

An edition of Fulke Greville's

A DEDICATION TO SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

('The Life of the Renowned

Sir Philip Sidney')

A thesis

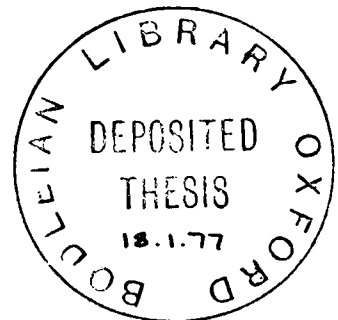
presented for the degree

of D. Phil.

by

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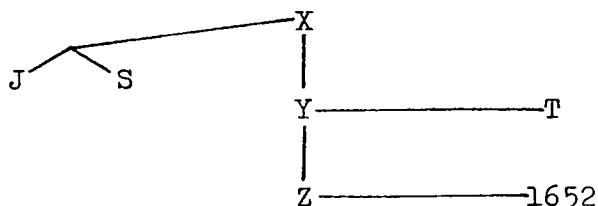
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An edition of Fulke Greville's A Dedication to
Sir Philip Sidney ('The Life of the Renowned Sir
Philip Sidney')

D. Phil. thesis abstract

This thesis sets out, firstly, to establish the relationship between the known representatives of the text--the editio princeps of 1652 [1652], Trinity College, Cambridge MSS R.7. 32 and 33 [T], Shrewsbury Public Library MS 295 [S], and a manuscript in the possession of Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen [J]; and, secondly, to provide, as far as is possible, a readable text of the latest state of revision of the work, and a critical apparatus setting out all the passages from the earlier states of the text that were either altered or omitted during the process of revision.

The relationship of the four witnesses of the text, established on the basis of irreversible error and alterations that could only have been authorial, may be represented by the following schema, where X, Y, and Z stand for three states of revision:



Readings in the present text have been taken from 1652 except where it is thought to be in error. Errors in 1652 have been corrected with readings from T or J and S, depending on where in the transmissional process error was introduced; in a few isolated cases I have emended the text.

The accidental characteristics of none of the representatives of the text have been preserved. Spelling, typography and punctuation have all been brought into line with modern conventions, except insofar as this would involve the introduction of historical inaccuracies.

The critical apparatus has been constructed so as to allow for an approximate reading of the early state of the text represented by J and S. I have included in the introduction a schematic representation of the transformations to which the work was subjected. This schema will help to locate the material of J and S as it may be found in 1652 and T.

In the introduction I have argued that the commonly accepted title of the work should be replaced with that of

the Trinity College, Cambridge manuscript: A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney. This title is not only in accord with Greville's intentions, but it draws attention to the relationship between the work and Greville's other writings.

The introduction also includes brief discussions of the literary traditions of the Dedication, of Greville's sources that have been identified, of the period of composition of the text from before March 1610 till the second half of 1614, and of the prose styles employed by Greville.

In the notes, particular textual problems only mentioned in the introduction have been considered. I have also been able, in the limited time available to me, to collect about two-thirds of the material necessary for an adequate commentary on the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to those who have made the preparation of the present edition possible. First amongst these must be Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen, without whose generosity in making his manuscript copy of the text available to me, the task could never have been undertaken. The librarians and library staffs of Shrewsbury Public Library and Trinity College, Cambridge have at all times afforded me every facility for studying the manuscripts in their care. Special thanks must go to Priscilla Hall for her care and enthusiasm in undertaking the unenviable task of preparing the fair copy of the text.

Financial support for the project has come in various forms: a National Scholarship awarded by Rhodes University, Grahamstown, personal loans from my parents and from Ron and Priscilla Hall, and a grant from the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa. Opinions expressed, or conclusions reached, are those of the author, and are not to be regarded as a reflection of the opinions and conclusions of the Human Sciences Research Council.

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CONVENTIONS

In quoting from early printed sources or manuscript material I have, except in special cases, modernised spelling, expanded contractions and, where it seemed necessary, altered the punctuation in the interests of readability. Quotations from, and references to, the works of Fulke Greville are from Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, [1939]), and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, The Remains, Being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, ed. G.A. Wilkes (Oxford, 1965). In referring to, and quoting from, classical works, I have used the well known Loeb parallel editions. References to the works of Shakespeare are from the new Riverside Shakespeare.

