again, what greater token of holiness can there be in a man than to have a sense and feeling of his sins? Now who is he that doth suffer greater grief and pains for his sins than he that hath the *pox*? Who are more frank and more bountiful in gifts than such men? For a *pock-master* was never accounted a pilled¹⁸ paltry fellow. For as when we see a blackamoor¹⁹ cross the street, we say, speaking by the contrary: "There goes *John Blanco*", or when we see a common woman, we likewise say: "There goes a *good one*", so we call this holy infection, the *peeling disease*, understanding that such a one will part with his very skin.

All other aches and pains have some enemy that may destroy them; or by a bill out of the apothecary's shop, like a writ of remove, they may be dislodged; but the *pocks* have made their peace with all drugs and confections, there is not found among

67 leaproffie A⁷⁰] Leproffie B⁶⁶; 69 flies A⁷²] flyes B⁶⁷ sheepe A⁷²] sheep B⁶⁸; 70 holineffe A⁷³] holines B⁶⁹; 72 he A⁷³] hee B⁷¹; 77 we A⁸⁰] wee B⁷⁶; 79 wee likewise fay, There A⁸²] we likewise fay; there B⁷⁸; 87 , there A⁹⁰] . There B⁸⁵

¹⁷ "Originally (frequently with distinguishing word): disease causing scaliness, loss of pigmentation, or scabbiness of the skin; an instance or type of such disease; (now *hist.*)" (*OED* n., 1)

¹⁸ "*Figurative*. Poor, meagre; miserable, wretched. *Obsolete*." (*OED* adj., 4.1b)

¹⁹ A black African, also any dark-skinned person.

all the phials and gallipots²⁰ any simple, or syrups so powerful that can disturb the *pocks* out of their possession: whence it is plain, that it is wrongfully and abusively called an infirmity, for the word *infirmity* argueth and importeth want of firmness; whereas the *pocks* are so far from not being firm, that to him that hath once caught them, they continue so firm, so stable and so well settled; that they never forsake him, but accompany him to his grave; and I think, into Purgatory too, because no lenitives, or purgations, can either assuage²¹ their pain, or drive them out; surely so good a thing never goes to Hell.

They that set out the worth and greatness of that excellent poet *Homer*²² ascribe it much to his honour that he drew his beginning from many cities and islands, as *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, *Colophon*²³ and the like: how much greater is the honour of this spreading gangrene of the *pox*, which derives his descent not from islands and cities, but from great kingdoms and

88 any simple, or fyrop fo powerfull A⁹¹] any Simple or Syrop fo powerful B⁸⁶; 91 infirmity A⁹⁴] infirmitie B⁸⁹; 92 firmenes A⁹⁵] firmneffe B⁹⁰; 93 *Pockes* A⁹⁶] *Pocks* B⁹¹ beeing A⁹⁶] being B⁹¹; 95 well fettled A⁹⁸] well fetled B⁹³; 97 into Purgatory too A¹⁰⁰] into Purgatory to B⁹⁵; 98 either A¹⁰¹] eyther B⁹⁶; 103 Iflands A¹⁰⁷] Ilands B¹⁰¹; 105 gangren of the *Pocks* A¹⁰⁹] Gangren the *Pocks* B¹⁰²; 106 Citties A¹¹⁰] Cities B¹⁰⁴ kingdomes A¹¹⁰] Kingdomes B¹⁰⁴

²⁰ "A small earthen glazed pot, *esp.* one used by apothecaries for ointments and medicines." (*OED* n., 1a)

²¹ I. e. alleviate, relieve.

²² The author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

²³ Smyrna and Colophon were two Ancient Greek cities on the Aegean coast of Anatolia, now Turkey, while Rhodes is the largest of the Dodecanese islands of Greece.

provinces. Some call it the *Neapolitan disease*; others the *French evil*; some the *scab of Spain*, others the *Indian sarampion*²⁴ or *tetter*,²⁵ and *ring-worm*. Others that speak with some reverence and respect to these Lady-mistresses, they fear to usurp their proper name; they do not say plainly to a man, "You are a *Pocky-knave*", but rather "*Vous avez, sir, ye are peppered*"; and indeed such is the dignity and greatness of this mallender,²⁶ that they speak of it, after the style of kings and dukes and grandes, in the plural number. For whereas we commonly call blains²⁷ and sores in the singular number, *the scurf*, or the *scab*, or the *Winchester goose*,²⁸ these are all saluted in the plural number, the *pocks*, as if they should style themselves *nos bubones, and pustule Gallicane*.²⁹ And well doth this style agree unto them, because

109 *Indian Sarampion or tetter* A¹¹³] *Indian Sarampion or tetter* B¹⁰⁷
ring-worme; Others A¹¹⁴] *Ring-worme*; others B¹⁰⁷; 110 and A¹¹⁵] & B¹⁰⁸;
 112 do A¹¹⁶] *doe* B¹¹⁰; 114 *Pockie-knaue* A¹¹⁷] *Pockie-Knaue* B¹¹¹; 114 *dignity*
 and *greatnes* A¹¹⁸] *dignitie* and *greatneffe* B¹¹²; 116 *Kings and Dukes and*
Grandes A¹²⁰] *Kings, and Dukes, and Grands* B¹¹³; 118 *the scabbe, or the*
Wincheſter goofe A¹²³] *the ſcab, or the Wincheſter-goofe* B¹¹⁶; 120 *ſhould*
 A¹²⁵] *ſhold* B¹¹⁸

²⁴ Spanish word for "measles".

²⁵ "A general term for any pustular herpetiform eruption of the skin, as eczema, herpes, impetigo, ringworm, etc." (*OED* n., 1.1)

²⁶ "Originally: †a sore located behind a horse's knee (*obsolete*). Later (in *plural* and †*singular*): a kind of chronic dermatitis of horses, characterized by the presence of such sores." (*OED* n.)

²⁷ "An inflammatory swelling or sore on the surface of the body, often accompanied by ulceration; a blister, botch, pustule; applied also to the eruptions in some pestilential diseases." (*OED* n., 1.1a)

²⁸ A venereal disease.

²⁹ Referring to France.

they deal royally and nobly with their attendants;
 for whereas in prince's courts they that are suiters,
 do not see an end of their pretensions in many years, 125
 and when all comes to all, they seldom reap the fifth
 part of what they sued for: these nobles do soon dis-
 patch all that negotiate with them, or plead at their
 bars, wonderfully well provided for.

Now let not any man object as an inconvenient 130
 that the *pocks* do peel all those that are of their fra-
 ternity and livery,³⁰ and make them as bald as an
 egg: for if we consider it, they do unto them no
 therein small benefit: for look what proportion the
 leaves bear to the tree, feathers to a bird, the same 135
 have the hair and the bush natural to a man, that is,
 they are given both for an ornament and a defence,
 for a covering and for comeliness.³¹

And seeing that Nature doth do trees a favour,
 in making them to shed their leaves, and fowls³² to 140
 moult³³ their feathers, that so she may dight³⁴ them

124 fuiters A¹²⁹] fuitors B¹²²; 125 yeares, and A¹³⁰] years, & B¹²³; 126 fifth
 A¹³¹] fift B¹²⁴; 131 do A¹³⁶] doe B¹²⁸ fraternity & A¹³⁶] fraternitie and
 B¹²⁹; 132 do A¹³⁸] doe B¹³⁰ no therein fmall benefit A¹³⁸] therein no fmall
 benefit B¹³⁰; 135 Tree A¹⁴⁰] tree B¹³² Bird A¹⁴⁰] bird B¹³²; 136 haire A¹⁴¹]
 hayres B¹³³; 139 do A¹⁴⁴] doe B¹³⁶; 140 fhead A¹⁴⁵] fhedde B¹³⁷; 141 fhe A¹⁴⁶]
 fhee B¹³⁸

³⁰ "Something assumed or bestowed as a distinguishing feature; a characteristic garb or covering; a distinctive guise, marking, or outward appearance." (*OED* n., 1.5)

³¹ I. e. decency.

³² Any feathered animal.

³³ Moul: "To shed feathers in the process of changing plumage". (*OED* v., 2.2a)

³⁴ "To clothe, dress, array, deck, adorn (*literal* and *figurative*).". (*OED* v., 2.10a)

and clothe them yearly with new; she doth not deal
so with men, but leaves them to themselves, to ef-
fect it by their own industry and providence, where-
unto when they are disposed to moult and to do 145
off their periwigs or perruques, the *pox* in this case
is Nature's agent, which doth maintain herself with
that which is most delicate in that subject, such as
are the thin locks of the head, the daintiness of the
eye-lids and the eye-brows, the venerable beards and 150
the most valiant moustaches: for never any timor-
ous and white-livered³⁵ cowards have the *pox*, but the
most fool-hardy adventurers are admitted into this
corporation.

It is a rule infallible, that men are usually such as 155
are those with whom they converse. And who are
they (I pray you) that are most haunted with the *pox*
but noble Lords, Cavaliers, and men of high parent-
age? The plough-swain³⁶ or day-labourer never knew
that there was any such thing in the world as the 160
pox; such is their miserable ignorance; nor yet the

142 yeerely A¹⁴⁷] yearly B¹³⁹ flhee A¹⁴⁷] flhe B¹³⁹; 144 own A¹⁴⁹] owne
B¹⁴¹; 145 to moult and A¹⁵⁰] to moult, & B¹⁴²; 149 lockes A¹⁵⁴] locks B¹⁴⁶
daintines of the eye-liddes A¹⁵⁴] daintineffe of the eye-lids B¹⁴⁶;
153 foole-hardie A¹⁵⁸] foole-hardy B¹⁴⁹; 154 corporation A¹⁵⁹] Corporation
B¹⁵⁰; 157 Pocks A¹⁶²] Pocks B¹⁵⁴; 161 Pocks A¹⁶⁶] Pocks B¹⁵⁸ ignorance;
A¹⁶⁶] ignorance: B¹⁵⁸

³⁵ Pusillanimous. From "liver": "The bodily organ regarded as the
seat of cowardice (usually characterized as light-coloured or white:
i.e. supposedly lacking bile or 'choler')". (*OED* n., 1.4b)

³⁶ I. e. farm-labourer, countryman.

porters or car-men³⁷ are greatly troubled with this luggage in their own persons, neither do they ever descend so low as to chore-maids and tankard-bearers.³⁸ But you must seek for them amongst the lusty³⁹ 165 gallants, and gay Ladies that ruffle it in silks, and outward bravery. And therefore may it please thee to be advertised, gentle Reader, whosoever thou be that⁴⁰ standest upon complement, that whensoever thou shalt salute such a Lady or Cavalier in the street, by vailing⁴¹ thy bonnet, know, that by that obeisance thou dost homage to two grand and great personages at once, one to the party principal that is obvious to thy eye, the other to the pox which he carrieth about him. 170 175

How doth the world dote upon astrologers and star-gazers, that can foretell and divine⁴² of things to come, whether they be the writers of the Greek

163 Luggage A¹⁶⁸] luggage B¹⁶⁰; 165 and Tankard-bearers A¹⁶⁹] & tankard-bearers B¹⁶¹; 166 Ladies A¹⁷¹] Ladyes B¹⁶³; 170 Ladie A¹⁷⁵] Lady B¹⁶⁷; 174 Pocks A¹⁸⁰] Pocks B¹⁷¹; 177 Starre-gazers A¹⁸²] Star-gazers B¹⁷⁴; 178 bee A¹⁸³] be B¹⁷⁵ *Menologies and Calenders* A¹⁸⁴] *Menologies and Calenders* B¹⁷⁵

³⁷ "A man who drives a car (in various senses), esp. a carter, a carrier. Now *rare*." (*OED* n., 2.1)

³⁸ Now obsolete, "one employed in drawing and carrying water from the public pumps and conduits". (*OED* n.)

³⁹ The collation was made from comparison with witness B¹⁶², as witness A is unreadable.

⁴⁰ The collation was made from comparison with witness B¹⁶⁶, as witness A is unreadable.

⁴¹ To vail: "To doff or take off (a bonnet, hat, crown, or other head-dress), esp. out of respect or as a sign of submission". (*OED* v., 4.2a)

⁴² "To interpret, disclose, make known." (*OED* v., 3.1a)

*Menologies*⁴³ and *calendars* of the monthly variation of days, or prognostications of the changes of the moon, or days' almanacks for the alteration of the weather? Whereas there is no astrologer more weather-wise than a pock-master, or whose predictions are more certain: for, if there be any change of weather or season approaching, presently the intrin-
sical accidents that cleave to his bones and sinews, do give him a perfect notice of it, in that he feeleth an ache in every commissure⁴⁴ of his joints, and his bones do even rattle in his skin.

Add hereunto, that men thus affected (or infected rather) have this great privilege above other men, that although they be in vassalage, and slaves by condition, yet are they observed and respected as absolute Lords; and are served of everybody, whereas they serve none but God, whom by the *pox* they are brought to remember. And see, I pray you, to what a lordliness they are advanced, in that not only their persons are in a manner sacred, and may not be approached, but at a certain distance; but whatsoever is about them, and belongs to their necessary use, cannot safely be touched of any man, as if they were

180 changes A¹⁸⁶] Changes B¹⁷⁷; 183 vweather-wife A¹⁸⁸] weather-wife B¹⁸⁰;
184 certaine: A¹⁸⁹] certaine? B¹⁸¹; 186 Accidents A¹⁹¹] accidents B¹⁸³;
186 & sinews A¹⁹²] and sinewes B¹⁸³; 187 he feeleth an ache A¹⁹³] hee
feeleth any ache B¹⁸⁴; 188 ioynts A¹⁹⁴] ioynts B¹⁸⁵; 194 bodie A²⁰¹] body B¹⁹¹

⁴³ From the Greek "Menologion", an almanac monthly organised.

⁴⁴ "Originally: a suture of the skull (now *rare*). In later use: a joint or junction between any two bones". (*OED* n., 1)

some holy reliquies;⁴⁵ for no man dares to lie in their bed, or to wear their clothes, or to drink in their cup, or to sit in their chairs, men willingly withdrawing themselves from these things, as from vessels consecrated to this great idol of the Bubosity. 205

Howbeit, it is not greatly to be marvelled at that the *pocks* have attained to so high a pitch and prerogative of excellency, considering that the same act and operation, and the same instruments which Nature employeth to produce a man, which is the noblest of her creatures; the same are also the generative⁴⁶ causes of the *pox*; I mean, the great and honourable *pox*: for those other pushes and inflammations that arise in the body, of cold, or from an over-heated and exulcerated liver, are not properly pocks, but pouts and pimples. So then, this reason being considered, the *pocks* may very justly take state upon them, and stand upon *puntillos* of honour, and out-brave a man to his face and say, that they are issued from as good parents as he. And surely it seems no less; for as they that are nobly born, the better to show their greatness and to maintain their state, they live retiredly in the inmost and remotest rooms of their house: so do the *pocks*, out of the same rule and reason of State, keep residence in the 210 215 220 225

202 Reliques; For A²⁰⁸] Reliques: for B¹⁹⁹; 203 clothes A²¹⁰] cloaths B²⁰⁰;
 214 inflammations A²²¹] inflamations B²¹¹; 217 pocks, but pouts and
 pimples A²²⁴] Pocks, but Pouts and Pimples B²¹⁴; 221 he A²²⁸] hee B²¹⁸;
 222 nobly A²²⁹] Nobly B²¹⁹; 223 maintain A²³¹] maintaine B²²⁰;
 226 keep A²³³] keepe B²²³

⁴⁵ I. e. relics, remains.

⁴⁶ "Generature" in both the 1616 and 1617 editions.

very bones and the marrow of him that hath them;
 which is the reason also why for their birth and hon-
 ourable rank, they find place and entertainment in
Love's Court, into which nothing is admitted, but 230
 what savoureth either of greatness or of goodness, as
 brave, resolute and determinate men; gallant and fair
 women; free discourse; wanton⁴⁷ witty poems, and
 plenty of great *pocks*. And lastly, what greater token
 can there be of a noble nature than to show thank- 235
 fulness to those that have suffered anything for their
 sakes, or done ought to procure their good? In which
 kind of retribution the *pocks* are no way deficient.
 For whereas the nose in the purchase of the *pox* doth
 suffer a kind of lesion and hurt by the arrosion⁴⁸ of 240
 its gristle;⁴⁹ to make it ample amends and satisfac-
 tion; the *pocks* do make the nose the trumpet, or
 horn-pipe of their own praises; whose graceful tone
 varied chromatically upon the music and half-notes
 of snuffing and snorting, is much like the untamed 245

229 ranke A²³⁶] rank B²²⁶ they finde place and intertainment A²³⁶] they
 find place & entertainment B²²⁶; 238 kind A²⁴⁵] kinde B²³⁴; 242 the *pocks*
 doe A²⁴⁹] the *Pocks* do B²³⁸; 243 horn-pipe A²⁵⁰] horne-pipe B²³⁹

⁴⁷ "Of an action: lawless, violent; (also) rude, ill-mannered. Also:
 (of words) uncontrolled, rude. *Obsolete*." (OED adj., 1.1c)

⁴⁸ "The state or fact of being worn down or eaten away. Now chief-
 ly in medical contexts." (OED n.)

⁴⁹ I. e. cartilage.

voice and braying of *Silenus*⁵⁰ his hobby-horse.

Now if there be any man so ill an husband, that amongst other things of his own getting and acquisition hath not been so happy, as to become owner of the *pocks*; let him blame himself for an unthrift,⁵¹ that hath misspent his time; and say, that he is without them, because they are not within him: or with the Spaniard, that *he wants them, because he is not worthy of them*: 250

Yo no las padezco, 255

*Porque no las merezco.*⁵²

Carnestolendas de Castilla. Noche tercera.⁵³

FINIS.

246 voice A²⁵³] voyce B²⁴² hobby-horfe A²⁵⁴] Hobby-horfe B²⁴³;
247 husband A²⁵⁵] hufband B²⁴⁴; 249 been A²⁵⁷] beene B²⁴⁶; 250 *pocks* A²⁵⁸]
Pocks B²⁴⁷; 251 mif-pent A²⁵⁹] miffpent B²⁴⁸; 253 *hee* A²⁶¹] *he* B²⁵⁰ *he* A²⁶¹]
hee B²⁵⁰

⁵⁰ “In Greek mythology, an aged woodland deity, one of the *sileni*, who was entrusted with the education of Dionysus. He is depicted either as dignified and musical, or as an old drunkard. In general use, a *silenus* denotes a woodland spirit, usually depicted in art as old and having ears like those of a horse, similar to the satyrs.” (Elizabeth Knowles, ed., 2006, “Silenus”, *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2 ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, n. p.).

⁵¹ “A malpractice; a defect or fault in conduct.” (*OED* n., 1)

⁵² Spanish for: “I don’t suffer (because of) them, because I don’t deserve them”. In Hidalgo’s original text we find “*carezco*” (to lack) instead of “*padezco*” (to suffer): Cornwallis might just have made a mistake or changed it on purpose, but it is also possible that the word was badly transcribed in the transmission of the text in manuscripts.

⁵³ It refers to the section “Noche tercera. Capitulo II.” of Hidalgo’s *Dialogos de apacible entretenimiento, Que contiene vnas Carnestolendas de Castilla* containing “Que trata de las excelencias de las bubas”, of which the paradox is a translation.

That it is good to be in debt

We are fallen into that dotage of the world, in which
the worst things do overtop the worthiest, sense doth
besot the understanding, drink overcometh the brain,
and the eye beguileth and misleadeth the sight. And
therefore, in tender commiseration of mankind, I will 5
endeavour to rectify their judgement in a paradox
than which there hath none more intricate been dis-
cussed and canvassed¹ among the Stoics in *Zeno's*²
porch, that is, that it is better for a man to live in debt
than otherwise. 10

Ordinar ab ovo,³ I will begin from the egg, that your

1 wee A¹] we B¹; 2 fence doth befot the vnderstanding A⁴] Sence doth
befot the Vnderstanding B³; 4 beguyleth A⁶] beguileth B⁵; 6 endeuour to
rectifie their iudgement A⁸] endeuor to rectifie their iudegment B⁷; 8 the
Stoiks in *Zenos* porch A¹¹] the Stoikes in *Zeno's* porch B⁹; 11 egge A¹³] Egge B¹²

¹ Here: "To debate; to discuss". (*OED* v., 3.4d)

² Zeno of Citium (c. 334-262 BC), a Hellenistic philosopher who was the founder of Stoicism.