In the introduction and textual apparatus, textual variants have been referred to as 'notes'; thus a reference to the present text of the form 'p.129,13n.', is a reference to a textual variant at p.129,13, not to a note.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>The Advancement of Learning</u>	<u>The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficiencie and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane [1605], in Sir Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis, ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford, 1974).</u>
Bayle	<u>Pierre Bayle, A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, tr. Thomas Birch, et. al., 10 vols. (London, 1734-1741).</u>
Black	<u>J.B. Black, The Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (Oxford, 1936).</u>
Buxton	<u>John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, 2nd ed. (London, 1964).</u>
Camden	<u>William Camden, The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth... (London, 1688), a translation of the Annales (1625).</u>
<u>CMH</u>	<u>The Cambridge Modern History, ed. H.M. Gwatkin and J.P. Whitney, 13 vols. and Atlas (Cambridge, 1911-1912).</u>
<u>CSPD</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.</u>
<u>CSPF</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign.</u>
<u>CSPS</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish.</u>
<u>CSPV</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.</u>
Foster	<u>Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, ed. Elizabeth Read Foster, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1966).</u>
Gardiner	<u>Samuel R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642, 10 vols. (London, 1884).</u>
Hakluyt	<u>Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations...of the English Nation, 3 vols. (London, 1598-1600).</u>

- HMC Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- HMC Cecil Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., &c., Preserved at Hatfield House, 23 Parts (London, 1883-1973).
- Holinshed Raphael Holinshed, [The Chronicals of England, Scotland and Ireland], 3 vols. (London, 1587).
- Leicester Correspondence Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, During his Government of the Low Countries in the Years 1585 and 1586, ed. John Bruce, for the Camden Society (London, 1844).
- Lettenhove le baron Joseph Marie B.C. de Kervyn de Lettenhove, et. al., ed., Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II, 11 vols. (Brussels, 1882-1900).
- Misc. Prose Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973).
- Monson Tracts The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson, ed. M. Oppenheim, 5 vols. (London, 1902-1914).
- NCMH The New Cambridge Modern History, ed. G.R. Potter, et. al., 14 vols. (London, 1957-1970).
- Nobilis Thomas Moffet, Nobilis, or a View of the Life and Death of a Sidney, ed. and tr. Virgil B. Heltzel and Hoyt H. Hudson (San Marino, 1940).
- Notestein Wallace Notestein, The House of Commons, 1604-1610 (New Haven and London, 1971).
- OCD The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed., ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (Oxford, 1972).
- ODEP William George Smith, The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 3rd ed., rev. F.P. Wilson (Oxford, 1970).
- OED The Oxford English Dictionary.
- Old Arcadia Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973).

- Oppenheim Michael Oppenheim, A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy...from 1509-1660 (London and New York, 1899).
- Osborn James M. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, 1572-1577 (New Haven and London, 1972).
- Pears The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, ed. and tr. Steuart A. Pears (London, 1845).
- PRO State papers in the Public Records Office, London.
- Prose Works The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1912-1926; reprinted 1962).
- Read, Burghley Conyers Read, Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (London, 1960).
- Read, Cecil Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (London, 1955).
- Read, Walsingham Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1925).
- Rebholz Ronald A. Rebholz, The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke (Oxford, 1971).
- [Joan] Rees Joan Rees, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical Biography (London, 1971).
- Ringler The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford, 1962).
- Shakespeare's Europe Fynes Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe: The Fourth Part of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, ed. and abr. Charles Hughes (London, 1903).
- Sidney Papers Letters and Memorials of State... [of the Sidney family], ed. Arthur Collins, 2 vols. (London, 1746).
- [Nowell] Smith Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907).
- Stubbs John Stubbs's 'Gaping Gulf' with Letters and Other Relevant Documents, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville, 1968) [An edition of John Stubbs's The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf... (London, 1579)]

- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950).
- van Dorsten J.A. van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons Professors: Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists (Leiden and London, 1962).
- Wallace Malcolm William Wallace, The Life of Sir Philip Sidney (Cambridge, 1915).
- Williamson James A. Williamson, Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man (Oxford, 1927).
- [Mona] Wilson Mona Wilson, Sir Philip Sidney (London, 1931).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The commonly accepted title of the work, 'The Life of Sir Philip Sidney', is derived from the editio princeps of 1652. As the manuscript from which this edition was set has disappeared without trace, there is no way of establishing the authenticity of such a title, though there is no good reason for supposing that Greville regarded the work as a 'life', or that he would have contrived the descriptive sub-title of the volume. In all probability both the short title and the sub-title were intended, by those responsible for producing the volume, to arouse the interest of contemporary readers. These efforts appear to have been unsuccessful: Samuel Pepys relates that in January 1668 the bookseller from whom he had just bought a copy of the book 'told [him] that he had sold four within this week or two, which is more than ever he sold in all his life of them'.¹