³ Latin for "I will start from the origins".

concoction⁴ may be the easier. In the whole course
 and frame of nature, we see that nothing is made for
 itself, but each hath a bond of duty, of use or of ser-
 vice, by which it is indebted to other. The sun by his 15
 splendour to lighten all the world; by his warmth and
 heat, to cherish and comfort each living and vegeta-
 ble thing. Yea, man himself is so framed of God, that
 not only his country, his parents and his friends claim
 a share in him, but he is also indebted to his dog, 20
 and to his ox, to teach the one to hunt for his pleas-
 ure, the other to labour for his profit: so that *quic-*
quid habet genii, ingenii, moris, amoris,⁵ the abili-
 ties of his spirit, the affections of his mind, he hath
 them for others, as much as for himself; nay the more 25
 for others, by how much he desireth to be the great-
 er Lord over others. Let him but look into himself
 and see how his constitutive parts are debtors each
 to other, the soul doth quicken and give life to the
 body, the body like an *automaton*, doth move and car- 30
 ry itself and the soul. Survey him in his parts, the eye
 seeth⁶ for the foot, the foot standeth for the hand, the
 hand toucheth for the mouth, the mouth tasteth for
 the stomach, the stomach eateth for the whole body,
 the body repayeth back again that nutriment which 35

12 concoxion A¹⁴] concoction B¹³; 15 funne A¹⁷] Sunne B¹⁶; 24 mind A²⁷] minde B²⁵; 25 af-much A²⁷] as much B²⁶; 26 hee defireth A²⁹] he defired B²⁷; 28 and A³⁰] & B²⁹; 32 feeeth A³⁴] feeth B³³

⁴ "Digestion (of food)". (*OED* n., 1a)

⁵ The line is taken from Robert Turner's "Encomium Debiti Seu Paradoxon. *Melius est debere, quam non debere*" published in 1602.

⁶ In 1616 mistyped as "feeeth", it was corrected in the 1617 edition in "feeth".

it hath received, to all the parts, discharging the retri-
ments⁷ by the *Port-Esquiline*,⁸ and all this in so come-
ly an order, and by a law so certain, and in so due a
time, as if Nature had rather man should not have
been at all than not to be a debtor in every part of 40
him; which hath made me resolute that to whomso-
ever I mean to be a friend, I will strive to be in his
debt: and what can I do less? For to him that doth me
a good turn,⁹ I am bound to return him the greatest
pleasure, which I can no way do, but by being in his 45
debt: for what contentment will it be unto him, when
I shall repay him his own again? The alchemists, who
promise to themselves to turn tin into silver, and cop-
per into gold, how will they be transported out of
themselves with joy, if they should but see a happy 50
issue¹⁰ of their attempt? How much more a creditor,
when he shall recover a desperate debt? It is like the
joy of a father that receives his lost child.

Again, he that is in debt hath this great privi-
lege above other men, that his creditors pour out 55
heartly prayers for him, they wish that he may live,

40 been A⁴³] beene B⁴¹; 42 bee A⁴⁵] be B⁴³; 53 Child A⁵⁷] Childe B⁵⁵; 56
him, A⁶⁰] him: B⁵⁸

⁷ The word is an obsolete term for “waste material, rubbish”. (*OED* n.)

⁸ Metaphor for “anus”, it was originally introduced by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* (2.9.32). (Roslyn Knutson, 2001, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare’s Time*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 79)

⁹ “An act of good or ill will, or that does good or harm to another.” (*OED* n., 1.23)

¹⁰ Here: “Something which proceeds or results from any source; the product of any activity or condition”. (*OED* n., 1.8)

and thrive and prosper, and grow rich, and all for
 their own advantage. They seem to be careful for
 their debtors, that they may not lose their principal
 with the interest, for their money is their life: witness 60
 those usurers of France, who, when they heard that
 the price of corn was fallen, went and hanged them-
 selves for grief.

What a command doth the debtor gain over his
 creditors? He becometh in a manner their landlord, 65
 to whom they cap, crouch, and kneel, as if they did
 owe him all suits and services, and are as ambitious
 of their favours, as they who in Rome did canvas¹¹
 the people for their voices to attain the greatest offic-
 es. But here is their cunning: *laudant ut ledant*,¹² they 70
 praise them, that they may pray upon. And therefore,
 you brave gallants and spendthrifts, who find by your
 woeful¹³ experience that no whip gives a shrewd-
 er lash than the labels¹⁴ of a bond or obligation, with

61 France A⁶⁵] *France* B⁶³; 68 Rome A⁷²] *Rome* B⁷⁰; 69 voices A⁷³] *voyces*
 B⁷¹; 72 and A⁷⁶] & B⁷⁴ find A⁷⁷] *finde* B⁷⁴

¹¹ Here: "To solicit support, contributions, orders for goods, etc.". (*OED* v., 3.6)

¹² From the Latin verb *laedo*, "to damage", "to injure".

¹³ "Afflicted by grief, distress, or misfortune." (*OED* adj., 1)

¹⁴ The collation was made from comparison with witness B⁷⁷, as witness A is unreadable.

a *Noverint universi*⁷⁵ Skinner and Lacy. When so ever you fall into the Mercers' books, never take care, or make conscience of paying your debts, for by that means you shall keep your creditor in awe, and shall have him wonderful courteous and officious, and obsequious towards you, and a great mint-master of fair words. 80

Without *debt* and *loan* the fabric of the world will be disjointed and fall asunder into its first *Chaos*. The beauty of the stars, what would it be but vastness and deformity, if the Sun did not *lend* them light? The Earth would remain unfruitful, if she¹⁶ did not *borrow* refreshing dues from the watery Signs and planets. The Summer is pleasant, and promiseth great hopes of plenty, but it is, because it *taketh up much upon trust*, from the friendly and seasonable temperament of the elements. And to say the truth, there is nothing good or great in the world, but that it *borroweth* something from others to make it great, or *lendeth* to another to make it good. And therefore I marvel why antiquity, who made *Mildew*, *Fever*, and *Scurfiness* 95

75 and A⁷⁹] & B⁷⁷; 79 and A⁸⁴] & B⁸¹ and A⁸⁴] & B⁸¹; 86 [hee A⁹⁰] we B⁸⁷; 90 and A⁹⁴] & B⁹¹

¹⁵ The incipit, or opening words, of a common Latin formula used in bonds and some other legal instruments from medieval times onwards: *Noverint universi per presentes*, "Be it known to all men by these presents". (Peter Beal, 2011, "Bond", *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450-2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 42-3)

¹⁶ Here it is the Earth that borrows her fruits, in the subsequent edition the subject is changed to "we".

goddesses,¹⁷ did not matriculate *loan* and *debt* among the rest.

The elements who are linked together by a league of association, and by their symbolising qualities, do barter and truck, borrow and lend one to another, as being the burse and Royal Exchange of nature: they are by this traffic and intercourse the very life and nourishment of all sublunary bodies, and therefore are called *Elimenta quasi alimenta*,¹⁸ whose happy concord and conjunction hath brought forth those, whom the world for the good done to mankind, hath esteemed gods, as *Bacchus* the great Vintner, *Ceres* the Meal-mother, *Flora* the Tutty-maker,¹⁹ *Vertumnus*²⁰ and *Pomona* Costermongers²¹.

Now, if every man would render and repay in full weight, that which by due debt he oweth and hath

54 goddeffes A¹⁰⁰] Goddeffes B⁹⁷; 58 and A¹⁰⁹] & B¹⁰⁴ & A¹¹⁰] and B¹⁰⁶; 59 mankind A¹¹²] mankinde B¹⁰⁷; 60 gods A¹¹²] Gods B¹⁰⁸; 62 he A¹¹⁶] hee B¹¹²

¹⁷ "1. Aerugo. 2. Febris. 3. Psora." [Cornwallis's own note] Aerugo: "Rust or mildew of plants" (*OED* n., 1); Febris: Latin word for fever; Psora: "Any of various skin disease characterized by the presence of scabs or scales, usually with itching" (*OED* n.).

¹⁸ Latin for: "Elements, almost nourishment".

¹⁹ References to Bacchus, the Roman god of wine and fertility, Ceres, goddess of agriculture, and Flora, goddess of flowers and Spring.

²⁰ The tale of the Roman god of seasons and Pomona is told in Book 14 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

²¹ Historical term, originally indicating "one who sells his or her fruit in the open street" (*OED* n., 1), here it is attributed to the Roman goddess Pomona, patron of fruits and fruit trees.

borrowed from others, *Saturn's* golden age²² would return again, in which there was no difference of metals, but gold and silver were all one ore, and made the yolk of the earth, Nature's great egg, neither did *Meum* and *Tuum*²³ bound out, and apportionate lands and lordships, by mere-stones²⁴, and diversity of tenures of socage and socage;²⁵ since when, *Qui habet terras, habet guerras*, and the King of Heaven's peace hath been disturbed amongst men: but then all things were all men's, as Necessity did allot and award, who was then the only judge and arbitrator, competently allowing to every man, that which he stood in need of. 115 120

With what dearness have both gods and good men countenanced and graced debtors? To whom *Di-ana*, the great goddess of *Ephesus*,²⁶ granted her tem- 125

113 metals A¹¹⁹] mettals B¹¹⁵; 120 been A¹²⁵] beene B¹²¹; 121 neceffitie A¹²⁷] neecessity B¹²²; 122 iudge and arbitrator A¹²⁸] Iudge and Arbitrator B¹²³; 124 gods A¹³¹] Gods B¹²⁶; 125 goddeffe A¹³³] Goddeffe B¹²⁸ Temple for a Sanctuarie A¹³⁴] temple for a Sanctuary B¹²⁸

²² In classical mythology, the reign of Saturn (the youngest of the Titans and supreme god until dethroned by his son Jupiter) was identified with the Golden Age.

²³ I.e. mine and yours.

²⁴ "A boundary stone". (*OED* n., 1.a)

²⁵ "The tenure of land by certain determinate services other than knight-service". (*OED* n., 1a)

²⁶ Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt, the moon and nature, was associated with the Greek goddess Artemis, to whom the temple in Ephesus was dedicated. The Artemision is known for carrying on different activities, one of which was acting as a bank lending money out at interest, hence being considered here as a "sanctuary" for debtors. (J.K. Davies, 2011, "The Well-Balanced Polis: Ephesos", in Archibald, Davies, Gabrielsen, eds, *The Economies of Hellenistica Societies, Third to First Centuries BC*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 182)

ple for a sanctuary, to keep them out of *Bagwell*:²⁷ *pigeon-houses*. Or if they were caught, *Solon*²⁸ by a solemn law enacted, would not have their bodies to be fettered or manacled amongst malefactors, but that they should enjoy their liberty throughout all the parks and purlieus²⁹ of the prison, or to speak more mildly, of their restraint and endurance: for the prison is built purgatory-wise, after the *architecture* of *Rome*, with a *limbus*³⁰ and *tullianum*.³¹ The dungeon

130

135

128 *Solon* by a folemn A¹³⁶] *Solon*, by a folemn B¹³⁰; 132 & A¹⁴⁰] and B¹³⁵;
134 *Architecture* A¹⁴¹] *Architecture* B¹³⁶

²⁷ The reference here is not clear and was probably obscure also to Thomas Jordan, who in 1644 published an appropriated version of Cornwallis' text: he wrote "Pagwell" instead of "Bagwell". It might be an allusion to William Bagwell, a merchant and chronic debtor frequently imprisoned for insolvency, who wrote about his life in prison, but his work *The Distressed Merchant, and Prisoners Comfort in Distress* was published only in 1645. Furthermore, his birth is dated c. 1593: he was too young when Cornwallis wrote his paradoxes to be already known as a famous insolvent (see his *ODNB* entry).

²⁸ Athenian statesman and lawgiver noted for his economic, constitutional, and legal reforms.

²⁹ "In *plural*. The outskirts or surroundings of any place; the environs, the borders." (*OED* n., 2a)

³⁰ In Roman Catholic theology, the border place between heaven and hell where dwell those souls who, though not condemned to punishment, are deprived of the joy of eternal existence with God in heaven ("Limbo", *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*).

³¹ The underground execution cell of the prison, at the foot of the Capitoline hill in Rome.

is the Devil's pinfold³² and the very suburbs of Hell, where varlets,³³ roarers,³⁴ and stiletto-stabbers³⁵ are let down, as the proper food that stuffs that great greedy maw. The next room is the lollard³⁶ of trunk-hosed³⁷ Familists³⁸ and separatists, who after they have been 140 rowelled in the neck, to cure them of the megrim³⁹ of the head, they are by the gentle flame of this stove, and the heat of their own zeal, made to sweat out

137 stilettoftabbers A¹⁴⁴] stiletto-ftabbers B¹³⁹; 141 been rowelled in the neck A¹⁴⁸] beene rowelled in the necke B¹⁴²; 143 heate A¹⁵⁰] heat B¹⁴⁵

³² "A pen or enclosure for stray or distrained livestock; a pound for animals, a fold" (*OED* n., 1.1). In a general sense: a trap.

³³ "A knave, rogue, rascal." (*OED* n., 1.2a)

³⁴ "A noisy, riotous reveller; a person who indulges in wild drunken behaviour." (*OED* n., 1.1b)

³⁵ One who stabs with a "stiletto" ("a short dagger with a blade thick in proportion to its breadth" *OED* n., 1a); here it is used in the sense of traitors, cowards.

³⁶ Originally it indicated a follower of John Wyclif, lecturer at Oxford (1361-82), who criticized the wealth and power of the Church, upheld the Bible as the sole guide for doctrine, and questioned the scriptural basis of the papacy; it was also used later for anyone seriously critical of the Church. (Wright Kerr, ed., 2015, *A Dictionary of World History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 395)

³⁷ I.e. old-fashioned, out-of-date. Trunk-hose were worn by men in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

³⁸ Members of the Family of Love, a religious sect of Dutch origin led by Hendrik Niclaes during the sixteenth century. He claimed that religion consisted in the exercise of love and invited his followers to join in peace and give up dogma.

³⁹ I.e. migraine.

their contumacy⁴⁰ and other peccant⁴¹ humours. The
 upper skirt and stage of this building is the garret of 145
 expensful wasters, gamesters and unthrifty debt-
 ors, where though they live robbed of their liber-
 ty, as they rifled others of their money. Yet is it their
 great happiness, that being glutted, as it were, with
 an apolaustic⁴² voluptuary life, they have an easy 150
 overture made to the contemplative and practic life
 of virtue. Whoever lived more like a souced-gurn-
 head⁴³ amongst men, then *Diogenes* the Cynic,⁴⁴ bar-
 relling himself up in his tub like a keg of sturgeon?
 Yet was the happiness of his contented life envied 155
 of the greatest monarchs, who having made their
 throats the through-face and the colanders⁴⁵ of meats
 and drinks, found an overgorged belly, to be Wit's
 clog, Reason's sepulchre, Lust's arsenal, the maga-
 zine of lewd practices, and the nursery of all vices: 160
 all which provocations are defaulted by *Debt's* wants

144 contumary A¹⁵¹] contumacy B¹⁴⁵; 148 money. Yet A¹⁵⁶] money; yet B¹⁵⁰;
 151 practick A¹⁵⁹] practicke B¹⁵³; 153 Cynick A¹⁶¹] Cynicke B¹⁵⁵; 154 tubbe
 A¹⁶²] Tubbe A¹⁵⁶; 155 enuied A¹⁶³] enuyed B¹⁵⁷; 157 & A¹⁶⁵] and B¹⁶⁰;
 160 practices, and the Nurferie A¹⁶⁸] practifes, and the Nurfery B¹⁶²

⁴⁰ "Contumary" in the 1616 edition, it was corrected in "contuma-
 cy": "Perverse and obstinate resistance of or disobedience to authori-
 ty; rebellious stubbornness." (*OED* n., 1a)

⁴¹ Unhealthy or corrupt.

⁴² "Concerned with or wholly devoted to seeking enjoyment;
 self-indulgent." (*OED* adj.)

⁴³ The term, similar to "sowse-crown", indicates a fool (entry found
 in B.E., *New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, c. 1698).

⁴⁴ Greek philosopher and one of the founders of Cynic philosophy.

⁴⁵ "A vessel, usually of metal, closely perforated at the bottom with
 small holes, and used as a sieve or strainer in cookery." (*OED* n., 1)

and indigency.

And lastly, the Lombards,⁴⁶ Usurers, and Scriveners,⁴⁷ who are the beadles⁴⁸ of beggars, and are accounted the tetterers⁴⁹ upon the body politic of the Common-weal,⁵⁰ who turn the calends and new moons, and the festival days of quarter-gaudies,⁵¹ into the octaves⁵² of disaster and Doomsday reckonings, when any of these come to Heaven, there is a wonderment amongst the angels, and they cry out with

162 indigency A¹⁶⁹] indigencie B¹⁶⁴; 166 and A¹⁷⁴] & B¹⁶⁸; 168 Octanes A¹⁷⁶] Octaues B¹⁷⁰

⁴⁶ Banker or money-lender. In the Middle Ages, the term indicated bankers and money-lenders from Lombardy (Italy) and then was applied generally to anyone engaged in banking and money-lending. Lombard Street in the City of London, the location of the principal London banks, was so named because it was formerly occupied by bankers from Northern Italy. (Elizabeth Knowles, ed., 2006, "Lombard", *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* 2 ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press n. p.)

⁴⁷ Here: "A person engaged in the business of moneylending, investing money at interest on behalf of clients, etc.". (*OED* n., 1c)

⁴⁸ "One who delivers the message or executes the mandates of an authority" (*OED* n., 2), spec. a parish constable.

⁴⁹ "A general term for any pustular herpetiform eruption of the skin". (*OED* n., 1.1)

⁵⁰ "The whole body of the people, the body politic; a state, community". (*OED* n., 2)

⁵¹ Quarter days are each of the four days fixed by custom as marking off the quarters of the year. In England and Ireland, they are traditionally Lady Day (March 25), Midsummer's Day (June 24), Michaelmas (Sept. 29), and Christmas (Dec. 25).

⁵² "Octanes" in the 1616 edition, then corrected in the second one in "Octaues", it refers to "the period of eight days beginning with the day of a festival" (*OED* n., 1).

SR. Guzman of Alfarache:⁵³ “*fruta nueva, fruta nueva*”, here is a new kind of fruit start up, a pome-paradise⁵⁴ upon a crab-stock, Lombards and Scriveners are become the Pope’s canonised and beatified saints.

Farewell then, *Ulpianus*,⁵⁵ *Modestinus*,⁵⁶ and other 175
pettifoggers⁵⁷ of the law, solicitors, and molesters of causes, who account being in debt a kind of bondage and servitude. I pity *Seneca*’s weakness, who blushed to borrow; *miserum verbum et dimisso vultu proferen-*

171 SR. Gurman A¹⁷⁹] Sir GuZman B¹⁷³; 172 heere is a new kind of fruit A¹⁸⁰] Here is a new kinde of fruit B¹⁷³ Pumparadife A¹⁸⁰] Pum-paradice B¹⁷⁴; 173 crab-flocke A¹⁸¹] Crab-flocke B¹⁷⁵; 174 faints A¹⁸³] Saints B¹⁷⁶; 175 *Modestinus* A¹⁸⁴] *Modestinus* B¹⁷⁷; 176 Sollicitours A¹⁸⁵] Solicitors B¹⁷⁸; 177 kind A¹⁸⁶] kinde B¹⁷⁹; 178 *Senecaes* weakeneffe A¹⁸⁷] *Seneca*’s weakneffe B¹⁸⁰; 179 et A¹⁸⁸] & B¹⁸¹

⁵³ Reference to the picaresque novel by Mateo Alemán. Published in Spain in two parts in 1599 and 1604, the novel was so popular that it was also translated into different European languages: the English translation by James Mabbe, however, appeared only in 1622, so Cornwallis must have known the original version (which he quotes).

⁵⁴ Perhaps after the French *pomme de paradis*, it indicated a sweet variety of apple, but most probably referred to *paradise apple* (see *OED pome* n.,1).

⁵⁵ Ulpian (170-223 AD) was a Roman lawyer and jurist. He influenced more than any other author the Justinian Digest, main source of law in Europe until the 1800.

⁵⁶ Herennius Modestinus was a celebrated Roman jurist and a student of Ulpian.

⁵⁷ “A lawyer who engages in petty quibbling and cavilling, or who employs dubious or underhanded legal practices; a lawyer who abuses the law.” (*OED* n., 1.1)

*dum, Rogo.*⁵⁸ That Poet *Laureate*⁵⁹ forfeited his wreath 180
of bays and ivy twine, who made his prayers to his
purse to keep him out of debt, in this manner.

To you my Purse, and to none other wight
Complain I, for you be my Lady dear:
I am sorry now that you be light, 185
For certes ye now make me heavy cheer,
Me were as lief laid upon a beer.
For which unto your mercy thus I cry,
Be heavy again, or else mote I die.

Now vouchsafe this day, or it might be night, 190
That I of you the blissful sound may hear,
Or see your colour, like the sun bright.
That of yellowness had never peer,
Ye be my life, ye be my heart's flare;⁶⁰
Queen of comfort and of good company, 195
Be heavy again, or else mote I die.

181 praieris A¹⁹¹] prayers B¹⁸³; 182 keep A¹⁹¹] keepe B¹⁸⁴; 186 heauie A¹⁹⁶] heauy B¹⁸⁸; 187 layd A¹⁹⁷] laid B¹⁸⁹; 188 mercie A¹⁹⁸] mercy B¹⁹⁰; 191 heere A²⁰¹] heare B¹⁹³

⁵⁸ Line from Seneca's *De Beneficii* (2.2.1). It translates to: "Asking is a miserable word, to be pronounced looking down".

⁵⁹ "Th. Ocleve in Chaucer" [Cornwallis's own note] Reference to Thomas Hoccleve, or Occleve, English poet and clerk. For long seen as a poor imitator of Chaucer, he has lately been reconsidered as a key figure of fifteenth-century Middle English literature.