The short title of the 1652 edition, 'The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney', is misleading as to both the content and the nature of the work. Of the three representatives of the text only the Trinity College, Cambridge manuscript has a title: 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney'. Not only does this reflect Greville's explicit statement of his intentions in the very first period of the work, but it has the advantage of not creating any false expectations about the work itself. It may also reasonably be assumed that a scribe would be under less pressure to invent a title than a stationer would. I have therefore decided to abandon the title of the 1652 edition in favour of that of the manuscript copy of the text now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The works Greville intended to dedicate to Sir Philip Sidney were 'tragedies, with some treatises annexed'.²

¹The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, 10 vols. (London, 1893-1899), VII, 264-65.

²P. 93, 10-11.

The tragedies are easily identified as the two Senecan dramas, Mustapha and Alaham. The identification of the treatises is not quite so simple. Greville refers to one of the treatises as 'The Declination of Monarchy'.³ No treatise by this name now exists, but the second section of A Treatise of Monarchy is entitled 'Declination of Monarchy to Violence'. In the light of Greville's discussion of the 'treatise' of 'The Declination of Monarchy',⁴ it would seem as if he is referring not only to this section, or an earlier version of it, but also to material now found in other sections of A Treatise of Monarchy: 'Of the Beginning of Monarchy', 'Of Weake Minded Tyrants', 'Cautions Against these Weake Extremities', and 'Stronge Tyrants' (sections I, III, IV and V respectively). For this to be possible, one may have to assume that A Treatise of Monarchy--the title is from the 1670 edition of The Remains of Sir Fulke Grevill, Lord Brooke, and is not found in the Warwick manuscript, British Library Additional MS 54566--was not in the state in which we now know it.⁵

Greville's habit of using the names of his literary works as if they referred to both those works and the realities with which those works are concerned⁶ adds to the difficulty of interpreting his remarks about the rest of the treatises.⁷ G.A. Wilkes has suggested that the 'fabric of a superstitious Church' and 'laws, nobility, war, peace and the rest' refer to material that is now to be found in sections VI, VII, VIII, XII, XI and possibly IX and X of A Treatise of Monarchy: 'Of Church', 'Of Lawes', 'Of Nobilitie', 'Of War', 'Of Peace' and possibly 'Of

³P.94,7

⁴Pp.94,7-95,27.

⁵W. Hilton Kelliher, 'The Warwick Manuscripts of Fulke Greville', British Museum Quarterly, XXXIV (1970), p.111, is of the opinion that Additional MS 54566 was prepared in 1619.

⁶See, for example, p.96,14-18 and p.136,13-21.

⁷Pp.95,28-96,13.

Croune Revenue'.⁸ There are no good reasons for doubting this identification: A Treatise of Monarchy as we now have it deals with the practice of government, from both the ruler's and the subject's point of view; the other treatises A Treatise of Religion, A Treatie of Humane Learning, An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour and A Treatie of Warres, all deal with their subjects in the absolute terms of Greville's particular Christian metaphysic. Greville makes it quite clear that the treatises he is referring to were written 'for the world's use'.

Mustapha, Alaham and A Treatise of Monarchy all have a common theme: the practice of, and response to, government. Greville himself says that his purpose in writing the plays was 'to trace out the highways of ambitious governors, and to show in the practice of life that the more audacity, advantage and good success such sovereignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruin'.⁹ In Mustapha his concern was with tyranny and the subject's response to it; in Alaham, with weak monarchy and the subject's response to it. Greville also intended the plays to work at a more personal, psychological level, by providing 'a perspective into vice, and the unprosperities of it' for 'those that are weather-beaten in the sea of this world, such as, having lost the sight of their gardens and groves, study to sail on a right course among rocks and quicksands'.¹⁰ The place of the biographical and historical material of the Dedication in this scheme now becomes obvious: it is meant to show Sir Philip Sidney to be 'a model of true worth' both as a man and a subject, and therefore an appropriate subject for the dedication; and to exemplify Elizabeth I as an 'unmatchable queen and woman'.

In its original form the Dedication may ~~well have~~ well have been concerned only with Sir Philip Sidney. The

⁸G.A. Wilkes, 'The Sequence of the Writings of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke', Studies in Philology, LVI (1958), pp.496-97. Joan Rees, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical Biography (London, 1971), pp.207-12, regards Wilkes's identification as too simplistic. Her disagreement with Wilkes is about the reliability of the statements in the Dedication as evidence for dating Greville's other works.

⁹P.140,9-13.

¹⁰P.93,19-20 and p.142,1-4.

expansion of the material on Queen Elizabeth was, however, made inevitable by Greville's notion of the reciprocal relationship between subject and ruler. Just as tyranny brings forth discontent and revolt,¹¹ and weak government encourages over-ambitious and tyrannical favourites,¹² so good and wise government creates the conditions in which the worthy subject may flourish.¹³ It may be, though, that Greville sometimes felt Sidney deserved a better sovereign than Elizabeth I.

While much of the work is designed to depict Sir Philip Sidney as a worthy subject and Queen Elizabeth as a wise and provident ruler, at least some of the discussion reflects Greville's reaction to conditions under the great queen's successor, James I. For many of his contemporaries, and especially for Greville, the reign of James I was a period of decline. The king was weak and improvident, and had surrounded himself with over-powerful and worthless favourites; it seemed that flattery or physical charm, or both, were the only means of advancement, and that worth and honesty were scorned and neglected. Greville is, in general, very careful not to attribute specific faults to the period; instead, he makes generalised claims that certain things--for example, the advancement of an individual to the House of Lords by the unusual device of summoning him there by writ¹⁴--did not occur in Elizabeth I's reign. He only departs from this practice in his references to the decline of the navy after his period of office as Treasurer of the Navy during the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.¹⁵

Despite the implicit criticism of the state of affairs under James I, one should be very careful of regarding even parts of the work as literary attacks on the government of the day. In a number of places Greville refers to Elizabeth's relationship with parliament, and it

¹¹See A Treatise of Monarchy, stanzas 70-74.

¹²See ibid., stanzas 90-98.

¹³See ibid., stanza 601.

¹⁴See p.108,17-18 and note.

¹⁵See p.126,20-23.

is obvious that his praise of the queen in this matter has been focussed by his awareness of the mismanagement of the House of Commons by James I. Rebholz, in his Life of Fulke Greville, assembles much of the material that is relevant to the first parliament of James I,¹⁶ but he fails to appreciate that Greville's experience has been subsumed into a literary work. As with his plays, Greville's purpose was to present his readers with material which they could find relevant to their own experience; he would have deplored efforts to find a set of correspondences between the literary works and his experience. It was to avoid such a simplistic reduction of the scope of his works that he withheld them from publication during his lifetime.

Although the rhetorical strategy used in the Dedication is not that of a history, Greville cannot but treat the chosen material historically. Roger Ascham's A Report and Discourse...of the Affaires and State of Germany (London, 1570?) is another case of a work in which historical material is deployed according to conventions that are definitely not historiographical--in this case, those of a letter to a friend. What distinguishes Greville's treatment of his material is that the literary occasion, the act of dedication, influences almost every aspect of the work instead of merely providing a convenient excuse for launching into a biography or a history.

The first major portion of the work consists of a biographical panegyric of Sir Philip Sidney. In writing this part of the Dedication, Greville could not but have been aware of Francis Bacon's regret at the contemporary deficiency in biographies:

For lives, I do find strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent. For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that states are collected into monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than

¹⁶See Rebholz, pp.205-10. For information about the practical political background of the Dedication reference should be made to Elizabeth Read Foster, ed., Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1966), and Wallace Notestein, The House of Commons, 1604-1610 (New Haven and London, 1971).

dispersed report or barren eulogies.¹⁷

There are at least two possible sources for this notion that the function of biography is the preservation of great men's reputations. The first is the literary precedent of a work such as Tacitus's De vita Iulii Agricolae.

The influence of Tacitus's historical writings on the development of the Character as a literary mode in the seventeenth century has long been recognised,¹⁸ but the influence of his intimate, laudatory biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, on such works as William Roper's The Life of Sir Thomas More¹⁹ and the earlier part of the Dedication has not been noted. The Agricola, with its mixture of biography, personal tribute, politics, history and preoccupation with integrity and worth in a corrupt world, must surely have provided Greville with the confidence that produced the early portion of the Dedication.

The second possible literary source for the biographical section of the work is the rhetorical tradition of the panegyric. In the Institutio Oratorio (Book III, Chapter vii) Quintilian indicates that an effective panegyric may be produced by following the chronological order of events in a man's life, praising his natural gifts as a child, his progress at school, and the words and deeds of his adult life. In addition, grounds for praise may be found in the fact that a man either did not fall short of the fame of his ancestors or that he increased the standing of his family through his noble deeds, and that after his death monuments were erected to him at public expense. It thus seems that at least some of the features of the Dedication can be attributed to an

¹⁷The Advancement of Learning II.ii.9.