⁶⁰ "The action or quality of flaring, or giving forth a dazzling and unsteady light; dazzling but irregular light, like that of torches; a sudden outburst of flame. Also *figurative*." (OED n., 1.1a)

Now Purse, that art to me my life's light
 And saviour as down in this world here,
 Out of this town help me by your might,
 Sith that you will not be my treasure, 200
 For I am shown as near as any frere:
 But I pray unto your courtesy,
 Be heavy again, or else mote I die.⁶¹

Yet farewell the prodigal unthrift, who is *magis promus quam condus*,⁶² and serves at the but-
 tery-hatch,⁶³ whatsoever is in his bin or his barrel, 205
 and therefore could never endure the complaint of
 his Purse, who thus bemoaned herself unto him.

*Materia infœlix, detracta cadavere; forma,
 tam varia, ut nec ego me mihi nosse queam.
 Haud melius fatum, nam pendeo more latronis, 210
 ingenium sic me fueris habere putant.*

203 die A²¹³] dye B²⁰⁵; 210 noße A²²⁰] noffe B²¹²

⁶¹ The poem is *To My Empey Purse* by Chaucer. Cornwallis, following the 1602 edition of the works of Chaucer in which Occleve is indicated as the author, attributes it to him.

⁶² Latin proverb: *Promus* (an officer who dispenses stores) rather than *condus* (one who collects and keeps them). The distinction refers to Roman household terms.

⁶³ "An opening in the wall, or above the half-door, of a buttery at which drinks and other provisions are served." (*OED* n.)

*Si dederis servo; servatum redo petenti
non nisi at auriculis tracta referre volo.*⁶⁴

A skin flayed off, yield my materials,
my form is various, where myself I loose, 215
My doom's a felon's death and funerals,
for at a belt I am hanged by a noose.
I do not filch for mine own thrift and gain,
but what you give, I closely keep and bear,
And when you ask, I it restore again, 220
yet not, except you pluck me by the ear.

For the altumal⁶⁵ and foot of the reckoning, this
is the *summa summarum*: *Debemur morti nos nos-*
*traque.*⁶⁶ So that whilst I live, I must resolute to live
in debt, in debt to God, for my being; in debt to 225
Christ, for my well-being; in debt to God's sancti-
fying Spirit, for my new-being, and I will ever be
ready to pawn my life for my country's liberty, I will
owe obedience to my parents, faith and loyalty to

214 materials A²²⁵] materials B²¹⁷; 225 God A²³⁶] GOD B²²⁸; 227 Spirit A²³⁸] SPIRIT B²³⁰; 229 obedience A²⁴⁰] Obedience B²³² Loyaltie A²⁴¹] Loyalty B²³³

⁶⁴ Enigma from Julius Caesar Scaliger's "Poemata in duas partes diuisa". Cornwallis in his essay "Of trappes for fame", calls him an "excellent head of our time". (Vernon Jr Hall, 1950, *Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558)*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 155)

⁶⁵ From the Dutch adverb *altemaal*, "with everything taken together, altogether, completely". (*OED* adj.)

⁶⁶ Line from Horace's *Ars Poetica* (v. 63). It translates to: "All things considered: we and all our things are destined for death".

my Prince, and when I shall pay my great debt un- 230
to Nature, I will render my spirit into the hands of
God, bequeath my body to be deposed in the lap and
bosom of the earth, and cry: *Domine, dimitte debi-*
*ta mea.*⁶⁷

FINIS.

⁶⁷ Litt. "Lord, forgive my debts". It refers to the verse "Et dimitte nobis debita nostra" from the Latin prayer "Pater Noster".

To the Reader,

If those precepts that advise the preventing of the infirmities of the mind have been ever more safe and sweet than theirs, that like laws hold their peace until they have them in their power and then pluck them up by the roots, is he that prescribes temperance the best physician? He the best pilot that foresees a storm? He the best statesman, that understands the dangers of his country in their bud and greenness? And in a word they the happiest counsellors, that seek to keep us out of the contingency of peril? It is not impossible (Reader) but I may be of some use to thee. But I praise Sadness, so doth the physician his medicine, which howsoever thy taste abhors,¹ thy reason desires, and being once down, thou art content to forget the loathsomeness and regard the operation.² I will commend my prescription to thee no further than that it cannot

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¹ "To regard with disgust or hatred; to loathe, abominate. Now frequently in hyperbolic use." (OED v., 2)

² Here in the general sense of being active.

hurt; what good it may do, let thy experience resolve thee, which the warranty of the safety may invite thee to. If it wants those graces and embellishments that he hath need of that adventures on an innovation, let a plain true tale be accepted better than a filed³ falsehood, especially since, through the cloud of mine ignorance, truth shows thee light enough to direct thy way, though not to delight thee in thy journey. I seek not honour from thee, nor am I the subject of thine opinion, thy censure shall only concern thy self; for me, though I should hold my cloak the faster for the wind, yet shall I never yield it to the Sun;⁴ he that feels not their present power needs not fear the future, and I am armed against both, either with a knowledge or a dullness of proof. And so I leave thee to thine own judgement if thou hast one, or if thou hast not, to live like the mole⁵ by hearing: Farewell.

³ "In senses of the verb: chiefly *figurative* of speech, etc.: Polished, smooth, neatly finished off or elaborated; fine (now *rare*). Also with defining word prefixed as fair-filed, true-filed adjs." (*OED* adj.)

⁴ Reference to Aesop's fable "The North Wind and the Sun". The two of them compete in forcing a traveller to take off his coat in order to establish which one is stronger: the persuasion of the Sun wins over the brutal force of the Wind.

⁵ Moles are usually use in similes with reference to their proverbial blindness (see also *OED* n3, 1b).

The Praise of Sadness

They that have blessed their time with drawing in-
to their own bosoms the consideration of the world
and her mutabilities and kept them there to strenght-
en their reason against the vanity and waywardness
of their affections and passions, know already, I may 5
offend opinion, but not truth, undertaking as imper-
tinent a work as he that intended to praise *Hercules*.¹
To these I address not myself, unless they will please
to perfect² me, since I cannot them. But to those I am
directed, that either the smiles of Fortune have de- 10
prived of the true knowledge of the condition of man
or youth hath not yet ripened;³ or such vulgar and
earthly creatures, whose judgement dazzled with be-
holding the outward splendor of Fortune's minions

¹ The Roman name of the Greek hero Heracles, son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene. He is better known for his strength and adventures, among which his 'Twelve Labours'.

² "To make perfect or faultless; to bring to perfection. Also in weakened sense: to bring nearer to perfection, to improve." (*OED* v., 2)

³ I.e. grown to maturity.

(the miserablest of all) cannot or will not see with
 what terrible cares and discontentments, the purple
 robe⁴ is lined. 15

I know, but fear not, the danger of cherishing
 and defending so unwelcome a guest as Sadness, so
 shunned,⁵ so abhorred, for since I am well assured, 20
 they have condemned rather her countenance than
 herself, and that both her judge, jury and hangman
 hath been that aery monster *Opinion*, that taketh all
 upon trust and answers nothing with reason, I was
 the rather inclined to be her friend, because *Opin-* 25
ion was her enemy: the first proof of her goodness,⁶
 since she is hated by so false and obstinate an enemy
 to wisdom and judgement.

First then, because our human weakness, and
 chiefly those that I desire to instruct, understand 30
 best by contraries, as health is best known by sick-
 ness, plenty by want, it is fit I show them what Mirth
 is made of and over what a troupe she commands;
 that beholding her, and her band disrobed and anat-
 omized, weary and ashamed of the sight, they may, 35
 by putting off their prejudicate obstinacy, be made
 first hearers and consequently obeyers of a worthi-
 er conductor.

That Mirth is a natural quality of man's⁷ I deny
 not, but withall, I think it one of those that he hath 40

⁴ For ancient Greeks and Romans, purple was the colour associat-
 ed with high ranks and power. Purple robes were worn by high mag-
 istrates and military commanders.

⁵ I.e. avoided.

⁶ "*The first proof of her goodness*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷ "*What Mirth is*" [Cornwallis's own note]

little cause to boast of. It is true that he makes Mirth and Sadness the balance of his affections and passions, and is weighed by them: thus he accounts his winnings and losings and the same is expressed in Sadness or Mirth. But whether most of these supposed winners are not rather betrayed than supported, loosened, disordered and corrupted than strengthened, grounded and instructed, I think there is no man that hath well observed himself and his passages considerately, but will affirm: Who can doubt of this, that knows the slightness of her composition? Children make her of babies and hobby-horses; young men of sports, hawks, horses, dogs or worse; old men of riches; statesmen of adorers, honour and advancement; women of gay clothes, many lovers and flattering glasses: it is one God they adore, though worshipped in severall shapes, and though the difference amongst them makes them despisers of one another's choice, yet to the uninteressed beholder they play all at one game, though not all for one sum. *Et quae veneraris et quae despicias, unus exaequabit cinis.*⁸

We have touched the aim and end. Let us now see the pursuers and adorers of Mirth and they that make her the goddess of their actions, a people either so light and imperceptible as nothing can come beyond their senses, or so opinionative and obstinate, or rather so drunk with pleasure, as they will

⁸ Line adapted from a passage in Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam*: "One ruin will make equal the things that you adore and those that you despise".

not know what they may and must, or a third sort
 that clap Mirth between them and their consciences 70
 for fear of corrosives, that keep her up like a ball
 and run after her to be the further off from themselves,
 who might know, though *Vinum, cantus, somnus,*
commotiunculas illas primas, non raro sanarunt
irae doloris, amoris at nunquam agritudinem, quae 75
*radices egit et fixit pedem,*⁹ to characterize these further
 than in generality, were needless: for what shall
 the picture need, where the original is so common?
 With what other brothel-houses and taverns stuffed?
Voluptas, humile, servile, imbecillem, caducam; cui- 80
*us statio et fornices et popinae sunt,*¹⁰ what are the
 inhabitants of theaters, meetings, feasts, triumphs
 but such as either acknowledge no God so willingly
 as Mirth and Pleasure, or such as dare not come
 home into themselves for fear of their errors and 85
 miscarriage?¹¹

In the mean time, o poor Reason, at how base¹²
 a price are thou sold? Or art thou but a name without
 an essence? Or a broken reed that the will of
 man dares not stay itself upon, for fear of falling? Or 90

⁹ From Justus Lipsius' *De Constantia*: "Those first little perturbations caused by ire, pain, and love are not seldom cured with wine, song, and sleep, but that disease cannot be healed which takes root and takes hold [in one's soul]".

¹⁰ From Seneca's *De Vita Beata* (ch. 7): "Pleasure is mean, slavish, stupid, fleeting; brothels and bad taverns are its seat".

¹¹ I.e. misconduct, misbehaviour.

¹² I.e. low.

else what a blue-eyed¹³ choice is theirs, that for the most idle, momentary and sick effects of Mirth and Pleasure, impawn not only their time (which is unredeemeable) but themselves, which they think too well sold to repurchase.

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But now it is fit I hasten to them who seek not Mirth but are sought of her, for such is the lust of Fortune's benefits, as whilst the body feeleth herself able to purchase her desires and to gorge¹⁴ her senses, she abandons herself to all sensualities and rejoiceth in her own fulness: to you then, upon whom none but fair winds have ever blown in this career of your supposed happiness, can you see for all your high and overtopping places, your end and resting place? Or are you not rather the arrows of the Omnipotent's arm, that are yet flying, not at yours, but as his mark, and are no more owners of your own beginnings? In the mean time, effeminated with your prosperity, and as it were still sucking upon the brest of Fortune, if she turns her back and retires, how miserable doth she leave you? Still bleating after the teat and, like those nice creatures that become tame with taking their bread from others' hands, unable to administer to yourselves the least help or comfort.

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We do see that Nature and all her productions support them and herself by incessant changes and revolutions, generation and corruption being to the

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¹³ In a figurative sense: ingenuous. The OED records the earliest entries with this sense from the 20th century (*OED* adj., 1b).

¹⁴ "To fill the gorge of; to stuff with food; to glut, satiate. Also with *up*." (*OED* v., 4.2a)

earth like rivers to the sea, in a restless current and perpetual progress. Do we see the flourishing and falling, not only of Kings and Princes, but of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, cities, trophies and whatsoever the vain imagination of man hath contrived for the overcoming of time? And can we upon some small remnant of Fortune's bounty, think to establish a perpetuity of Mirth and Pleasure? No, no, he that takes not this time to provide for a world and in the midst of his pleasures doth not think how frail and transitory they are, will pay dearly for his jollity, when surprised by death, or some disaster, they leave him in an instant so much more miserable than others, as he hath depended upon such uncertainties, without which his life is most loathsome unto him, and with which death most fearful and abhorred.

But to what end is all this tendered to the adorers and lovers of Mirth? Their heads and hearts are already filled with their own delights, which must be consumed by affliction before the precious balm of Sadness can either enter or work. *Fabius* said, he feared more *Minutius'* victories than overthrows;¹⁵ which may be rightly applied to the general disposition of man, his successes infecting him with an

¹⁵ Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Quintus (280-203 BC), Roman consul and dictator, during the Second Punic War against Hannibal carried out a contested policy of attrition. His Master of the Horse and political enemy, Marcus Minucius Rufus, opposed his strategy and rushed an attack that forced the retreat of several enemy units. (Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow, 2014, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 302)

ignorant confidence, intoxicating his reason with presumption and ostentation, which are such daily effects of worldly prosperities, as they that think themselves lords are often the unworthiest sort of slaves and their opinionative happiness, the most wretched misery: not unlike the mad *Athenian*¹⁶ that imagined himself possessed of all when indeed he was true owner¹⁷ but of his own distemper and lunacy.

To young men there belongs more pity, as well because Nature hath her hand in this their thirst of pleasure, they being yet by the heat of blood and the quickness of their spirits and the strength of their senses, jolly and gamesome,¹⁸ as also that it must be time, and the wounds and scars gotten by their wretched carelessness, that must make them capable of advice. Since (as *Plutarch*¹⁹ saith) their heady passions and pleasures set over them more cruel and tyrannous governors than those that had the charge of their minorities, now who is it that leadeth this distracted dance of youth, but Mirth? For whose sake and pleasures they are inseparable companions, what is irregular, indiscreet, unlawful, dishonest; nay, what laws, either of man's natures or God's, are in these apprehensions, strong enough to contain

¹⁶ Diogenes the Cynic.

¹⁷ In the 1616 printed version mistyped "honor". It was already corrected by John Dunton in 1707, when he included this encomium amongst his *Athenian Sports, Or Two Thousand Paradoxes*.

¹⁸ I.e. playful.

¹⁹ Greek biographer and essayist (46-120), he is better known for his works *Parallel Lives* and *Moralia*.

them within their bounds? *Galba* in his adoption of
Piso,²⁰ amongst his other praises saith: "You whose
 youth hath needed no excuse", a commendation so
 rare and glorious, as there needed no more to illus- 170
 trate his name and fame to all posterity. For who
 else, unless fettered and chained with nature or for-
 tune, but in their first wearing the fresh garment of
 youth, have not soiled and spotted it, as their whole
 life after (though painfully and industriously direct- 175
 ed) hath not been able to wipe out their faults and
 refresh the gloss²¹ of their reputation? Hence it is,
 that *Delicta juventutis mea et ignorantias meas ne*
memineris Domine,²² is taught by all and used by all;
 so inevitable a disease is youth of which we need no 180
 witness, since every man's conscience doth justify it;
 the generality and antiquity having made it venial
 and, by consent, we bind none from these slips and
 stumbles, but old men and women. The rest pass the
 masters so far from checking, as they produce many 185
 of their follies as the marks of spirit and generosity,
 and by their will would make of an old vice a young
 virtue: who can hope now to deliver this flourishing
 season of youth from these caterpillars?²³ Since
 Mirth and Pleasure allures, Opinion animates, and 190
 Community hides them from the sight of themselves

²⁰ Servius Sulpicius Galba, first Roman Emperor after Nero's death, chose Lucius Calpurnius Piso Licianus as his successor.

²¹ I.e. superficial lustre. (*OED* n., 2.1a)

²² Psalm 25:7; "Do not remember the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions".

²³ Here in the figurative sense of "a rapacious person; an extortioner; one who preys upon society". (*OED* n., 1.2)

and actions, this it is that makes nothing more current than to pay one another with our faults, and no man trusts so much to his own virtue as to his neighbours or companions vices's. We repose ourselves in the defect of others, and no man strives further than to be comparatively good: we advance ourselves upon ruins and think ourselves well because another is worse: O lame shift! O drunken remedy! I will then say but this, to those young men that will hear me: since you know not the way to true happiness and contentment, ask not of them that are yet in the race but of them that have passed it; propose unto yourselves some pattern to imitate (*nisi ad regulam prava non corrigas*)²⁴ and to strengthen your judgements, behold those that have already acted their parts, take one of these admirers of Mirth and Pleasure and another that hath ever made his reason the taster of all his actions and compare these together, and then choose which of them you would be. There cannot thus far off be so corrupted a judgement, as not to know the best: the difference is then a little time, *et hoc quod senectus vocatur, pauci sunt circuitus annorum*.²⁵ Behold then the match: for a few years to boot, this vicious, hateful person is taken, that devoured his own honour and reputation and with his pleasure swallowed even his very soul and that lives now but in his infamy, rather than that well ordered

²⁴ From Seneca's 11th Epistle to Lucilius: "You will not correct any evil without referring to a rule".

²⁵ From Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam* (1: 11), "That which we call old age encompasses but few years".

spirit that hath left a true and perfect circle of a discreet governed life and death, and left the world heir of many rich and worthy examples. Who in this consideration, but must cry out with the psalmist, *O what is man, that thou art so mindful of him, etc?*²⁶ Or why having taken our judgements thus halting, should we reply upon in? Carrying us through the world, that in our entrance hath thus stumbled and fallen, he hath then the first sign of recovery, that in this his beginning mistrusts his own ways and dares offer his wounds to the surgeon: it is an incurable ignorance, that dares not put itself to mending. *Plato* would have offenders repair²⁷ to the judge and magistrate, as to the physicians of the soul, and submit themselves to punishment, as to the medicine of recovery; but this was too high an imagination for practice. Yet thus far we may go, and upon the ground, and not in the air, having, upon a due examination, found it fit to mistrust ourselves, it follows even in common reason not to throw ourselves rashly into any action but to assist our weakness with gaining consideration time: this disarms our passions of their violence, for their motion being out of heat and never going but running, being once stayed and overtaken by reason, they after willingly submit themselves unto her and are easily managed. It is an axiom in philosophy that our first motions are not in our own power, which is true no longer than we

²⁶ Psalm 8:4.

²⁷ I.e. go.

list:²⁸ for he that will not embark himself, without a pause and deliberation, dissolves the acrimony²⁹ of his affections and makes them of the cruellest tyrants the most profitable servants. It is true, our ignorance and sloth make everything terrible unto us and we will not because we dare not, and dare not because we will not: this makes us submit ourselves to anything that doth either flatter or threaten us; and like some sottish³⁰ weaklings, that give the reins of their government into the hands of their wives or servants, thinking then they buy their peace when they sell it, thus do they grow upon us and by composition, not force, become masters of the place, being just so strong as we are weak. The scouts of *Antigonus*³¹ relating unto him the multitude of his enemies and advising by way of information the danger of a conflict that should be undertaken with so great an inequality, he replied: "And at how many do you value me?" In this civil war of our selves, the first disorder, and consequently our overthrow, proceeds from a false evaluation of our own strength: we are content to embrace our own true natural worth, so we may have leave to yield ourselves to some furious passion or soothing affection, but would we now take a true knowledge of our own value, we might easily redeem ourselves. God and nature have not dealt so tyrannically with man as to give him charge

²⁸ I.e. desire, wish.

²⁹ "Sharp or irritating bitterness of tone or manner; ill feeling." (OED n., 2)

³⁰ Foolish.

³¹ First Macedonian king after Alexander the Great.

of that he cannot hold: if we lose the game it must be
 by play, wherefore since we are likely to be besieged 275
 by the world and her allurements. Lest famine or
 treason surprise, let us turn out of the walls, all un-
 profitable pleasures, and know betimes that Mirth
 becometh neither the fortune nor condition of man:
 so is he environed with dangers, and so subject to 280
 entrappings,³² *omnis vita supplicium est*,³³ there is no
 day, hour or moment, that brings a certain cessation
 of arms, but to the contrary, our life is a continual
 warfare, representing unto us incessant dangers and
 perils, wherefore we must always stand upon our 285
 guard and keep a straight watch upon our selves, not
 only examining the humors that go in and out, their
 arrants and pretences, but even every motion and
 thought, for of so many different pieces is the little
 world of man³⁴ compounded, so stirring,³⁵ so infati- 290
 gable, so full of changes and counter-changes, so
 suddenly elevated, as soon defected, and in a word,
 such a composition of contrarities, as he that doth
 not continually observe himself, and steadily fix his
 eyes upon all his actions shall suddenly grow a 295
 stranger to himself and be utterly ignorant of his

³² "In *plural*. The means of entrapping a person or thing; devices, stratagems, wiles. *Obsolete*." (OED n., 1)

³³ Line from Seneca's *De Consolatione ad Polybium*. It translates as: "Everyone's life is a torment".

³⁴ According to the theory of Macrocosm and Microcosm, central to the philosophy of Pythagoras, Plato and Neoplatonism, the part (the microcosm), often mankind, is a model of and reflects the whole of the macrocosm.

³⁵ I.e. unstable, inconstant.

own proceedings. If this then be a time for Mirth, we may easily imagine; who doth not alone call all the parts and faculties of man from their duties and charge, to feast and glut themselves with sensualities, but returneth them so corrupt and debauched, as like *Hannibal's* army after their wintering in *Campania*, they cannot be known for the same men, so have they melted their courages with delicacy and with riot made themselves impatient and almost incapable of discipline. To conclude, such is the weakness of man, and so strong are his bodily inclinations, as if he doth not divert or break the force of his affections, reason alone is not able to resist them: wherefore as *Plato* allowed old men mirth and wine to revive nature almost tired in her long journey, and to refresh their spirits benumbed with the coldness of their dwelling, by the same reason it is forbidden youth, whose blood being now at the hottest, by the least addition, or increase, falls into the diseases of excess, the most violent and unresistable extremes. We see then it is prescribed but for a medicine and by the difference of the constitutions of young men and old, then dangerous for the other: howsoever since it is prescribed medicinably, the too frequent use must either destroy the operation, or leave only the malignant quality alive and uncorrected, unto those whom the outside of Fortune dazzles and allures, there is nothing to be said by way of advice; being such, as neither nature nor education hath favored, but are left to act the base and illiberal parts upon this stage of the world: this is the multitude,

the vulgar,³⁶ the people that are bought and sold, and reckoned by the hundred and the thousand, and bear no price single and alone; a madness it were then, to think to move and convert them together, when our Savior that fed 5000 of them, and as many heard him, could neither with the admirableness of his miracles, nor the excellency of his doctrine prevail with them all, and return them all believers: this was sufficient to deter me even from but touching upon this quicksand, were they not the harbour of Opinion, where she is still rescued from the lovers of truth: neither is it impossible that some, yet of her and their party, upon a truer information may forsake and be ashamed of their station, or to be a piece of the body of this great beast.

There is nothing can enter into consideration more strange and improbable than to see even the most active and understanding spirits, to refer themselves and their proceedings to the multitude, to esteem themselves at their price, exceeds their memories and powers of satisfaction. The young man that thought to escape the being seen in a tavern with retiring further into it, was justly reprehended for going further in, but such is the nature of vice, it hath an alluring look and a detaining tail, our desires first allure us to things unlawful and when we are there, our fear bars us in; but if every man knew how much more right he might have from his own tribunal, if he will freely and sincerely give his reason her own power, and how justly an unabused conscience will

³⁶ The common people.

proceed, and how sweetly and securely he sleeps,
 that hath received from them his *quietus est*,³⁷ he
 would for ever disclaim the censure of opinion; and
 with *Phocion*³⁸ mistrust himself, because the people
 praised him: *erubuit quasi peccasset quod placuerit*:³⁹
 and as the Prince of morality adviseth, *Non respuit*
quid homines turpe judicent aut miserum, nor it, *qua*
populus; sed ut sidera contrarium mundo iter intend-
unt, ita hic adversus opinionem omnium vadit:⁴⁰ but
 thus far had I gone out of the way had I not pursued
 opinion.

To come now near our purpose, in examina-
 tions, circumstances are not neglected, if they any
 way conduce to the end of our inquiry: thus judges
 and magistrates make their uses and advantages
 of names, and countenances, though it be im-
 possible to make either so much as accessory: first
 then we find, that *Sadness* hath ever been received
 as a witness of truth; as in *Sadness* amongst honest
 men is taken for an infallible asseveration: whereas
Mirth hath so little credit, as when rashness or false-
 ness hath made an escape, by the tongue, the refuge
 is to lay it to *Mirth*'s charge: who as a licensed buf-

³⁷ Literally "he is quit", phrase used as a form of receipt or discharge on payment of a debt.

³⁸ Athenian statesman and general, pupil of Plato.

³⁹ Still from *Consolatio ad Marciam* (1: 24; though Seneca has "placuerat"): "he blushed almost as if he was at fault because they liked him".

⁴⁰ From Seneca's *De Constantia* (14:4): "[The wise man] does not reject to consider what other people call 'shameful' or 'miserable'; just like the stars move in an opposite way in respect of the heavenly circuit, he proceeds against common opinion."

fool hath often leave to pass the bounds⁴¹ of modesty and truth: againe, Mirth is so like drunkenness, that they are at this day but as two names of one thing, and merry means drunk, and drunk merry, whereas sober expresseth a discreet temper to raise and deject themselves at the pleasure of their breaths, to take warrant from their countenances, and in a word, to live and die at their appointments when single, they scorn and despise them, and think even their best thoughts scarce worthy of their footboy,⁴² yet the pattern and piece differeth not; and anyone as far as sufficiency expresseth the whole, as physicians say of the diseases of the body that are and the same may come from different causes: so this of the mind, which proceedeth either from the laying their ambitious hopes upon popularity, or such as guilty of their own intentions, dare not put themselves up on the trial of their consciences.

A third sort there are, that feed, and clothe, and talk, and walk, and have delivered themselves and their behaviour to be brought up by *Opinion*; these since they cannot be separated from the multitude, neither can be, nor are worth the singling;⁴³ for those that ambition hath persuaded to this popular folly, they are worthy to be deceived, and were it not that in all inordinate desires reason is first vanquished, they could not but know; this beast is tame but in

⁴¹ I.e. boundaries.

⁴² Now obsolete: "A boy travelling on foot as an attendant to an army or military unit". (*OED* n., 1)

⁴³ I.e. being distinguished from others (see "single", *OED* v.1, 4).

fair weather; they love that part of you which they
 understand, which is your fortune, love and friend-
 ship, begins in the soul, and ends in the body, and 410
 theirs begins in the body and ends in the fortune:
 the two lineaments that tie the men to a justness
 and *decorum* in all their actions, are wit and hones-
 ty; which they being defective in, can no more love
 truly, than he can speak that is born dumb. Where- 415
 fore further than commiseration and the common
 duties of humanity, it is a madness to be popular:
 for as they say, the chief strength of the lion lieth
 in his tail, so theirs in their mouths; which as it de-
 vours all you give, so they go no further to pay for 420
 all they take. It is true, *Ubicunque homo est, ibi ben-
 eficio locus est*:⁴⁴ this far charity commands and fur-
 ther is ridiculous, or dangerous, or both: in Princes
 unto whom they belong as a charge, and who hath
 power to make them fear, if they will not love, popu- 425
 larity is no vice, but part of use, and as dangerous for
 them to neglect, as for a private man and a subject to
 follow and affect.

We have nothing more common and in practice
 amongst decayed beauties, bankrupted by time or 430
 accidents, than to hide it from other's eyes with art,
 and from their own with false glasses: no otherwise
 is it with them that from the reflection of *opinion* be-
 hold the state and condition of their minds; sure-
 ly he is afraid to hear truth that dares not inquire of 435
 himself: it is against our will, if we transport to for-

⁴⁴ Line from Seneca's *De Vita Beata* (ch. 24). It translates as: "Wherever there is a man, there is a charitable place".

eign eyes, or ears, any wars that are not substantial, or at least formal: they are in the dark, and visible but to ourselves, that are fit for reformation, and as we know best their begettings and births, so are they the natural subjects for our own consciences to work upon; it is long since received, that in one, and the self same man, there may be good man, and an ill citizen; men and laws take knowledge of vice, no farther than their own interest: diseases that threaten but one, are opposed but by one, they are contagious and infectious, that are resisted by a generality. They then that go to *opinion*, to know the temper and disposition of their minds, go to the market, rather to sell than to buy, and love better to paint the walls and outsides of themselves, than to rectify and repair their inward errors and defects: but far worse it is with them that dare not to come to trial, where their facts and actions are known, which is at home, is not this like children, which shunning the reprehension and chastisements⁴⁵ of one fault, multiply it to many? Or like the careless debtor, that suffers the interest to outgrow the principal? How truly doth this prove the cowardice of vice, or rather the sottishness, since he considers not, that as fast as he runs from fear, the same haste he makes to dispensation, where they inevitably end, that never reckon with themselves, till the sum unimpeached by drink or any other excess?

For the continuance, what men carry more mis-

⁴⁵ "Authoritative correction of one who is in fault; means of amendment, discipline, training." (*OED* n., 1)

trust before them than those that have worn our the
sobriety of an honest look with a continual gurning⁴⁶
or laughing? A mark of nature's, so seldom failing,
as it is in every observation held, for an irrecoverable
defect either of wit or honesty: of such stuff are 470
commonly flatterers, time-pleasers and fawningguests⁴⁷
made: people so obnoxious to virtue and worth, as
were it not that they breed and live only upon the
lust of Fortune, it were impossible to keep them from
a general extirpation. For it is they that have be- 475
reaved⁴⁸ greatness and riches of innocency, and made
it of a dead and indifferent instrument in the power
of the disposer, to have hatched more monsters
than all the brood⁴⁹ of vices besides, and in a word
have been the visiblist and chiefest procurers of the 480
heavy sentence of our Saviour against rich men; that
it is easier for a camel to pass throught a needle's
eye than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of
heaven.⁵⁰

In the contemplating Sadness and Mirth, me- 485
thinks I see the true forms of the two ladies that of-
fered themselves to *Hercules* at his entrance in-

⁴⁶ From the verb "to girn": "To show the teeth in laughing; to grin. *Obsolete.*" (OED v.1, 2)

⁴⁷ "Obsolete. (a) A fawning parasite, a sycophant, toady; also *attributive*. (b) One who robs or swindles another under the guise of friendship." (OED n.)

⁴⁸ I.e. robbed.

⁴⁹ Progeny, offspring.

⁵⁰ Matthew 19:24: "And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God".

to the way of the world, Virtue and Pleasure:⁵¹ the first with a settled composed countenance (not unlike the South sea) full of peace, certainty and truth, 490
 no overruling passion disordering or raising the least billow,⁵² or moving the smallest breath of perturbation; the other like a shop that sets out the best wares to the view and offers many pleasing morsels to the senses, and at the first seems to resemble 495
 bounty itself in freeness and sweetness; but, alas, she is too soon won to be constant, she brings not in your reckoning, till you have consumed what she set before you, and then you shall know they are too dear, when it is too late to refuse them; her smiles 500
 and allurements are like the sunshine days of winter, storm-breeders; her clearness, warmth and calmness produce ever clouds and tempests; repentance, griefs and anxieties of the soul; and as physicians hold a continual requiring stomach an infallible *symptom* 505
 of a corrupt and diseased body, so may be said of the lovers of Mirth, that pass from one pleasure to another, and dare not let their brains settle, lest they should see their own deformities, their corrupted manners and the leprosy of their minds. 510

Hitherto *Sadness* hath gotten but a pre-eminence and hath but proved herself better than a worse, not approved her own goodness: it is now time to dis-

⁵¹ The Greek parable of "Hercules at the crossroad", in which the hero is visited by the female personifications of Vice and Virtue, is reported by Xenophon in *Memorabilia*.

⁵² "*properly*. A great swelling wave of the sea, produced generally by a high wind; but often used as merely = Wave, and hence poetically for 'the sea'." (*OED* n., 2a)

play her in her own excellency, not such a one as reverts all things upon itself, and regards no quality that returns not laden⁵³ with profit; but such a communative goodness, as grows not poor by imparting but redoubles its own strenght, riches, and splendor, with lending, assisting and dividing its influence on others; but before I offer her, and her qualities to the view, it is necessary I decipher her: *Philopoemon*,⁵⁴ for want of an interpreter, was set to cleave wood by his hostess for his own entertainment; the eye is a nice, busy and undertaking sense, if reason or judgement prepare not her way. 515 520 525

I mean not then, under the name of *Sadness*, to defend effeminate bewailings and lamentations; let them a-God's name,⁵⁵ that subject to the *Lycian*⁵⁶ law, that bounds these kind of lamentors to be arrayed like women; nor am I an approver of a rigid, sour, morose austerity, since it is seldom other then the vizard of envy or vain-glory: such were *Nero* his philosophers, *nec deerant qui voce vultusque tristi inter oblectamenta Regia spectari cuperent*;⁵⁷ nei- 530

⁵³ Loaded.

⁵⁴ Greek general and statesman, whose life Plutarch illustrated in his *Parallel Lives*. He includes the episode where, visiting the house of a friend, he was mistaken for a servant by the mistress of the house and asked to help chopping wood. (See William Robertson, 1793, *The History of Ancient Greece*, Edinburgh: William Creech, 523)

⁵⁵ A form of "in God's name" (see "god", *OED* n. and int., P1, b).

⁵⁶ Lycia was a region of ancient Anatolia, now Turkey.

⁵⁷ Line from Tacitus' *Annals* (14: 16). "There were often also those who, at the Emperor's entertainments, wanted to be seen with a sad face and a sad voice".

ther is it a small motive to their condemnation, that 535
 the novice and inquirer after virtue is deterred to see
 her disciples so overclouded and drowned in heav-
 iness, rather like the followers of a funeral than her
 minions and beloved, whose power and bounty doth
 not alone extend itself unto all deservers, but makes 540
 all lives, fortunes and accidents, not alone tolera-
 ble and to be endured, but sweet, wholesome, easy
 and oftentimes glorious and exemplar; neither will
 I praise a sorrow that, as *Pythagoras*⁵⁸ saith, eats his
 own heart, that abandons the rudder⁵⁹ in a storm and 545
 dares not live for fear of dying.

Wise men know, it is the condition of humanity
 to be tossed with contrary winds, and those are the
 seasons of distinction between wise men and fools:
 every man looks gaily in a holiday fortune, but to be 550
 basely set by, and to shine through an obscure for-
 tune, illustrates the riches and preciousnes of the
 mind. Man hath not the throwing of the dice, but the
 playing of the cast: he is lord over his intentions; the
 other part reacheth up to heaven, where successes 555
 and effects are delivered back, not according to the
 appetite of man but the inscrutable wisdom of God,
 and upon that we ought to rest ourselves, not only
 with patience but with comfort; that the only foun-
 tain of knowledge hath taken it into his own hands, 560
 of whose better disposing, it were the greatest im-

⁵⁸ Greek philosopher, mathematician, astrologer, politician and founder of the Pythagoreanism way of thinking.

⁵⁹ Here: the person who controls the rudder of a boat (see “rudder”, *OED* n., I, 2c).

piety and infidelity to make the least doubt or question. But it is Sadness that prepares us for the acting of this and the rest of our life truly, and as we ought: who must not be understood to be of the descent 565 of *Niobe*,⁶⁰ still labouring in tears and exclamations; nor a vainglorious or envious philosopher that, big with his own profession, labours to proclaim it in his look; nor a silent fretting⁶¹ sorrow, that will needs marry his afflictions; but *Sadness*, whose portraiture 570 I would present from the general state and nature of man,⁶² hath drawn herself into an habit or posture, in some places fit to resist the incursions of her enemies, in others to divert them, and sometimes like a wise conqueror making of the cruellest foes assured 575 friends or loving subjects. Her outside is sober, calm, constant, modest, and for the most part silent; her inside full of peace, industry and resolution.

To reduce these into a shorter and sounder way, what knowledge, art or science is there, more necessary and important than that which is wholly devoted to the ordering of our life? This doth *Sadness* most aptly and effectually: first instructing, then adorning, and lastly governing the life of man, with so much tranquillity, certainly and happiness, as if we 585 will trust either reason or example, we shall find no lives to carry so continual a contentment as these,

⁶⁰ According to Greek mythology, the daughter of Tantalus and Dione. She gave birth to seven daughters and seven sons, all but one killed by Apollo and Artemis; in despair, she went back to Mount Sipylos and was turned to stone by Zeus, but she did not stop weeping.

⁶¹ I.e. consuming.

⁶² "A true description of Sadness." [Cornwallis's own note]

nor none so often and so continually miscarry as the contrary.

Since then in these are comprehended the whole
 course of man's life, we will draw the picture of *Sad-* 590
ness within this compass: so shall I not praise her
 more than profit, my Reader, or if I fail, an unskil-
 ful painter may spoil a picture but not a face; which
 a worthier undertaking may purchase glory by the 595
 spoils of my imperfections; since it is not then with
 man, as with other creatures, that are endowed with
 the greatest part of their understanding, at the very
 entrance into the world, which being bounded and
 limited within a self-preservation, extends no fur- 600
 ther than to a present consideration of them and
 theirs, as it is a natural property infused rather into
 their being than into them, and rather to the profit of
 nature and her conservation than for their particu-
 lar benefit; as at the first it is straight and narrow, so 605
 time ripens it not, nor dilates it: far otherwise it is
 with man, whose reason grows with him and whose
 judgement (as not compatible with his youth) is de-
 livered unto him when he comes to age; at least his
 minority is but the seed time, in his autumn comes 610
 his harvest, that is the time of his instruction; this of
 use.

Now, whether it be from the pride of man,⁶³ that
 loves not to look so low as his infancy or the con-
 tempt he hath to impart his time to a poor lump of 615
 flesh, or that since Nature hath forced him upon
 women, he thinks to turn the imperfections of time

⁶³ "*Women enemies to true Sadness.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

upon the imperfections of Nature and that they are
fittest to breed and hatch their puling⁶⁴ wayward
weaknesses whether from one, or from all, or from 620
some more hidden cause; certain it is, that to the
most men in particular, and to the commonwealth in
general, there ariseth great loss by sacrificing these
their first years unto their tuitions:⁶⁵ from hence it 625
comes that when poets would set up a mark for im-
itation, they durst never trust a woman so much as
with their nursing, but borrowed of their imagina-
tion either a Goddess or a Nymph, or rather than
fail, a meaner creature. Some philosophers would al-
low them no more interest in our conception, than 630
to receive cherish, foster, and re-deliver us: but alas,
the large portion of the imperfections that we inher-
it from them assures us the contrary, but since it is
so much as time, reason, instruction, and whatsoev-
er the wit of man can apply, can never utterly expel, 635
hardly correct, or temper; what a stupid carelessness
reigns over the world, to increase our defects by en-
larging their time of government.

But neither to offend them nor stay further from
my subject, their dispositions will not take the rich 640
colour of *Sadness*, which ever yields that tranquillity
and settledness of mind, that can propose the end
and prosecute the way, without diversion or error: at
least, without those that disjoin our intentions and
overthrow our purposes, whereas the very springs of 645
passions and affections take and change their forms

⁶⁴ I.e. whining.

⁶⁵ I.e. teaching, instruction.

at the pleasure of every representation, not upon a deliberated judgement, but according to the consultation and conclusions of their senses.

Thus when we may see the power of *Sadness*, 650
 for instruction, since they that want it are not to be trusted with education, yet not to leave enemies behind us, though I wish we might observe their order, that set wild birds's eggs under those that are domestic and tame to alter their wild condition into their foster-mothers more mild and familiar, and 655
 so could wish our dry nurses were men, and such as could teach them words made of reason as well as wind, and though there be many severe (if not malicious) censures given us by our forefathers against them in all ages, and by all countries, and by all professions, of which infinit concurrence of censures I will give but one instance, *nelle cose di consiglio niuna donna, è capace di poterlo dare ne meno di pigliarlo per se e tanto peggio da tenerlo secreto mai*,⁶⁶ yet 665
 doubt I not but they are owners of such perfections as bounded and kept in their own circumference are of much use and pleasure, and they are to be honoured by us, no less than our mother earth, from whom we no sooner come but we strive to return again. To conclude, since we cannot be without them, it is great reason they should be entertained with a due respect, which is rather sweetly than se- 670

⁶⁶ A quotation from Antonio de Guevara's *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos* (chap. 7), curiously, in Vincenzo Bondi's Italian translation published in Venice in 1544 and 1562 (*Aviso de favoriti et doctrina de cortigiani*). It translates as: "No woman is ever capable of giving advice, keeping it to herself or, worse, keeping it secret".

riously: let them have their own interest religiously answered, and for more, since it but corrupts them and shackles⁶⁷ us, whatsoever old men for their sakes will attend their charge with more circumspection. 675

If then we desire to frame a man that shall deserve his being, and to be master of himself and time, let us begin betimes to set such governors over him, as may both by their examples and instructions daily reflect upon him and infuse into him the grace and most instructive influence of *Sadness*, for by this means he lives fortified against the grand corrupter of youth, *Pleasure*, and the violent enemy of age, *Grief*. Surely the beam⁶⁸ that keeps the cogitations of man even is none other than *Sadness*: for he that thinks to buy his peace with accumulating riches, or to be too strong for fortune with making himself powerful, doth but apply an outward medicine for an inward disease, which thought it may sometimes ease, seldom cures. But *Sadness*, that keeps us at home, daily shows us the brittle⁶⁹ frailty of all exterior things (which makes us like an army pestered with too much carriage, neither fit to flee nor fight) unites our inward powers, defends our reason from the vapours and mists of our affections, and standing between the extremes of mirth and sorrow, is the only perfect moderator of our human actions. *Ca-* 680 685 690 695

⁶⁷ From "shackle": "A fetter for the ankle or wrist of a prisoner, usually one of a pair connected together by a chain, which is fastened to a ring-bolt in the floor or wall of the cell. In the Old English examples, a ring or collar for the neck of a prisoner." (*OED* n., 1, 1.1)

⁶⁸ I.e. pillar.