¹⁸See David Nichol Smith, ed., Characters from the Histories & Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1918), pp.xix-xxi.

¹⁹The work was first published in 1626 [STC 21316]. It was probably written about 1557; see The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knyghte written by William Roper, Esquire, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, E.E.T.S. (London, 1935) p.xlv.

awareness of the traditional requirements of a panegyric.

The material on Elizabeth I in the Dedication cannot be regarded as a fully fledged history, but Greville almost certainly wrote it under the influence of notions of historiography that were then current. Like his contemporaries, he regarded history as a form of didactic literature. Some, like Sir Walter Raleigh, adopted the more traditional view that the purpose of history was to enforce traditional moralities by demonstrating the presence of divine providence in historical events. More sophisticated views, on the other hand, were held by Sir Francis Bacon, who thought that (civil) histories should be concerned with the art of political administration,²⁰ and should explain historical events in secular terms only. Greville's treatment of historical material quite clearly aligns him with the latter point of view. It is perhaps not merely a matter of chance that there is such a similarity between the plans for a complete history of the Tudors outlined at p.137,10-27 and those set out by Bacon in The Advancement of Learning II.ii.8.²¹

While Greville may not resort to explanations in terms of divine providence in the material concerning Queen Elizabeth, he does so on several occasions in his references to Sidney's death.²² He was obviously so emotionally involved that anything other than a metaphysical answer would not have explained his friend's early death satisfactorily. It is interesting, however, that William Camden provides a very similar laudatory explanation in his Britannia.²³

While Greville follows the trend of abjuring providential explanations for historical events, his treatment of religious and ecclesiastical matters as paramount concerns of politic government sets him apart from contemporary historiographers. Bacon, as one would

²⁰See Leonard F. Dean, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History-Writing', English Literary History, VIII (1941), 161-183.

²¹The parallel was first noted by Hugh N. Maclean, 'Bacon, Greville, History, and Biography', Notes and Queries, CCI (1956), 95-96.

²²See p.22,10-18, p.74,13-14, p.79,5-7 and p.80,4-5.

²³See the note to p.22.10-13.

expect, deliberately separates ecclesiastical and civil history; see The Advancement of Learning II.iii.1-3. Even Camden finds it necessary to justify the inclusion of ecclesiastical matters in his Annals:

Although I am not ignorant that affairs of war and policy are the things proper to history, yet ecclesiastical matters I neither could, nor indeed ought to omit. (For religion and the commonwealth cannot be parted asunder.) But forasmuch as the writer of the ecclesiastical history may justly challenge those things as belonging to himself, I for my part have not touched them but with a light and chary hand.²⁴

Greville most especially displays his acceptance of the notion of history as an analysis of politics and government in Chapter XVI, where he adapts the slightly older form of the survey of the commonwealth to purely historical purposes.²⁵ But even in the other two chapters concerning Elizabeth I, he includes the kind of material that Bacon does little more than vaguely recommend for inclusion in historical works, and which Camden, for the first time, actually introduced into a full scale history: economic and political concerns such as voyages and expeditions, taxes and customs, and matters of coinage. It is however not simply that there is a chance correspondence of interests between Greville and Camden; Greville in fact appears to have used a manuscript copy of Camden's Annals, or at least an early draft of the work, as a source for much of the material in Chapters XV and XVII of the Dedication.²⁶

The very close relationship between Greville's summary account of Elizabeth I's reign and Camden's Annals has not been noticed before, though in some ways it should have been expected. Greville took an active interest in promoting the study of history, and his attempt to found a history lectureship at Cambridge²⁷ quite clearly parallels

²⁴Camden, sigs. bl^v-b².

²⁵See, for example, Sir Thomas Smyth's De republica Anglorum. The maner of government or policie of the realm of England (London, 1583), and William Harrison's The second book of the description of England, in Holinshed, I, 131-219.

²⁶Greville's work on the Dedication was completed some time before any of Camden's Annals appeared in print; see p. xxii.