⁶⁹ I.e. breakable, friable.

to,⁷⁰ though he had many learned slaves, would not 700
 commit the education of his son to them but himself
 became his instructor, which I attribute to no other
 consideration than that he rather chose to frame
 him to a well composed *Sadness* than to be excellent
 in any art or profession: *ut modestior, non ut lepidior* 705
fiat,⁷¹ a perfection fitter for a mechanic earner than a
 true owner of himself, since it is the forming of the
 mind, not the tongue or hand, that can prefer us to
 true felicity.

Now that we may touch as it were with our finger 710
 how much *Sadness* confers towards a perfect instruction,
 what is more proper and peculiar to the forming and
 framing of the mind to wisdom and goodness, than first
 to keep out vice, and then so to work, prepare, and temper 715
 the mind, as it shall be always fit to receive and contain
 the wholesome documents of virtue and honesty? Which doth
Sadness, so naturally and effectually as all other things
 that offer themselves for this use, are in comparison,
 left-handed, and stepmothers to education. 720

First then, as one saith prettily in his imagined
 wife, that he would have her of a denying behaviour,
 as if a fort accessively⁷² situated, could not

⁷⁰ Roman senator and historian, he was a fervent conservative and an opponent to Hellenization.

⁷¹ Distorted quotation from Aulus Gellius, Roman author and grammarian. Here it could be translated as: "So that the result be more modest, not more elegant" (see John C. Rolfe, ed., 2016, *The Complete Works of Aulus Gellius*, Hastings: Delphi Classica, chap.9).

⁷² "In an accessible manner; so as to be accessible (in various senses)." (*OED* adv.)

be impregnable, since assaultable, and as he saith
 therefore, he comes too near, that comes to be de- 725
 nied, and as *Ovid*,⁷³ that great trader into those parts,
 could never find armour of proof for Chastity, but
 not to be proved, *casta est quam nemo rogavit*,⁷⁴ she's
 chaste, whom no tongue yet did taste: so doubtless,
 he shall pass the narrow way of Virtue with fewer 730
 impediments that his owner of this sober, preventive
 behaviour, than those alluring countenances which
 keep open house for all comers. One philosopher
 would have bolsters⁷⁵ made to stop the ears of young
 men from contagious noisome sounds; but he that 735
 hath made *Sadness* his porter shall not need them,
 since his very presence deters and checks their loose
 imaginations, and they dare not confess themselves
 to him that hath their condemnation written in his
 face: *hoc secum certe tulisset, neminem coram Cato-* 740
nem peccare.⁷⁶ Pedlars open their wares willingest to
 women and children, in a word, as they say the am-
 ethyst prevents drunkenness, so is *Sadness* the pre-
 servative⁷⁷ against the entrance of a number of vices.

⁷³ Roman poet in the reign of Augustus, he is better known for his *Metamorphoses* and *Ars Amatoria*.

⁷⁴ Line from Ovid's *Amores* (1: 8. 43).

⁷⁵ "A long stuffed pillow or cushion used to support the sleeper's head in a bed; the name is now restricted to the under-pillow, stuffed with something firm, which extends from side to side, and on which the softer and flatter pillows are laid." (*OED* n., 1.1a)

⁷⁶ Line from Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam*, the original quote reads: "Hoc secum certe tulisset, neminem ausurum coram Catone peccare". It translates as: "He would certainly bring with him this, nobody would dare sin in the presence of Cato".

⁷⁷ I.e. protection.

Will we then frame a man fit to command and 745
 obey? To govern others and direct himself? A man
 so squared by the unfailable rules of wisdom and
 judgement, as to know how to become all places, and
 to use all fortunes? Bind his tender youth to a dispo-
 sition tempered with *Sadness*, for this man can nei- 750
 ther seduce his minority with ill examples, nor mar
 his waxen age with a false impression, too common
 a condition of these dissolute times, where our chil-
 dren with their milk and their very first words suck
 in obscene speeches and dissolute behaviour, and im- 755
 itation, and custom, hath given them the very hab-
 it of vice, before they have either loved or chosen
 them.

But this falls not out to the pupils that are gov-
 erned by men of this carriage:⁷⁸ for since it is re- 760
 solved⁷⁹ that this *Sadness* is not an accident of their
 complexions, but a guard hammered out of their dis-
 course and the issue of a happy matched discretion
 and experience, they do already so well know that
 all the allurements of vice offer themselves, but like 765
 players and jugglers, to show you sport and to gain
 by you, and this word recreation is but the outside of
 time's wasteful and wilful consumption, and that not
 only the hours so spent are utterly lost, but which is
 far worst, this continual excitation of the bestial part 770
 of man provokes his lusts and sensualities unto an
 unquenchable dropsy.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "Habitual conduct or behaviour." (*OED* n., 15a)

⁷⁹ I.e. decided, settled (see "resolved", *OED* adj.).

⁸⁰ I.e. inextinguishable, insatiable thirst (see "dropsy", *OED* n., 2).

Doubtless, as complexions are apter to the infection of bodily diseases, one then the other, so behaviours to the contagion of the mind: Mirth is made of pleasure and with pleasure all vices are baited;⁸¹ whereas this *Sadness* is the complexion of a mind that knoweth this and therefore hates and disdains Mirth. I know experience is the chiefest evidence that age can produce to prove their right to wisdom, but that which makes their judgements strong enough to make their experience of more use than a bare tale, is a decay of their senses, grown too weak to trade for themselves, and the fitter to be set to our reason to make up a true harmony of all the parts, to the good and preservation of the whole. The same effect hath *Sadness* with young men, that this decay of nature hath with old, for when the consenting part, or will of man, is so rectified with a sad consideration of the true value of all that the senses present unto her, well may they long to please themselves with their several objects, but when that desire hath no other advocate but itself, it soon languisheth and forsaketh its suit. *Aeschines*'⁸² advice to an inquirer after the best course of life was to go to the church willingly, to the wars upon necessity, but to feasts upon no terms: what was this, but to praise the conservation of *Sadness*, which in these assemblies is for the most part betrayed and in the heat of wine, meat and company melted into the customs of dissolute

⁸¹ "Furnished with a bait; *figurative* rendered alluring or enticing, attractive." (*OED* adj., 2)

⁸² Athenian politician and orator (389-341 BC).

Mirth? Which made the wise Roman complain, that he never came amongst men but returned less man than when he went out.

This made the philosopher that fell asleep at a feast hold his tongue with one hand, and with the other the part *that they say women love best* but not to speak of, as the two taps at which Mirth and Pleasure are drawn out. 805

But may I not seem to go too much of one hand when proposing instructions, I incline rather to preventions than additions: surely if the nature of man were so pure and simple, as it had no participation nor commixture with contrarities and repugnances, there were no way but one, and that one direct; but as he is first in his mass, or corporial substance, the issue or production of the 4 grand heterogamical⁸³ bodies, and after by the several and most differing powers of his reason and will, as unlike in their likeness and natures, as light and darkness, there being as much to shun, as to follow : I hope I shall not err in my way, if the situation of the end proposed, draws me sometimes about, since I undertake to conduct, not the eye, but the understanding. 815 820

Neither will my Reader (I hope) hold himself deceived, if *Sadness* alone, and by itself, only brings not in all the materials necessary to the composing of a perfect man, and the framing a happiness to the full extent of our earthly condition: for such an extract 825

⁸³ The reference here is unclear. In the original text the term is "heterogimical"; Dunton, on the other hand, writes "heterogeneal" in his *Athenian Sports, Or Two Thousand Paradoxes*.

is not to be drawn from a knowledge so overclouded as mine, let it suffice then and it will, my indifferent Judge, that it is of so much use and importance, as though with it only you cannot make this purchase, yet without it, if it be not impossible, yet at least most difficult, and withal, that though the soul in her revolvings and travels, may meet those solid considerations that are most like herself, wherein as in a glass she beholds her own beauties; yet are they transitory, and but the flashes of her agitation, the habitual possession of the graces of the mind, being to be fixed upon nobody, that *Sadness* hath not first prepared. This made so many of the Ancients, and of those most memorable for the excellencies of the mind: some to throw away their wealth, others to refuse riches, the graces of Princes and the favour of the people, others pull out their own eyes, and some to abandon the society of man, and even he that might truliest be entitled, *deliciae humani generis*,⁸⁴ he that had the attribute to fetch virtue from Heaven and to place her in cities, to bring her from the paradise of the gods and transplant her in the breasts of men, no doubt embraced a wilful poverty; nay even life itself, which he was offered at the easiest rate, he would not yet accept of, as too delicate and nice a thing, for a worthy and heroic spirit to make account of. If now we enter into the consideration of the mo-

⁸⁴ "Socrates." [Cornwallis's own note] Although Cornwallis uses it to describe Socrates, this Latin phrase was coined by Suetonius in his account of Titus's life in his *De Vita Caesarum*, meaning the delight of humankind.

tive that made these men shun what all the world so earnestly pursuits: what could it be but to keep these wants afoot, continually to admonish them of their condition, and to cut off all ways by which Mirth or Pleasure might make their approaches or come to the assault. 860

Alexander in the excess of abundance killed *Cleitus*;⁸⁵ *Fabricius* in his poverty refused the golden bribes of the *Samnites*;⁸⁶ upon abundance wait Mirth and Pleasure, and upon them all, the leprosies and deformities of our minds. 865

There is not so incorrigible a creature as man in prosperity, nor so modest and reformed as they that Fortune hath not rocked but waked, the consequence of which being *Mirth* and *Sadness*: behold them in their operations and we must reject the one, as a most dangerous poison, and embrace the other, for the most precious preservative. 870

If yet I have not proved *Sadness*' instruction itself: yet I hope she doth not look with so disfigured a countenance, as when Opinion paints her and though I cannot say, she is the end of knowledge, yet I may well maintain her the beginning: since it is *Sadness* only that prepares the understanding, and 875

⁸⁵ Cleitus 'the Black', Macedonian noble and officer of Alexander the Great's army, was killed by him in a paroxysm of drunken fury during a symposium.

⁸⁶ Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, Roman consul, was sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners with Pyrrhus after his victory during the Pyrrhic wars, in which he was allied with the Samnites, an ancient Italic people of south-central Italy.

makes every man, *idoneus auditor*,⁸⁷ fit to philosophize and to be disciple in the school of Virtue. 880

If now it be determined and truly, that the graces and beauties of the soul ought to have the place and honour above those of the body, and the sweetness, beauty and lovely proportion of the body to be preferred before the effeminate deckings⁸⁸ that the body doth rather carry than enjoy: since it often happens, that a foul and deformed carcass hath a fair and rich wardrobe and if all these in their original estimations were first valued, not for their own sakes but as the ambassadors of those inward qualities and excellencies, that such complexions, shapes and proportions inseparably fore-show: *Sadness*, I doubt not, both for her outward loveliness and inward virtue and use, will be allowed for an adornment,⁸⁹ that doth not alone please the eye, but the more judicial and intellectual parts. 885 890 895

First then, though I am not ignorant these merry companions are the most acceptable to the most, yet not always to the best,⁹⁰ and if they be at times welcome to the understanding sort they are received to their tables, not councils, and used rather for sauce for their meat than seasoning for their judgements, and are, as was said of *Athens*, places that though many desired to be entertained in, yet few to inhabit, from whence cometh this, but that as they are ador- 900 905

⁸⁷ A suitable auditor.

⁸⁸ I.e. adornments.

⁸⁹ "*Sadness adormeth.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁹⁰ "*Mirth not always acceptable to the best.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

ers of Mirth they are haters of all sad and serious considerations? To keep life in laughter, the whole stream of their wits is spent upon the motion of their tongues: in a word, they sacrifice their earnest to jest, their friends to their humour and to present satisfactions, all the duties of humanity, honesty, and discretion, and if so, where shall we lay hold of them, or to what use would they serve but to such a one as all honest natures cannot but scorn and disdain? Whereas the sad and sober behaviour makes it one way to allowances and if it gets not acquaintances so fast, it wins friends faster; and though perhaps it be not always so readily entertained, yet it is ever more respected, and reason, since the one with his incessant motion wears out itself, loads the ear, and loathes the eye; whereas the other, in his reservedness, maintains his understanding, in his united vigor, and not troubling his brain with his tongue, falls not into the disadvantages of many words, but still holding more in his breast than upon his shoulders, is strong enough for any assault and prepared to make the best use of company and conference. Surely, if behaviour be of such estimation, as beauty without it is deformed, and deformity with it is lovely, and agreeable to all eyes; if behaviour be the soul of the form, *Sadness* is the soul of the soul, for such a composed settled smoothness as distastes not to-day, pleaseth tomorrow and gets by continuance: no fashion wins so universally and continually, as that which hath received the true tincture of *Sadness*, for it suppresseth the inconstancy and busy turbulency of the passions and affections, it receives nothing

upon trust or at the first sight; and therefore is al-
 ways one, neither being troubled with the floods and 940
 ebbs of fortune, the vanity of the world, the ill-em-
 ployed power of greatness, nor the fluctuary mo-
 tions of the humorous multitude; or at least, if he be
 sensible of their irregularities and confusions, yet
 his thoughts are not written in his face: his counte- 945
 nance is not significant, whereas the face and dispo-
 sition of Mirth ever resembles his last thoughts; and
 upon every touch, or taste of that which is displeas-
 ant and follows not the stream of his appetite, it de-
 forms itself, and like the Moon is in as many chang- 950
 es as his fortune; now if the wrangling⁹¹ of children
 be troublesome, the waywardness of men must, to a
 stranger, be ridiculous and to the acquaintance odi-
 ous, and consequently *Sadness* a goodly ornament,
 that neither displeaseth others, deforms itself, nor 955
 at any time passeth the bounds of judgement and
 discretion; and though he must, as he is man, have
 many thoughts to repent, yet few actions. *Primum*
argumentum compositae mentis existimo, posse con-
*sistere et secum morari,*⁹² as it is commonly taken for 960
 a sign of a strong estate and a settled disposition,
 to keep a certain house and to love home and that
 such men are the best, both comforters and coun-
 sellors of their mean and needy neighbours, so is it
 with those minds that retire into their own medi- 965

⁹¹ I.e. noisy quarrelling.

⁹² Line from Seneca's second *Epistula ad Lucilium*. It translates as: "I think the first sign of a tranquil mind is to be able to stop and linger with one self".

tations and scatter not themselves upon the irresolute and inconstant invitations of opinion; being most profitable in their examples and most sound in their counsels; outwardly goodly marks of direction, for them that are ignorant in their course and within, most happy and safe harbours and havens for them that either by weather or weakness, or any other either suspicion or knowledge of impediment, dare not put out into the vast and profound mutabilities and dangers of this ocean of the world; if now a mole on the cheek be an ornament to beauty, *Sadness* is the same to wit, and if wit, like quicksilver, be too nimble for its own conservation, *Sadness* doth more than contain it for it refines and fixes it, jewels and rich apparel adorn the possessor and exact from strange eyes a reverence and respect; *Sadness*, the grave and ever becoming⁹³ robe of judgement, represents to all understandings the venerable account of all so adorned, if the all-concealing apparel of women, that measured by their modesty, leaves nothing for the incursions of greedy wanton⁹⁴ eyes to make spoil of, and doth not only proclaim their souls fairer than their bodies, but their bodies fairer than they are, with leaving the face, eye and hand, as a broken sentence to be perfected by imagination, *Sadness* doth the same, for the interior parts doubling and redoubling the perfections of the mind in such sort, that even fools that Nature hath even hidden under this behaviour, have often escaped censure; and un-

⁹³ "Befitting, suitable, having graceful fitness." (*OED* adj., 1)

⁹⁴ Here: lustful.

der title of a hidden fellow hath hidden a most empty and senseless, for who can tell the contents of a clasped book, or inventory, or a locked wardrobe? Now as it conceals the fool, it illustrates the wise-man. For as the sun breaking through a cloud lets fall the golden tresses of his beams upon the gloomy airy morning after his absence with a much more resplendent majesty than when continually unmasked, he prostitutes his beauties unto every eye and makes not only the shepherd but his flock weary of his company and seek shade and shelter to hide themselves from his too fast fixed sight, even so the well weighed motions of the sad behaviour commands attention, and the staidness of his carriage prepares a consent before hearing, as due to him that lets nothing pass without due consideration. 995 1000 1005 1010

To conclude, if one of the greatest philosophers determined silence a more excellent quality than eloquence, I have the aid of his authority, since *Sadness* is the seat of silence where she only resides in safety and where, without all noise, trouble or tumult, she enjoys the intelligence and contemplations of the soul which the children of Mirth cannot hear, for their own noise, nor taste, their mouths are so surd⁹⁵ with bodily pleasures. 1015

And now I will appeal to the eye, if these lineaments and features of *Sadness* be not more goodly and becoming than those of Mirth: surely if they be not more delightful, they are more contenting,⁹⁶ 120

⁹⁵ "Not endowed with sense or perception." (*OED* adj., 3a)

⁹⁶ I.e. satisfying.

the difference of which I refer to the judicial and to those that value things by their nearness and resemblance of those of Heaven. 1025

Lastly, for government, though the world be not made of atoms, yet the body of man's reputation is the concurrence of his speeches, actions and passions, which ought to advise all men, not to neglect the least motion, either of mind or body: lest it fastens a deformity upon all, shall we expect this from Mirth? It were in vain, and to prescribe it, were lost labour; it is composed wholly of contrarieties, for take a quantity of idle breath, sublimated into a jest, a proportion of laughter, some mimic tricks, either of the face or the body, and boil them so thoroughly in wine, that you cannot know one from another and you have the most received receipt of Mirth: but who will undertake to give assurance, that this inspired crew shall not violate the dignity of men and so govern themselves, that shame and derision shall not have more right to them, than they to themselves? 1030 1035 1040

Ulysses drank of *Circe's* cup and was not transformed:⁹⁷ the moral is, a wise man may wash his mouth, but not quench his thirst, with pleasure, for he that aims only at mirth and pleasure, hits sorrow and repentance; as well because it makes him rash and inconsiderate in his courses, when to buy 1045 1050

⁹⁷ Ulysses, the Roman name of the Greek hero Odysseus, while on his way back to Ithaca after the Trojan war stopped on the island of Aeaëa, where the sorceress Circe turned most of his crew into pigs with a magic potion in the wine. He was immune thanks to the help of the God Hermes.

Mirth, he sells all the respects and duties that he owes to inestimable virtue, and his own preservation, as that it being to the mind, as a stove to the body, that so opens the pores as the least air gives a blow to the health, so the least adversity or frown of fortune dejects their minds, and lays them open, either to a ravening⁹⁸ fury, or a base bewailing: wherefore he that will not seal the worst of *sorrow*, let him beware of devoting himself to Mirth, for they only feel the water intolerable cold, that go into it extraordinary hot. The philosophers that imposed silence upon their scholars for their first instruction, could intend nothing else, but the settling and composing the mind: from whence ariseth that habit of *Sadness*, that gave them power of themselves and withal of all things that came within the bounds of their knowledge, if not to gain by, yet not to lose.

To what end should I produce the witness of many famous ancients, from whome scarce a smile was ever drawn, and yet were such as never lost opportunity; that presented itself to do others good, or themselves right: nor ever lost that power, force, and tranquillity of their own minds, in any of Fortune's transmutations, that is wont⁹⁹ so to overcome the reason of men, as like transformed creatures there can be nothing more different than them to themselves? Neither will I authorize my opinion, by the example of our blessed Saviour, who was nev-

⁹⁸ "That ravens (in various senses of the verb); rapacious, voracious, bloodthirsty; ravenously hungry." (*OED* adj., 1)

⁹⁹ I.e. accustomed.

er seen to laugh, nor *Solomon's* sacred counsel, that
 it was better to go to the house of mourning than 1080
 mirth,¹⁰⁰ lest the worldly man, that makes provision
 only for the building of his Babel,¹⁰¹ cast me off as an
 unseasonable and impertinent counsellor: though
 it shall then (gentle Reader) insensibly and with-
 out thy trouble prepare thee for the best work of thy 1085
 life, which is the life eternal, yet whilst thou wilt be
 attentive to thy temporal employments it is also of
 most effectual importance.

Desirest thou to be reputed wise? It is her visi-
 blest form. Not to be importuned with vain and idle 1090
 company? They fear *Sadness* too much to follow
 thee.

To be the safe cabinet of thy own and thy
 friends's secrets? *Sadness* is the parent of silence, si-
 lence of secrecy. 1095

To be temperate? Where *Sadness* is porter, few
 vain desires are admitted.

Not to be precipitate in thy actions? Where *Sad-*
ness keeps the lists of consideration, always clear 2000
 and free from the intrusions of passion, the soul can-
 not but govern all things by the regular and judicial
 power of reason, as she that knows time call to con-
 sultations, shuts out repentance.

In a word, if there be any way to be trodden in 2005
 by our feet of clay we are out of the reach of For-

¹⁰⁰ From Ecclesiastes 7:2: "It is better to go to a house of mourning than to go to a house of feasting, for death is the destiny of everyone; the living should take this to the heart".

¹⁰¹ See *Genesis* 11: 1-9.

tune, out of the power of our passions, and in the full possession of ourselves, we may live in a continual calm, where from the height of a clear and impregnable judgement, we may safely and insensibly behold the world, by this time so far under us, as all such vain desires, as had wont to make us suiters and followers to her, have lost sight of their enamoured objects, it is by the way of *Sadness*, who doth not alone enrich us by that it brings, but preserves us so by keeping out all inordinate appetites, distempered affections, and those humors of blood and opinion, who where they are favoured do usually destroy and expel not only all honest and virtuous actions, but even the very thoughts that do but seem to be well affected. 2010 2015 2020

Thus have I (good Reader) presented to thy acquaintance the sweetest and best conditioned companion of the life of man, which if you will but believe upon trial, I desire no more: be not seduced by opinion and thou mayst be as happy as this world can make thee, for though the outward power makes men great, yet is the inward that makes men virtuous, and virtue only that produceth a happiness that can endure the test of all times and changes. 2025 2030

Neither must I omit to answer them that would hide their base choice in the confusion of words and so will have their mirth to be joy; but he is worse than blind, that knows them not asunder:¹⁰² Mirth being rather an apish unquietness than a solid contentment, besides, it lives not of itself, it depends up- 2035

¹⁰² I.e. apart, separated.

on fortune, upon time, health, and many outward accidents, and lives but upon borrowing; whereas Joy being as the shadow of virtue, or the effect of the inward and inseparable cause of a good life, is never
 2040 from home, never in a cloud, never subject to alteration, always one and therefore not only always happy, but therefore happiness itself. And yet to make the difference more apparent, behold their pictures drawn by two excellent masters, *res severa est ver-*
 2045 *um gaudium*,¹⁰³ which if *Sadness* resembles not more lively than Mirth let your judgement determine, and now for Mirth I am sure this was made, it is so like her, *risu inepto, res ineptior nulla est*;¹⁰⁴ if you de-
 2050 fine Mirth without laughing, you speak of somewhat else, and leave your errand¹⁰⁵ behind you, but it hath been so often determined, that they are so far from all one, as they are not so much as alike, as further to labour in so manifest a truth, will rather obscure than enlighten it. 2055

I will then include this question in this definitive sentence: *falso de laetitia opinantur siquidem ab utri-*
usque, gaudio scilicet et natura, diversa est,¹⁰⁶ it hath not only lost the challenge to joy, but to nature; he then that drew man within the compass of *animal* 2060

¹⁰³ Line from Seneca's 23rd *Epistula ad Lucilium*. It translates as: "A serious thing is true happiness".

¹⁰⁴ From Catullus's *Carmen* (39): "There is nothing more foolish than a foolish laughter".

¹⁰⁵ I.e. purpose, intention.

¹⁰⁶ From Plato's *Philebus*: "and yet if pleasure and the negation of pain are of distinct natures, they are wrong."

risibile,¹⁰⁷ was rather a confessor to good companions than a wise surveyor of the little world of man.

And now to conclude, if thou hast but melancholy enough to suspend thy opinion, whatsoever thou art, thou hast me in the power of thy censure: I doubt not but you shall be beholding to your judgement, to free me from the heresy of *Paradoxes*. 2065

If some other think that I have restrained the liberty of man in commending *Sadness* unto him, let him know I have not determined it the end, but the way only; an entry or passage that of the other side hath a world much more spacious and pleasant than that of this side, comprehended by Mirth, which is little, poor and transitory: if yet there be some that will bring this evidence for their liberty, *Laetitia juvenem, frons decet tristis senem*,¹⁰⁸ it is but like a licence to eat flesh in Lent for them that are weak and sickly;¹⁰⁹ or like a law that prohibited all persons to wear gay clothes and jewels, but players and courtesans, which was then taken for a mark of scorn, not for a privilege of grace and advantage, which if they shall please to take so too, they shall have the less to answer for, and I shall neither have lost my labour, nor their favour, if not, I must yet challenge the allowance of the wisest, which are the oldest, who if they should yield to an extreme would rather ratify that philosopher that ever wept, than this that took 2070 2075 2080 2085

¹⁰⁷ One of Aristotle's definitions of man: the "laughing animal".

¹⁰⁸ A line from Seneca's tragedy *Phaedra*. It translates as: "Happiness suits the young, a sad countenance the old".

¹⁰⁹ I.e. in a poor state of health.

no more pity of himself and of the madness of mankind than to spend his life in laughter.¹¹⁰

FINIS.

¹¹⁰ Allusion to Heraclitus, known as “the crying philosopher”, and Democritus, “the laughing philosopher”. The contrast between the tears of Heraclitus, withdrawn from society, and Democritus, who faced the folly of men with laughter was represented by Seneca, Juvenal and other sources.

*The Praise of the Emperor Julian the Apostate:
His Princely Virtues, and Final Apostacy*

I dare not affirm him temperate, that shuns surfeits;¹
nor him grave, that despiseth lightness; nor him val-
iant, that loves to converse with danger. It is no pre-
cious thing, my opinion, and yet I am afraid to spend
it: let physicians, a God's name,² be thought trim³ 5
fellows for determining of the lives of men as if they
had come yesterday from the Fates;⁴ for my part, ex-
cept I may have leave to pass through the inside of
them, I can say nothing, for all these are no more a
kin to Virtue than baseness may challenge of Nobili- 10
ty, because their names sound alike, it being not tem-
perance, not gravity, not fortitude; except the cause
that moves these effects, be virtues. The world af-
fords not a more apt example than this Emperor,
the history of whose life is full of so many excel- 15

¹ "Lack of moderation; excessive indulgence; excess." (*OED* n., 5)

² A form of "in God's name" (see "god", *OED* n. and int., P1, b).

³ I.e. competent.

⁴ Called Moirae by the Greeks and Parcae by the Romans, they were the three goddesses responsible for mortals' lives.

lent things as hardly he that is a votary against the
 world and hath nothing to think of but keeping his
 vow, may equal him in all these outward appearanc-
 es, that favourable judgements call the way to heav- 20
 en, but in the depth of impiety; again, not the most
 reprobate, comparable;⁵ yet was he so temperate as
 he never surfeited nor vomited oftener, than he was
 made *Caesar*, and that of cheese: in the provocations
 of the flesh none chaster,⁶ no unthrift of his treas-
 ure and time, in public sports a common disease of 25
 greatness: no lascivious pleasure⁷ did rust and con-
 sume his time, so cautious was he of it, as the very
 nights he divided into upholding his body, the bet-
 tering his mind, the serving his country; he needed
 not *Alexander's* ball of metal⁸ to awake him for the 30
 thinness of his diet⁹ required not much sleep, where-
 as the other was a good fellow and gave his hot con-
 stitution leave to lead him to banquets and quaff-
 ings.¹⁰ For his valour,¹¹ ask all the histories of his time
 and you shall find they make so great a noise about 35

⁵ "*His temperance.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶ "*His chastity and thirst.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷ "*Not given to pleasure.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁸ "He in bed at night thinking over *his* studies, *his* method of keep-
ing awake being that of holding a metal ball in his hand which was ex-
 tended from out of the bed in such a position that if he dropped off to
 sleep the ball would fall with a crash into a metal basin upon the floor
 at his side" (Arthur Weigall, 1933, *Alexander the Great*, London: G.P.
 Putnam's sons, 73).

⁹ "*His moderate diet.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰ From "quaff": "To drink deeply; to take a long draught. Also: to
 drink repeatedly in this manner" (*OED* v., 1).

¹¹ "*His valour.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

nobody, but all these help him not, so irreligious a heart possessed them, proceeding most of them out of his education, some from his nature, none from virtue: how justly then may we suspect our opinions of men that carry the form of the exactest lives? Me- 40
 thinks it were well if they were let alone untill the next world, for it is to be doubted whether praises be not like rain that increaseth weeds as well as nourisheth the corn, for it begets¹² hypocrites, and for the truly virtuous, they neither care for it nor need 45
 it: if all men were of my mind, they that are good and they that never came nearer than a desire to be thought so, should shortly be discerned one from another for his soft pacing, his grave attire and constant countenance, shall not work a whit upon me, 50
 no, not a speech well read with the head and the fingers finely placed; no, not the naming vice in choler and putting off his hat when virtue is called; no, not the defying the world, nor challenging the combat of concupiscence:¹³ these are but words of course, 55
 but promises, but nothing. *Promittas facito, quid enim promittere laedit? Pollicitis dives, quilibet esse potest.*¹⁴ But this it is to write without the hope of gaining by a *maecenas*¹⁵ or the ambition of method; my matter,

¹² I.e. gives rise to.

¹³ "Libidinous desire, sexual appetite, lust." (*OED* n., 2)

¹⁴ Line from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (1. 441-2). It translates as: "Go ahead and make promises, for what does it hurt to promise? Anyone can be rich in promises". (Sharon L. James, 2003, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion. Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 200)

¹⁵ Latin for "patron".

my stile, hang disjointed and uncemented, neither of 60
 them keep their place, but gallops and trots and am-
 bles; the reason, I never gave *Tully*¹⁶ an hour for any
 of his rethoric, I send not my words a-wooing, I care
 not, so they can get to their journey's end, though
 they cannot caper,¹⁷ nor dance: there is a grace in the 65
 sound of words but it is not mine, I give my thoughts
 clothes suddenly and so fit, that they may be un-
 derstood; but whether they be in fashion and well
 shaped, is not my care, I am of too rude a nature to
 be so nice, and mine ears are so harsh that I could 70
 never yet understand the sweetness of the sound of
 opinion; but to that I take in hand.

First, let me not be condemned for my subject: he
 was an ill man, that was his loss, but this ill was on-
 ly ill at the journey's end; for most of his actions 75
 were good here, and had been good for ever, if they
 had not served an ill master: but at the worst, Virtue
 is not so proud as not to extract what may be made
 good out of ill, for there is a spirit in vice that be-
 ing cunningly drawn out will serve even the best; 80
 so full it is of a quick and piercing vigour, he hath a
 poor library to behold, that reads only the good; let
 him turn over all that desires to be profound; let him
 earn Virtue with digging it out of vice, and he will
 keep it the better; let him fetch it out of the entrals¹⁸ 85
 of ill, that will glory of his conquest; from those soft

¹⁶ I.e. Marcus Tullius Cicero.

¹⁷ "To dance or leap in a frolicsome manner, to skip for merriment; to prance as a horse." (*OED* v.1, a)

¹⁸ I.e. entrances.

ministers of the mind, the Arts which make the soul read to the body, and make practice but a slight, through the mind's foreknowledge.

This Prince came to the managing arms, not with such a people whose weakness was fit to nourish a novice but with those fierce and warlike; yet was he victorious and made those that were wont¹⁹ to be feared, fear: *Qui aliis terrore esse consueuerat, ipsum sibi timere coegit.*²⁰ Who allows not of such an excellent beginning? When I hear of any great soldier I ask his age, when if old, it takes away mine admiration; for upon a wise minority I look with greatest affection. But here comes a privy token to know intents by, *Sed haec laus etiam miserrima ambitionis labe contaminata est, cum se Augustum salutari voluit.*²¹ so greedy are those minds that intend only to serve their own turn; no sooner have they attained to an achievement commendable, but they enforce praises out of the mouths of men; they will swagger²² for titles and respect; yea, it becomes Lord, even of themselves; for reason of more weight, that

¹⁹ I.e. accustomed.

²⁰ Line from Petrus Martinius Morentinus of Navarre's 1566 *Praefatio* to Julian's *Misopogon*. It translates as: "One who is used to arouse fear in others, forces himself to fear himself". (See William Poole, 2016, "John Milton and the Beard-Hater: encounters with Julian the Apostate", *The Seventeenth Century* 31: 2, 161-89).

²¹ From Morentinus' *Praefatio*: "But this praise, however moderate, is also tainted with the stain of ambition, since he desired to be hailed 'Augustus'".

²² "To behave with an air of superiority, in a blustering, insolent, or defiant manner; now *esp.* to walk or carry oneself as if among inferiors, with an obtrusively superior or insolent air." (*OED* v., 1a)

in another man's case should have prevailed, with the eyes of ambition seem dwarfish,²³ weak and little. That wise and warlike servant to the kingdom of Spain, *²⁴ the Duke of *Alba*, hath much of his glory dusked²⁵ by an historian that relates the (*a*)²⁶ Prior of *Crato* would have come to a good composition, but he would not hear of it because it could not have been then said he conquered Portugal with the sword, of such a value were a few idle words, as his master's profit and his own truth were thought things meet²⁷ to give place to this wind, to this nothing. But behold how Fortune sometimes plays the same part that wisdom doth and brings a successful end to false beginnings. *Unde bellum civile atrocissimum esset consecutum, nisi mors pene repentina Constantium ante sustulisset.*²⁸ Thus doth that blind guide make arguments to overthrow judgement: thus upon

²³ I.e. dwarf-like; here in the sense of tiny.

²⁴ “* *The Duke of Alba*.” [Cornwallis's own note] Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba, was the first minister of King Philip II of Spain and a skilled soldier. In 1567, he was sent to the Netherlands to suppress the rebellions against the Spanish crown.

²⁵ To dusk: “*figurative*. To obscure, darken, cloud, sully” (*OED* v., 2b).

²⁶ “(*a*) *Don Antonio Prior of Crato, commonly called the King of Portugal*.” [Cornwallis's own note] He claimed the Portuguese throne during the dynastic crisis arisen after the death of Henry I in 1580, until Philip II was crowned King of Spain and Portugal.

²⁷ I.e. suitable.

²⁸ Another line from Morentinus's *Praefatio*: “A most dreadful civil war would have followed, if an almost sudden death had not struck Constantium sooner”.

the death of *Alexander de Medici*,²⁹ Cosimo was en- 125
throned, being scarce out of the dawn of his child-
hood without much pain or study that had cost his
predecessors much trouble, much care. So doth it
please the divine wisdom to demonstrate to mor- 130
tal eyes their impotency; for it is he, there is no for-
tune, it is he that makes those things that seem to
have idle beginnings, prove profitable at the end.
Both these examples, though in some things differ- 135
ent, yet agree in the demonstrating: those things
that we understand not, and therefore call chances,
have often as fair an end as things proposed; which
is the will of heaven to teach us earthlings that our
purposes cannot go whither³⁰ they are command-
ed without his pleasure. At his coronation,³¹ and af- 140
ter, he seemed modestly to mislike his greatness, the
common trick of ambition, who still desires to seem
careless of what he chiefly thirsts after; if it be not
so, it is as with us all, that like those things that are
farthest off. He used often to protest, *Nihil se amplius*
assecutum, quam ut occupator interiret:³² a speech 145
that, methinks, draws the nature of his place lively;
and withal, the happiness of his place; for there can-
not be a more noble state than that which perforce³³
bids us to be industrious and busy; a more worthy

²⁹ First Medici to rule Florence as a hereditary monarch; after his death in 1537 his son Cosimo I rose to power.

³⁰ I.e. where.

³¹ "*His Coronation.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³² Originally from *Ammianus* (16.1, 5), cited in Morentinus's *Praefatio*: "He had obtained nothing but having to die a busy man".

³³ I.e. by force.

business can there not be than the employment of 150
 a Prince: he feels not death that dieth thus, he hath
 other business than to breed thoughts of terror; and
 for them that find greatness and yet make death ter-
 rible, it comes from the abuse of their authority, for
 they truly using it, are unsensible of smart, and fear 155
 not death nor his worst countenance.

After his possession of the Empire he invaded
Persia, drawn the more willingly by a persuasion,
 that his body had gotten *Alexander*³⁴ his soul, and
 should have his success. Good Lord, into what un- 160
 certain and ridiculous imaginations are they led, that
 have not the anchor-hold of Religion! Went it no fur-
 ther than this, it were most precious; for it keeps our
 thoughts in good order, which otherwise would
 make us all as wild as mad men, for we bred mon- 165
 sters and misshapen things in our brain, which did
 not the conscience reduce into fashion (which con-
 science is the child of Divinity), we should not touch
 one another for fear of breaking, but sometime such
 a persuasion carrieth higher and handsomer than ev- 170
 er meant enforcing imitation. I knew once a fellow
 mean enough and as meanly qualited, being said to
 be like a great man, began to engender stirring
 thoughts³⁵ of spirit, of well doing and, at the last, ar-
 rived at the pitch of an indifferent worthy fellow; but 175
 within a while this must be cast off. It is not amiss³⁶
 at the first to give children plums for learning their

³⁴ Alexander the Great.

³⁵ I.e. produce inconstant thoughts.

³⁶ I.e. wrong, improper.

lesson, but afterwards they must love learning for
 knowledge's sake, these for virtues. Of the happiness
 of his perfections, and then of his imperfections, his
 temperance³⁷ carried with it a number of commodi-
 ties; for besides health, it maintained the strength
 and vivacity of his spirit, which the abundance of
 eating and drinking is wont to quench,³⁸ at least kill;
 his sleeps were thereby less (the drowner of the spir-
 its) being the image of death,³⁹ the maker of the un-
 derstanding dull and senseless; but the best quality is
 the cooling of lust, which banqueting and excess are
 wont to kindle in the body, and the body to fire the
 mind; but this abstinence brings the other under, and
 curbs⁴⁰ lust, which usually melteth away, and so be-
 cometh the maintainer of the life of man. His exam-
 ple is not of the least consequence, the life of the
 Prince being the book of the subject,⁴¹ from which
 nothing may withdraw them, though his abundance
 may seem to license him and exempt them, they will
 take it for no answer, nor in truth is it sufficient, for I
 think they were lent him to do others good with, not
 himself hurt; provident⁴² in spending his treasure,
 parsimonious of his time, both strengtheners of him-
 self, for by the first he comes not to need others, by
 the last not to complain of time, for they live the

³⁷ "*His temperance.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

³⁸ "To oppress, crush; †to kill, destroy (*obsolete*)." (*OED* v., 2a)

³⁹ "*His moderate sleep.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁴⁰ "*figurative.* To restrain, check, keep in check." (*OED* v.2, 2a)

⁴¹ "*The Prince's example, the subject's book.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁴² "*Providence of time and treasure.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

shortest (though most years) that misspend it; a lamentable thing, even worse than mortality, for this death is worse than that: a great means of this was 205
 the custom of delighting the people⁴³ and of honouring their gods with sundry⁴⁴ public sports; and what might be the reason besides ignorance in the *Roman* State upholding these I can but guess: it might be with their commonalty,⁴⁵ as with our little children, 210
 who if not fed with sports will grow wayward and cry, so ticklish are popular States where it is but a step from the best to the worst, that if they be not kept busy, they will mutiny and grow into mislikes; to do well they must be appointed their very 215
 thoughts, with feeding them with light stuff, far from the matter. Wherefore, if in no other respect, the Monarchy is to be honoured as the Prince of government,⁴⁶ and especially those of succession, where the ambitious and rebellious nature hath not so 220
 much to work upon, the people being ever most affectionate to the blood royal, and God having expressly prohibited the using violence to his anointed: the secret meaning of these sports was best known to the *Romans*, but of the diseases of them I have 225

⁴³ "*His delighting the people.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁴⁴ I.e. several.

⁴⁵ "The general body of the community; the common people, as distinguished from those in authority, from those of rank and title, or 'the upper classes' generally; the 'commons' collectively." (*OED* n., 3)

⁴⁶ "*Monarchic government best.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

noted 2.⁴⁷ in the time of Nero,⁴⁸ and both of them me-
 thinks likely to follow. The one of them was, when
 the Procurators, Proconsuls, or other Magistrates,
 had abused the authority of their places with pill-
 ing⁴⁹ and taxing the subjects of the Empire, they 230
 came to Rome and made their peace with giving the
 people the sight of sword-players, or some such
 things. Here is the Prohibition: *Edixit Caesar ne quis*
Magistratus, aut Procurator, qui Provinciam obtinert
spectaculum gladiatorum, aut ferarum, aut quod aliud 235
ludicrum aderet; this is the medicine, the disease fol-
 loweth: *Nam ante non minus tali largitione, quam*
corripiendis pecuniis subjectos affligebant, dum quae
*libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.*⁵⁰ It is a cir-
 cumspection most behoveful⁵¹ for the Magistrate, to 240
 take away the means of getting these keys to open
 the people's heart with, which is to be certainliest
 performed, with stopping all springs that would feed

⁴⁷ "2. Diseases in the Roman sports. The first disease." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁴⁸ The last Emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (54-68 AD), he was accused for long time of the great fire of Rome which occurred in 64 AD.

⁴⁹ "To strip (a person or place) of money or goods; esp. to rob or steal from (a person)." (OED v.1, 7a)

⁵⁰ Line from Tacitus's *Annales* (13.31). It translates as: "The Caesar, too, issued an edict that no magistrate or procurator should, in the province for which he was responsible, exhibit a gladiatorial spectacle, a display of wild beasts, or any other entertainment. Previously, a subject community suffered as much from the spurious liberality as from the rapacity of its governors, screening as they did by corruption the offences they had committed in wantonness".

⁵¹ I.e. useful.

them, but the fountain of chief authority, for other-
 wise, they will, like tame birds, readily come to the 245
 call of him that gives them meat. The other⁵² was,
 how apt the celebrations were to nourish a lascivious
 Prince, showing and directing the way to softness
 and excess, which is well approved by this Empire of
 liberty and festivals, and the ancient Laconian⁵³ 250
 strictness, where there was never riotous Prince; in
 the other, every second or third Emperor a monster:
 there is not a more dangerous thing than power in a
 wanton hand,⁵⁴ which every way ruins his charge;
 for if it lives to grow old, it becomes tyranny, in the 255
 mean time corrupts himself and Commonwealth: the
 natural man loving bodily pleasures, when cherished
 by the life of a lascivious Prince, the nature of it is
 doubled. *Est vulgus cupiens voluptatum et, si eo Prin-*
*ceps trahat, laetum.*⁵⁵ They are well contented with 260
 such a Governor, alas, their countenances are unfit
 guides for a Statesman; methinks they are like the
 sense of taste, that never considereth the operation,
 but taste: fair otherwise was this Prince, which he
 lays to his education, though I think Nature had 265
 made him of too rough a mould to be carried with
 such lightness; yet might it be his familiarity with

⁵² “*The second disease.*” [Cornwallis’s own note]

⁵³ Laconia was a district of Peloponnese controlled by Sparta until 338 BC: hence the adjective ‘laconic’.

⁵⁴ “*Power in a wanton hand ruins his charge.*” [Cornwallis’s own note]

⁵⁵ Line from Tacitus’s *Annales* (14.14): “as is the way of the crowd, hungry for amusements, and delighted if the sovereign draws in the same direction”.

letters, which carrieth the mind so high, as most other things appear base and contemptible; this speech is the child of such a mind, *turpe esse sapienti, cum habeat animam captare laudes ex corpore*:⁵⁶ it is a speech worthy of the worthiest mouth, and proclaims to the ambitious where to buy the best glory and commendations. It resteth to tell what were the weights that made his vices heaviest,⁵⁷ the lightness of his nature, or inconstancy, his pursuit of unlawful knowledges, and lastly, his ambition and coveting dominion. I do not cry fie⁵⁸ of inconstancy,⁵⁹ or curse it, for by the leave of age's settledness, there is never a pesant in the world trains up youth better, I abhor it in age, and stop my nose at it; but youth's best lectures are read by inconstancy;⁶⁰ never stamp, Mistress Experience, at my opinion, for were it not lawful for age to forget, I should call you ungrateful, for Inconstancy was your nurse, and all the strange experiments you have passed, she carried you through. But when age begins to decline a body, it is time to leave it: he hath spent his time ill, that knows not then what to trust to, which known must be held to the death, yea and in death. Martyrdom⁶¹ is one of

⁵⁶ Line from *Ammianus* (4.7): "That it is beneath a wise man, since he has a soul, to aim at acquiring praise by his body".

⁵⁷ "His vices." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁵⁸ I.e. shame.

⁵⁹ "First his inconstancy, etc." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶⁰ "Praise of inconstancy in youth." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶¹ "Martyrdom one of the best deaths." [Cornwallis's own note]

the best fashioned cuts that Dame *Atropos*⁶² hath: me thinks, at that time Death playeth a gallant conductor, and leads us to an assault that passed, deserves triumph, his ill-directed knowledges deserve the greatest blame,⁶³ for all knowledges whatsoever that have poisoned man with the persuasion of standing only upon his own strength, are both feeble and impious; they are like legs that have only strength to carry the body where it may destroy itself: amongst these Magic and Astrology,⁶⁴ the studies of vain melancholic natures, but especially the devil-binders⁶⁵ are the most sottish⁶⁶ people in the world, for what can be more ridiculous than to think herbs, spells, and circles can enforce infernal spirits to be ruled by mortal men, or that God will give a power to his Name abused? But Astrology is not so ill. The other Magic is the game that the devil plays at fast and loose with man, but the abuse of knowledge, the disease of the finest metals, deserves more pity; of all the great troupes that go this way, I find few arrived at an indifferent commendation; I cannot tell, they are cut off either by pride, vanity, or contempt; this is the cousinage of partiality; do you think there is such an excellency in having slubbered an *Aristotle*? Fie, no. If you understood *Aristotle*, you might be bettered; there is not such a virtue in *genus* and *spe-*

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⁶² One of the three Fates, her role was to cut the thread of a man's life.

⁶³ "*His ill-derived knowledge.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶⁴ "*Magic and astrology.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶⁵ "*Devil-binders.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁶⁶ I.e. foolish.

cies,⁶⁷ as you have set it down in your inventory, they are but names; and Art itself but the stilts of a cripple: for if we could go without them, what should we do with them? Vanity, pride's minority, 320
belongeth to this crew: such are those that having taken a dose of *Cicero*, presently learn their tongues to dance a cinquepace;⁶⁸ these utter orations so like *Cicero's* as they seem the same, so well can they enforce a circumstance and neatly slide from one limb 325
of Rethoric to another, away with this whorish eloquence, with this breath-merchandise, it becomes not the gravity of a professed scholar, no more than it doth a general, reckoned to be skilful at his needle. The last is Pride in grain,⁶⁹ contempt; an humor sodden in self-opinion, a disease killing the love of his country and countrymen, the persuasion to make him to apply the riches of his mind to the benefit of others, but this is taken away; for contempt and love were never friends, and then he is no other than a 335
buried treasure. This disease⁷⁰ is to be known by separating his customs from the world, by an eye full of disdain, by a countenance borrowed from the picture of some old philosopher: for no people am I more sorry than for these, which abuse the picture of our 340

⁶⁷ Latin for "family" and "species".

⁶⁸ "*Obsolete*. A kind of lively dance much used for some time before and after 1500. From the name it is inferred that 'the steps were regulated by the number five' (Nares); and its identity with the *galliard* appears to be established by a passage referring to the latter in Sir J. Davis's *Poem on Dancing* st. lxvii." (OED n.)

⁶⁹ "*His contempt of others*." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷⁰ "*To know what contempt is*." [Cornwallis's own note]

first and most blessed state, they that desire cure, let them go to *Seneca, Frons nostra, populo conveniat*,⁷¹ and after more thoroughly, *Id agamus, ut meliorem vitam sequamur quam vulgus, non ut contrariam*.⁷² I am glad yet that *Seneca's* time was troubled with 345 these inkhorn⁷³ braggarts, as well as we.

But this Emperor's coveting dominion,⁷⁴ of which I shall speak like one in a dream, for I cannot think like a Prince, and I am glad of it, for they are thoughts too big for me, but as I guess, Ambition is 350 more natural and profitable in a Prince than private men, for the definition of *utile et honestum*⁷⁵ with them, and us, is not all one, our states and our professions differ, and all one instrument will not serve us.

*Julian's Dialogue of the Caesars.*⁷⁶

I desire to have the picture of famous men by mine 355 ear not mine eye, I prefer the historian before the painter, I get nothing by the fashion of his face but by the knowledge of his life: the pen is the best pencil which draws the mind, the other, that tells you

⁷¹ Line from Seneca's fifth *Epistula ad Lucilium*. It translates as: "Our appearance should adapt to the people's".

⁷² From Seneca's *Epistula ad Lucilium*: "Let us act so that we lead a better life than that of the common people, not a life that is opposite to theirs".

⁷³ "A small portable vessel (originally made of a horn) for holding writing-ink: now seldom used." (*OED* n.)

⁷⁴ "*His ambition*." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷⁵ Latin for "useful and morally good".

⁷⁶ "*His Dialogue of the Caesars*." [Cornwallis's own note] Julian's satiric work *The Caesars* is dated 362 AD.

the stature and proportion of the body may delight, 360
 not profit; give me therefore their works if writers,
 if not, their lives written by others: thus think I of books
 (the issue of our minds) all which are not without some
 profit, for there is no soul altogether barren but especially
 those that are able and do write in earnest, those bind the
 whole world to them, for they dissolve their spirits to make
 theirs more precious, and by the help of time have made that
 excellent cordial, that the soul digesting may recover and
 be preserved against our natural disease, 365
 ignorance. I sucked⁷⁷ not long enough of my schoolmaster
 to prove a commentor,⁷⁸ I cannot fetch words from their
 swaddling bands, nor make them interpret the quality of the
 things known by them, I tract them not, nor set a brand of
 them when I meet them, 375
 nor compare the words of one author with another; if I can
 make joining work of the matter, I go contented, for I work
 not for words and thus nature hath framed me, and I will
 not go to surgery for an alteration; for methinks it becomes
 a gentle spirit well, 380
 to leave the dross⁷⁹ and fly to the matter he writes not
 under the hard restraint of fear or gain, but gallantly gives
 the world the travels of his mind, and it is gallantly, for a
 mercenary liberalist is in little better state than a *renegado*.⁸⁰
 Let him then that courts 385
 his censurers with sweet titles for fear of bitterness,

⁷⁷ "To derive or extract (information, comfort, profit, etc.) *from*,
 †*of*, or *out of*." (OED v., I,5)

⁷⁸ "*The author's digression of himself.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁷⁹ I.e. impure matter.

⁸⁰ Spanish for "renegade".

or him that sends his book of a voyage in hope of gain, tend this cutting up words and such stuff; but he that writes so purely as to want these, let him run into things of worth, and fetch secrets out of the entrals of actions. I have read history, but they seldom do any more than make the times confess; some upon history, most simple, some better, others dangerous; but this dialogue hath of the virtue of both and little of their idleness, full of excellent observation, and withall quick; so well did the stomach of mine Understanding like it, that she boiled longer than ordinary, and here is the digestion. 390 395

It is not my manner to be busy about the manner of the feast, the place, nor other circumstances; let it suffice the Author makes *Romulus*⁸¹ invite his successors to a feast, at whose entrance *Silenus*,⁸² *Jupiter*'s buffone, hits them where they were left unarmed by Virtue. 400

I promise neither method nor antiquity; but after my fashion thus. First *Julius Caesar* enters,⁸³ of whom *Silenus* bids *Jupiter* beware lest he plots his deposing; for he is (saith he) great and fair; thus dangerous is the neighbourhood of Ambition:⁸⁴ for all other affections that are wont to maintain amity are not here; for Ambition loves nothing but itself, nor 405 410

⁸¹ Founder and first King of Rome.

⁸² Old satyr companion and tutor of the god Dionysus.

⁸³ "*Julius Caesar's entrance*." [Cornwallis's own note] First consul then dictator, he played a major role in the fall of the Roman Republic and rise of the Empire becoming one of the most powerful Roman politicians.

⁸⁴ "*Caesar's ambition*." [Cornwallis's own note]

pities, nor regards: so both commending his reason
 and passion to be slaves to this humour is good only
 for that, to all other dangerous. Besides the humour,
 he had two instruments belonging to it: he was great 415
 and fair; alas, what account should we make of our
 reason? Since she suffereth the vainest occasions to
 beget the seriousest purposes. Is it not pitiful that
 Valour should be beholding to the drum and trum-
 pet, and flying of the colours and the glittering of ar- 420
 mour? Yet is it, and I think few spirits but amongst
 the rest have found these the inflamer of courage;
 no less absurd is the election of a magistrate by his
 beauty;⁸⁵ yet is it common for that whorish affec-
 tion to prevail, the which ranked with this great- 425
 ness overcoming sufficiency, when men whose evi-
 dence lieth in their titles; shall possess places where
 wisdom is behoveful, and *patrias laudes sentiat esse*
suas.⁸⁶ Of all which there is to be noted the baseness
 of our choice, the sluggishness⁸⁷ of our reason, for 430
 not forbidding the banes. And lastly, how they throw
 themselves into the hands of Fortune, with manag-
 ing these high things so basely. In the description of
Octavius' entrance,⁸⁸ I note *Poetry's* power, he makes
 him appeare in divers colours, which, me thinks, 435

⁸⁵ "Not good to elect a magistrate for his beauty." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁸⁶ Line from Martial's *Epigram* (6.38, 4). It translates as: "He thinks his father's praises to be his".

⁸⁷ I.e. slowness.

⁸⁸ "*Octavius' entrance*." [Cornwallis's own note] Known as Augustus, he was the first Roman Emperor after the death of Caesar, reigning from 27 BC to 14 AD.

doth here more handsomely than the plain truth:⁸⁹
 for it had not been so fit to have said, policy suits his
 form like the occasion and alters as it alters; of him,
*Silenus, Papae, quam varium hoc animal,*⁹⁰ such must
 be policy, for his trade is with the divers dispositions 440
 of man and according to them must be divers.

Then *Tiberius* with a grave and cruel counte-
 nance,⁹¹ who he after paints full of scars and scabs
 as testimonies of his tyranny and intemperance,⁹²
 to whom *Silenus, Longe alius mihi nunc, quam an-* 445
*te videres.*⁹³ But, methinks, his verse is not rightly ap-
 plied, for tyrants are ever deformed, marry, fear in
 their lives makes it inward, after their deaths appar-
 ent; thus prettily doth time mock mortality, first ty-
 ing one party and suffering the other to beat them, 450
 then the loosed, tied, and the tied, loosed; thus tyr-
 anny and subjection: tyranny as long as it lasts buf-
 fets⁹⁴ his underlings, but death at last gives the loser
 a time of revenge, when he woundeth their memo-
 ries, without fear or danger. 455

After *Silenus* assaults his abominable life in the Is-

⁸⁹ "His Poetry, and Policy." [Cornwallis's own note]

⁹⁰ From Julian's *Caesares*: "My goodness, how changeable is this animal!"

⁹¹ "*Tiberius' entrance.*" [Cornwallis's own note] Second Emperor, he was adopted by Augustus and succeeded him after his death.

⁹² "*His tyranny and intemperance.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

⁹³ From Julian's *Caesares*, the line translates as: "You seem to me very different, since the last time I saw you".

⁹⁴ I.e. beats, tricks.

land *Capri*,⁹⁵ in no life do the blemishes⁹⁶ of life appear so visibly as in Princes's, whose height and power, as it may do much, so is it most observed. I wonder he lets him escape for *Sejanus*, his doting upon whom, was much more impardonable than the simple *Claudius*,⁹⁷ because the former professed craft, the other always governed by smocks⁹⁸ and slaves. 460

At *Claudius*' entrance he repeats a comedy⁹⁹ and after complains of *Romulus* for suffering him to come without *Narcissus*,¹⁰⁰ *Palantus*,¹⁰¹ and his wife *Messalina*:¹⁰² thus it happens with them that bear the names of great places and lay their execution upon others;¹⁰³ thus with them that are so tender-hearted as to be led by others; thus have I often observed servile conditions to undermine their masters, there being great loss in granting to the will of intercessors, for the gift is theirs, the thanks another's; wherefore it is the duty of discretion to reserve to themselves the 470

⁹⁵ Tiberius withdrew to the Island of Capri in 26 AD, leaving his prefect and minion Sejanus in charge of Rome.

⁹⁶ I.e. faults.

⁹⁷ Successor of Caligula, he was Emperor from 41 to 54 AD.

⁹⁸ "Used allusively to denote a woman or womankind. *Obsolete.*" (OED n., 1c)

⁹⁹ "*Claudius' entrance.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰⁰ Tiberius Claudius Narcissus, freedman under Claudius, he ordered the execution of Messalina behind Claudius' back.

¹⁰¹ Marcus Antonius Pallas, freedman under Claudius and Nero, after the death of Messalina he supported Agrippina 'the younger' as Claudius's new wife.

¹⁰² Third wife of Claudius, she had several extramarital affairs and conspired against the Emperor, she was executed for it by Narcissus.

¹⁰³ "*His committing his affairs to others.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

occasion of importance, and he that giveth, to be un- 475
 known himself to him that he gives. Now comes *Ne-*
ro and his harp:¹⁰⁴ nothing is so fast tied to us as our
 faults, we are never mentioned without them, they
 hackney¹⁰⁵ our names to death and never leave spur-
 ring them till they have killed them. This man, saith 480
Silenus, imitates *Apollo*,¹⁰⁶ in the mean time beholds
 his misshapen course, that destined to an Empire
 pursues the faculty of a musician: I never see any
 that profess skill in many things; in these high mat-
 ters much less; one being enough for one. There fol- 485
 lows a troupe together, though *Vindex*¹⁰⁷ shows the
 suppression of tyranny, is behoveful to the common-
 wealth, but dangerous to the party. *Galba*¹⁰⁸ was ever
 too little or too big, for his fortune, being thought fit
 for an Empire whilst private, when an Emperor, un- 490
 worthy and ended his slave's slave.

¹⁰⁴ "*Nero entrance delighting with playing on the harp.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

¹⁰⁵ "*transitive* (in *passive*). To be hurried or rushed; to be driven hard. Also *intransitive*: to hurry *at* something. *Obsolete.*" (*OED* v., 4)

¹⁰⁶ One of the most important of the Greek gods, he was the divinity of the arts and played the lyre to the other gods.

¹⁰⁷ Gaius Julius Vindex, Roman governor who rebelled against Nero in the last years of his reign. He supported Servius Sulpicius Galba as the new Emperor.

¹⁰⁸ "*Galba.*" [Cornwallis's own note] He seized the throne after Nero's death but was killed shortly after in 69 AD.

*Otho*¹⁰⁹ might have been examined about the government of *Lusitania*, whether he possessed not that, to be dispossessed of *Poppea*. For *Vitellius*¹¹⁰ let *Jupiter* look his cheer be good, or else his palate will
 495
 purse his host. *Galba* shows the difference between opinion and trial, and withal that there is no greater enemy to praise than expectation. *Otho*, that it is not impossible to possess great places for vild¹¹¹ causes. *Vitellius* that there is nothing that discovers a lascivious mind so clearly as power and authority. *Vespasian*¹¹² follows, a Prince that Silenus could find no fault with, but it seems he had not read *Dion*, who relates the time of his whore's death:¹¹³ here is the
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 odds of being near an Emperor, for a thousand better deserving women died in those times without mention; he saith he delighted much in her, neither becoming his age, office, nor wisdom, but I find none without some ail or other.

It had been a good time for *Silenus* to have asked
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 this, what it was he repented him of, whether it were his loving his brother's wife to wed, or not, hating his brother enough, or else his fearing the peo-

¹⁰⁹ "*Otho*." [Cornwallis's own note] Courtier of Nero, he was sent to the province of Lusitania as governor in 58 AD, after Nero started an affair with his wife Poppea who then became his second wife. He was briefly Emperor in 69 AD for three months.

¹¹⁰ "*Vitellius*." [Cornwallis's own note] Third Emperor during the year 69 AD, he was defeated by Vespasian in December 69 AD.

¹¹¹ Archaic form of "vile".

¹¹² "*Vespasian*." [Cornwallis's own note] Emperor from 69 to 79 AD and founder of the Flavian dynasty.

¹¹³ "*Given to women*." [Cornwallis's own note]

ple, more than loving *Berenice*. *Domitian*¹¹⁴ had been better for a butcher's shop than a palace: for there it could hardly have been said of him, *Solus est, ne musca quidem cum eo*.¹¹⁵ Now *Trajan* appears,¹¹⁶ upon whose sight *Silenus* gives *Jupiter* warning to look to *Ganymedes*:¹¹⁷ he might also have bidden him be careful of his *nectar*,¹¹⁸ for he loved his lector as well as boys. The grave fellow following must be in *Aurelius*,¹¹⁹ according to my guess a fellow meeter to have made a private man than a Prince, one of his commendations was his sufferance:¹²⁰ a good pretty praise for a subject, but nothing fit for a Prince, he was also pitiful, a procurer of love; but what of that, love thus obtained, is too familiar a Virtue for an Emperor. *Pertinax* bought his regality at a dear rate, his greatest fault was his ill husbandry, for as trees in their first growth are defended by briars, which afterwards uncut-up, overthrow the flourishing of the tree, so an unlawful elected Prince, seldom escapes

¹¹⁴ "*Domitian. His cruelty.*" [Cornwallis's own note] Youngest son of Vespasian, he succeeded his brother Titus to the throne.

¹¹⁵ Line from Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. It translates as: "He's alone, not even a fly with him".

¹¹⁶ "*Trajan.*" [Cornwallis's own note] Emperor from 98 to 117 AD, he was responsible for the Empire's greatest military expansion and territorial extent.

¹¹⁷ "*allusively.* A boy or (usually young) man likened to the beautiful youth Ganymede of Greek mythology, Zeus's cup-bearer and (in many versions) lover." (*OED* n., 1)

¹¹⁸ "*Given to drink.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

¹¹⁹ "*Aurelius.*" [Cornwallis's own note] Member of the gens Aurelia, i.e. Marcus Aurelius.

¹²⁰ "*Too mild.*" [Cornwallis's own note]

pulling down by those that set him up; for covetous-
 ness being the cause of their combination, nothing
 can serve their unsatiable desires, nor be thought a
 sufficient recompence; ask *Laetus*¹²¹ else by the for- 535
 tune of *Plautianus*. Here comes *Severus*,¹²² a Prince
 of indifferent worthiness, had not his virtue suffered
 shipwreck by his affections, *erant ei filii multo chari-*
ores quam cives,¹²³ which though a private man may 540
 confess, whose government is but a household, it is
 a shame for a Prince, whose office as it resembles the
 gods in power, so should it in being free from parti-
 ality. *Macrinus*¹²⁴ entereth: a thing made by chance,
 and overthrown by chance,¹²⁵ come from a base prog- 545
 eny and ruined by an infant. Alas, for this poor fel-
 low that follows;¹²⁶ *Alexander* that died because he
 loved his parents well; this is he that would give any
 money for quietness¹²⁷ and made orators the support-
 ers of his Empire. *Debere unumquemque suis fortu-* 550

¹²¹ Quintus Aemilius Laetus organized with Commodus's concu-
 bine his murder and Pertinax's rise to the throne.

¹²² "*Severus*." [Cornwallis's own note] Emperor from 193 to 211.

¹²³ "*Too affectionate to his children*." [Cornwallis's own note] The
 Latin phrase translates as: "His children were to him dearer than his
 subjects".

¹²⁴ "*Macrinus*." [Cornwallis's own note] Emperor for barely a year
 in 217-218 AD, he succeeded Caracalla after having him killed but was
 soon overthrown by the fourteen-year-old Elagabalus, thanks to a re-
 bellion of his military forces.

¹²⁵ "*Improvident*." [Cornwallis's own note]

¹²⁶ "*Alexander*." [Cornwallis's own note] Severus Alexander
 reigned from 222 to 235 AD.

¹²⁷ "*Given too much to peace*." [Cornwallis's own note]

nis acquiescere,¹²⁸ a speech fit for a warm chamber and no business, questionless he sought not the Empire, but the Empire him: so do the Fates or chance, or if you will, more high and certain powers constitute ignorant men in high places, to distemper all, to give after the more grace to the reorderer. There follows more, but I will not follow all, nor stand upon the author's poetry, or by-speeches, I write upon him, not him out, they that will have it more orderly, were best go thither for it.

Comparison between Alexander and Caesar.

Now to the comparison between *Alexander* and *Caesar*.¹²⁹ *Caesar* loved a wench,¹³⁰ as well as *Alexander* wine, both faults, but which most dangerous disputable, they both impair the understanding, the one with laying too much upon the head, the other with taking too much from the head: wine drowns reason, lust prefers his wench before the world; in wine *Alexander* killed *Clitus*, *Caesar* proclaims love letters in the senate; both breaches¹³¹ likely to waste authority, but which of them most dangerous, I leave to the censors, both of them doubtless full of danger, for they are the privy gates, whereat conspirators get entrance. More early did *Alexander* begin to busy fame, but that was his fortune. *Cesar* more worthily,

¹²⁸ It translates as: "He must take comfort of each one of his fortunes". Probably, Cornwallis took this quotation from an edition of Herodian's *History*.

¹²⁹ Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

¹³⁰ I.e. a young woman.

¹³¹ I.e. violations.

if not at last unworthily; for, he overthrew the hin- 575
drance of a mean state, and made way through the
obscurity of his birth, which he confesseth difficult:
difficilius se principem civitatis a primo ordine in se-
*cundum, quam a secundo in novissimum detrudi.*¹³²
How he did this deserves note: I find all his actions, 580
even his youngest, to be carried with great majesty
and an intent to lay the foundation of a reverend
opinion of him in the hearts of men; his behaviour
amongst the pirates was one,¹³³ the refusing the
friendship of *Lepidus*¹³⁴ another, he being the author 585
of restoring the Tribune's office; these for example,
upon which time will not suffer me to work my will,
the wise observer may for me, and gain by it, *Alex-*
ander was not idle in his child's age;¹³⁵ his managing
Bucephalus,¹³⁶ argued courage; his use of embassa- 590
dors, wisdom; the denying to run without Kings,
majesty; but these were beautified with being the ac-
tions of a Prince, for they would not become *Caesar*
half so well, because a private man; that *Caesar* wept
at the sight of *Alexander's* picture, is no advantage, 595
for he had the odds of him by birth, then both were

¹³² Quotation from Suetonius's *Vita Divi Juli* (*De Vita Caesarum*, lib. 1): "it was harder to push him down from the first place to the second than it would be from the second to the lowest".

¹³³ He was captured and held prisoner, but after his ransom was paid he pursued, imprisoned and executed them.

¹³⁴ He refused to join Marcus Aemilius Lepidus's rebellion because he did not consider him to be a good leader.

¹³⁵ He succeeded to the throne at age 20.

¹³⁶ Alexander's horse, tamed when he was just a boy and then brought with him on his campaigns.

happy in not having the first growth of their endeavours, overdripped¹³⁷ by men already great, *Greece* at this time not having any great soldier. *Caesar* in his first consulship, being matched with a heavy fellow¹³⁸ that, not able to keep way with his swiftness and strength of his spirit, gave him leave to manage all matters alone, whereupon his two names served for the names of both the consuls: *nonnulli urbanorum cum quid per jocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Julio et Caesare Consule actum scriberent*.¹³⁹ They tried how the world would like their authorities by two different means. *Alexander* an absolute Prince invaded *Greece*, by which he made them understand that his youth deserved not contempt, and brought them to be assistants in the wars against *Persia*. *Caesar*, lower but no less politicly, he took the occasion of his daughter's death,¹⁴⁰ and in an office of affection presented the people with pleasures and novelties: *munus populo epulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo fecit*;¹⁴¹ this was a taste of their likings, a

¹³⁷ I.e. overshadowed.

¹³⁸ Marcus Bibulus.

¹³⁹ From Suetonius's *Vita Divi Juli*: "sundry witty fellows, pretending by way of jest to sign and seal testamentary documents, wrote 'Done in the consulship of Julius and Caesar', instead of 'Bibulus and Caesar', writing down the same man twice, by name and by surname".

¹⁴⁰ Julia, wife of Pompey.

¹⁴¹ From Suetonius's *Vita Divi Juli*: "He announced a combat of gladiators and a feast for the people in memory of his daughter, a thing quite without precedent".

love letter of an amonist,¹⁴² which if taken, more will
 be taken. *Caesar* seems in the difficulty of their con-
 quests the worthier, no nation of *Alexander's* being 620
 comparable either to the *Gauls* or *Helvetians*, but in
 the upshot alike, both the Persian and *Pompey* being
 greater in reputation than truth: they did well, as
 long as they went with the tide. It was the genera-
 tion long before spent that made the Persian dia- 625
 deme shine with imperial title, the vigor of necessity,
 that is wont to move magnanimity, was taken away,
 and now left an overflowing of fortune, which makes
 men degenerate and become slothful. *Pompey* be-
 came great by the travels of *Lucullus* and others; nei- 630
 ther his managing the civil wars¹⁴³ was as it should
 be, nor his adversity rightly managed; so that, me-
 thinks, beholding him, I behold nothing but a bubble
 of fortunes. For their particular valours they were
 both valiant, in their military discipline they dif- 635
 fered, which might be by the difference of their ad-
 versaries, nature and country: in the special point of
 arms they agreed, to encounter the hearts of men, as
 well as bodies. Therefore did *Alexander* deny *Parme-*
*nio*¹⁴⁴ the invading his enemies by night, answering 640
 the conquests of their hearts generally, not of a par-
 ticular army was the way: the Empire of *Persia* being
 abundant in men, could never have been overcome,
 if their discourse could have laid the *Macedonian*

¹⁴² "A writer of love poetry; a writer whose main subject is love".
 (OED n., 2)

¹⁴³ Silla's civil wars, in which he fought as commander.

¹⁴⁴ A general at his service.

conquests upon any accident, but then vanquished, 645
 when fear should make them superstitiously add to
 the valour of their enemies, and think basely of their
 own strengths: not thus, but to the same purpose,
Caesar never disliked the multitude of his enemies,
 difficulty being ever a spur to his actions. That hu- 650
 mor that *Caesar* possest his souldiers with, at the
 scorning life at the hands of *Caesar's* enemies, I find
 not in *Alexander's*, yet had he one of the chief insti-
 gators the being still a conqueror; for had *Caesar*
 sometimes lost, they would have grown weary. This 655
 branch came first from the root of success, seconded
 by some gallant spirits of *Caesar's* side, emulated by
 their followers, rewarded by *Caesar*; both held the
 hearts of the souldiers by liberality, the only means
 to make them apt for great matters, and his means 660
 that attempts great matters, that which we call the
 common good, this is a chief limb of the engrossing
 which alienates the hearts of subjects more than an-
 ything, and with those natures that must feel the ef-
 fects of virtue, with their hand: no doubt liberality 665
 makes them daring, the contrary, cowards. *Alexander*
 maintained this honestest, thanks to his patrimony:
 for a spirit that aims at so great matters, cannot de-
 termine those things dishonest that are anything
 available. *Suetonius* saith of *Caesar*, *Urbes diruit* 670
saepius ob praedam quam delictum,¹⁴⁵ an impardon-
 able fault, for though fury, smart, or rapine may car-
 ry the common soldier past the bounds of reason;

¹⁴⁵ Line from Suetonius's *Vita Divi Juli*: "[He] oftener sacked towns for the sake of plunder than for any fault".

yet should the general's mind be still one, and behold nothing with so much love as justice, but this was the violence of Ambition, who dares displease right, than her assistants. *Caesar*, after his victories, used to give his soldiers an accustomed liberty, a precedent for all the success dangerous, for of all rewards and encouragements, liberty is the most dangerous to the giver. Contrariwise, *Alexander* then curbed his soldiers, doubting insolency, the destinate disease of success, which he did by giving education to the Persian youth, and after employing them, a design full of wisdom, for his conquests having laid all things at her feet, they had no need of his direction, but he of their loyalties, which had they found, and found before his possession of other strengths, doubtless they would have made him their slave, that counted himself Monarch of the World: but this I find it discommodious,¹⁴⁶ to rely upon one assistant, for two are not so likely to fail as one; and to say truth, both will be the more true, because they are two. Equally did they subject their bodies to raise their reputations, they knew the force of example, and restrained appetite for honour's sake. *Alexander* would not add to the thirst of his companions, with the quenching of his own. *Caesar* in a straight lodging gave his friends the house, and lay himself in the air; I cannot say in the cold, for he that is rapt in the fiery thoughts of ambition, cannot feel heat nor cold, nor any of these distemperatures: it is idleness that betrays us to the opinion of aches and infirmities; for

¹⁴⁶ I.e. inconvenient, troublesome.

he that employs his mind, carrieth his body about
 without feeling the burden: the use of these is an ex- 705
 cellent remedy against envy, mean fortune's thinking
 greatness, loves greatness to nourish delicacy; but
 this is disproved by partaking with their extremities.
 Both entertained a sweetness of nature in bewailing
 the misery or death of their enemies, which, whether 710
 it came from the grounds of clemency, or otherwise
 to wrap some other purpose in, is hardly to be dis-
 cerned, for there is no such counterfeiter to the life,
 as an aspiring disposition. Thus *Caesar* set up the
 statues of *Silla* and *Pompey*; thus *Alexander* kindly 715
 and honestly entertained the wife and mother of
Darius.¹⁴⁷ *Caesar* took to mercy the relics of *Pompey*'s
 overthrown army; *Alexander* suffered the mother of
Darius to solemnize the burials of his slain enemies,
 which compassion is the only balm to heal up the 720
 wound of revenge. Lastly, *Caesar* wept at the sight of
Pompey's head and *Alexander* sharply executed the
 murderer of *Darius*. In the first, I see how prettily
 dissimulation can apply herself sometimes; for sure-
 ly *Caesar* felt no remorse in the hardness of his la- 725
 bours, such thoughts attend decayed estates, not the
 summer of fortune. In the other, one death serves
 two turns, for death rewarded him, and death miti-
 gated the rancor, likely to spring out of the ashes of
Darius. About conspiracies, *Alexander* spoke as *Cae-* 730
sar thought, *Satius est, alieno me mori scelere, quam*

¹⁴⁷ Darius the Great, Persian king.

metu meo,¹⁴⁸ they might have lived longer, if they had been of another mind; yet I think they chose well, for they chose the easiest: for fear runs division upon death, every thought being an instrument of torment, at the end they meet in the last course of greatness. *Alexander* was a King, and would needs be a god; *Caesar*, because not a King, a King; thus do the baits of fortune choose us, and stuff us with monstrous and unnatural thoughts; they died both violent deaths, the end of violent ambition: for who mislikes not that one should possess so much of honour, fame and dominion as would serve many?

Octavius comes again, whose beginning to speak resembles his life, busy in the separating envy and greatness, which he did by giving every state a taste of his government: by turns they felt it all, even the meanest and youngest, the surest strengthener of authority. Only this Prince gave occasion leave to choose, which was to be entertained of peace or wars: an excellent temper, the which many of his predecessors and successors had lost by, while they regarded not which was most fit for their Countries, but which was most fitting their natures. It were too long to touch all the particulars of his life; let it suffice, they all tended to settle the troubled estate of his time, the testimonies of dishonour that the Romans suffered under *Crassus*¹⁴⁹ and *Anthony*,¹⁵⁰ by the

¹⁴⁸ Line from Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Historiae Alexandri Magni*. It translates as: "It is better to die because of a crime I did not commit, than for my fear".

¹⁴⁹ One of the Triumviri with Caesar and Pompey.

¹⁵⁰ With Octavian and Lepidus he formed the Second Triumvirate.

hands of the Parthians, he solved, as much as the restoring the military ornaments, arested by the victors 760
 might, which witnesseth wisdom is a more prevailing
 assister than strength; he enforced all the Knights of
 Rome to yield an account of their lives, an ordinance,
 look on which side you will, full of health, for idle-
 ness brings bareness; his Epistle to his adopted son il- 765
 lustrates another limb of his wisdom: *Noli in haec re
 nimium indignari, quenquam esse qui de me male lo-
 quatur, etc.*¹⁵¹ These ill speakers are rather trouble-
 some than dangerous, an humour arising rather out
 of some light passion or wanton gadding¹⁵² of the 770
 tongue, than from malice; who is more silent, more
 full of poison; over those care, but over the other, ne-
 glect is the best medicine; he refused the name of
Dictator, though his authority far exceeded it, the on-
 ly course to make greatness stand firmly; for by the 775
 common eye, names are more plainly seen than exe-
 cutions, which silently enjoy a more ample and safe
 rule, than those that make their titles march before
 their power. Our Dialoguist omits some, and I some.

Trajan speaks next, a Prince full of merits; es- 780
 pecially in his warlike actions, but methinks it was
 to the same end, that he made war upon a country:
sed revera id bellum suscepit adductus gloriae cupid-

¹⁵¹ Line from Suetonius's *Vita Divi Juli*, it translates as: "Don't be too outraged for this thing, whatever bad things they say about me".

¹⁵² "Rushing about or frenzied leaping of a bovine animal, caused by excessive heat or (now typically) the presence of gadflies." (*OED* n., 1.2)

itate;¹⁵³ it often falls out thus, and as often that our
dispositions without any great pains give us pret- 785
ty graces: therefore say I, a young man not cov-
etous, and an old man no lecher, deserves neither
thanks nor marvel, but their exchange doth well,
come they from what cause they will, they are well;
he was an excellent Prince, and that title his sub- 790
jects gave him, *optimus cognominatus est*,¹⁵⁴ he de-
served it for he abstained as much from depriv-
ing his subjects from their goods, as from unlawful
slaughters, both the one and the other, the main vir-
tues of a Prince, for to pill them is no less horrible, 795
than the tutor of an infant to betray his charge, the
other is bloody, which though their jealousies think
the way of freedom, they are deceived; for an un-
just death raiseth ten enemies out of one: *Non ei un-*
quam accidit (quod evenire in huiusmodi solet) ut mil- 800
lites feroces se et insolentes praeberint,¹⁵⁵ as great a
praise as memory can give a commander; for noth-
ing is so sure an evidence of a wise man as to bring
his soldiers to fetch all their determinations from
him, and not to let them entertain insolency, when 805
victors; nor baseness, when vanquished; but still to
read his will, and to hold that will a law: he careful-

¹⁵³ From Dio's *Roman History*. The line translates as: "In fact, he began the war because he desired glory".

¹⁵⁴ Again from Dio's *Roman History*, it translates as: "It is an excellent name".

¹⁵⁵ From John Xiphilinus's epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. It can be translated as: "It never happened to him (as it is accustomed in these situations) that his soldiers revealed themselves to be ferocious and arrogant".

ly visited the wounded, honourably buried the dead, marched on foot with them, suffered part of their extremities. I like this better than the saluting them *commilitones*:¹⁵⁶ suffer with them, give them, care for them; but no fellows, nor companions: these words kill all the actions of greatness, of commiseration, of pity, with contempt; for never can one man play two parts well, you cannot be their judge and companion; for this equality taketh away the regard of your sentence: love them, but do not play with them. 810 815

*Marcus*¹⁵⁷ enters, a slow wise fellow, whose opinion was *non decere Imperatorem, propere quicquam agere*:¹⁵⁸ I like consideration well, but not to stick fast upon a design; sure he was naturally a dull phlegmatic fellow; and so was honest whether he would or not, he saith little in this Dialogue, and little is said to him; but only he was a wise man, because he knew when to speak and when to hold his peace, which is wisdom, but the lowest form of wisdom: for the highest is, when to do and not to do. *Post hunc Constantium ut diceret, admonuerunt*:¹⁵⁹ under this Prince things of note were done; but not by him: thus search the divine natures into men's actions, the strength of whose sight is neither to be deceived nor corrupted; he rooted out two Tyrants, not he but himself the first, being weak and slothful, two dis- 820 825 830

¹⁵⁶ Latin for "fellow-soldiers".

¹⁵⁷ Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁵⁸ "It does not suit an emperor to act in a hurry", as found in John Xiphilinus's epitome of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*.

¹⁵⁹ It translates as "After this Constantius, it would be said that they had been warned".

eases that make the thus diseased, incapable of great matters; the other, being the impediment of fortune, 835
had the impediment of age, a heavy clog and the opposite to expedition: both of them had both the mislike of God and men, and would have ruined themselves without help: he was subject to delicacy and luxury, which being vices uncountervailed with virtue, made him rejected of the gods, and banished into the orb of the Moon. The author thinks he enforced not enough how behoveful these wars were to the world, rooting out Tyrants (the curse of mankind), where *Caesar* and others made their ambition 840
destroy their countrymen, and subvert their Commonwealths; the rest, or at least many of them, picking quarrels with their neighbours to feed their own insatiable appetite: *Si quis sinus abditus ultra, si quae foret tellus quae fulvum mittere aurum, hostis erat*;¹⁶⁰ 850
but others' faults mend not his, and perhaps it was his enemies that made his quarrel good, for be they never so worthy, ambitious Princes will find causes to be troublesome.

It was well known by the gods that power may 855
accompany beautiful actions, sometimes without virtue; therefore they are examined about the causes of their endeavours. First, *Alexander* is asked, and answers: *ut omnia vincerem*.¹⁶¹ *Mercury*¹⁶² demands, whether he had performed it, he saith yea; *Silenus*, 860

¹⁶⁰ Line from Petronius' *Satyricon* (CXIX): "If a hidden gulf opened itself [or] if a ground yielded glittering gold, there was the enemy" (presenting Rome's greed as the reason of its expansionism).

¹⁶¹ From Julian's *Caesares*: "In order to win everything".

¹⁶² Roman God, son of Jupiter.

no, for wine overcame him, he saith, no, by the help
of his master *Aristotle*, *inanimata non vincere*.¹⁶³ Here
the author desires to show the fruits of subtlety,
which ever wisheth to be commended rather for his
sharpness than truth, wherefore knowledge should 865
be employed rather to arm reason against vice than
to defend vice: his cause of maintaining wars, de-
serves praise, only for the truth, for too unequal are
those intents that aim at making all mankind vas-
sals. *Caesar* is asked, whose answer *Mercury* calls ob- 870
scure; and therefore demands again, what he desired
chiefly to excell in? He answered, In all things, for
so doth the ambitious wish, by their wills not suf-
fering any excellency out of their own bosoms. *Oc-*
tavius was asked, what he thought the most excellent 875
thing; he *Pulchre imperium administrare*:¹⁶⁴ he chose
well, for there is no such sight as to behold a Com-
monwealth flourishing and to know it comes from
the wisdom of the beholder; but *Marcus* his answer
is most excellent: *Deos (inquit) imitari*,¹⁶⁵ in which is 880
comprehended all other excellencies; for there is no
excellency wherewith the divine nature participates
not. *Silenus* asks him, in what he thought to imi-
tate the gods: he, *Quam paucissimis indigere, et quam*
imis benefacere,¹⁶⁶ a rule for all them that desire to 885
do well, for a mind that needs much, is a sick mind
and unprofitable. *Silenus* asks him again if he need-

¹⁶³ It translates as: "Inanimate objects are not overcome".

¹⁶⁴ "To administer the Empire well".

¹⁶⁵ "To imitate the Gods (he said)".

¹⁶⁶ "To need very few things and to do good to the meanest people".

ed nothing; he denied his mind to need any outward
thing, perhaps the body something: little is it that
the body needs, which is blessed with a mind not 890
needing, for it is the nature of the mind only not to
be satisfied with small matters; she is thus formed to
be the more capable of her Creator: which power of
hers when corrupted, is corrupted in the intention,
not universality or largeness of receipt; thus comes it 895
that our desires are still thirsty: he taxeth him for his
wife, and son, but he was to blame, we have nothing
but is stained with some imperfection, not beasts
and trees; which I hold one of the punishments of
our fall; for they being for us, we suffer in their de- 900
formities: he ends not here, but I will; choosing rather
to end disorderly than not to end.

FINIS.

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