²⁷See Rebholz, pp. 293-302.

the more successful establishment by Camden in Oxford. Greville had also done a great deal to facilitate Camden's career as an historian: in 1597 he was able to obtain the post of Clarenceux king-of-arms for Camden, so releasing him from the routine of a schoolmaster at Westminster School. Tangible proof of Camden's gratitude to Greville for this act of unsolicited generosity may be found in the dedication of his edition of Anglica, Normanica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta (Frankfurt, 1603) to Greville, and in the tribute in the Britannia:

[Sir Fulke Greville]...hath consecrated himself so to true virtue and nobility that in nobility of mind he far surmounteth his parentage, and unto whom, for his exceeding great deserts toward me, although my heart is not able either to express or render condign thankfulness, yet in speech will I ever render thanks, and in silence acknowledge myself most deeply indebted.²⁸

It should not be assumed that in making his manuscripts available to Greville, Camden was simply offering up the fruits of his labours to his sometime patron. Greville, with his Sidneian notions of patronage, would have thought of himself not merely as a benefactor and encourager, but as an active contributor to the processes of learning. Camden, the antiquarian, was in all probability as much influenced by the rigour and power of Greville's intellect as was the poet Samuel Daniel.²⁹ The extent of the reciprocal relationship between Greville and those he patronised will, however, not be known until a full scale historical study is made of all Greville's literary, scholarly and social activities.

A fuller study of the exact relationship between Chapters XV and XVII of the Dedication and Camden's manuscripts of the Annals is also required.³⁰ In the notes to the present edition I have provided parallel passages from the 1688 translation of the work in its completed form. The duplication of certain facts and the arrangement of the

²⁸William Camden, Britain, tr. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), pp.565-66.

²⁹See Joan Rees, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical Biography (London, 1971), pp.200-6.

³⁰Camden's manuscripts of the Annals are now British Library Cottonian MSS Faustina F. I-IX.

material in many places make Greville's borrowing quite obvious, but in some cases there are verbal parallels which have remained despite the double process of translation.

A brief mention of some of Greville's other sources is required. He almost certainly referred to Holinshed in the process of composing the Dedication; Edmund Molyneux's 'memoir' of the Sidneys (III, 1548-55) in particular seems to have influenced the early chapters of the work. Whether Greville obtained his information about the expeditionary voyages in Queen Elizabeth's reign from Camden or Hakluyt is not certain, but it does seem in one instance at least that Greville was forced to turn to Hakluyt when Camden's manuscript was not immediately available.³¹ In some instances there is no documentary source for Greville's accounts of historical events: he either relied on his none too dependable memory, or deliberately abandoned historical accuracy in order to make a polemical point. The latter is especially apparent when he displays his affinity with the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish spirit of a work such as Hubert Languet's Apologie or defence, of the most noble prince William...of Orange... (Delft, 1581). In his own way Greville helped to perpetuate the 'black legend' against the Spanish.

Dating¹

At the end of Chapter XVII Greville relates how he abandoned his plans for writing a separate history of Queen Elizabeth, and wrote, instead, the memoir of the queen now included in the Dedication. Since most of the material on Elizabeth is present in J and S, it is reasonable to assume that there was at one time a state of the text even earlier than that represented by J and S. There are in fact signs of just such an attempt to amalgamate earlier and later material: at the end of J/S Chapter XI, Greville's description of Elizabeth I's aggressive foreign policy is concluded as follows:

But these things swell, and require a more
authentic history to continue the memory
of that wonder of queens and miracle of
women, in honour of whose sacred name I have
presumed thus to digress, and admonish all
estates by her example....

[p.135,14-18 and var.]

From this it would seem that when he wrote the material that became J/S Chapter XI, Greville had no intention of including the material now in Chapters XIV-XVI as part of the same work. There is no evidence to indicate how much of the original 'dedication' is embedded in J/S, though it is reasonable to assume that at least the first eleven chapters were written before Greville decided to add the memoir of Elizabeth. It is very difficult to decide what kind of conclusion is to be drawn from the fact that both J and S present the final period of Chapter XI as three dislocated fragments²; it may be that, in imitating their archetype, they are reflecting Greville's own indecisiveness. The transition passage from J/S Chapter XI to the account of Sidney's activities in the Low Countries (p.79,ln.) need not tempt one to suppose that Chapters XII and XIII were completed by the time Greville changed his mind about the original 'dedication';

¹My conclusions as to the date and process of composition differ only in matters of detail from those of G.A. Wilkes in 'The Sequence of the Writings of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke', Studies in Philology LVI (1959), 498-99, and Rebholz, pp.333-36.

²See the note to p.135,14-21.

despite its effectiveness, it is only a transition passage and could have been inserted at any time.

On the basis of a reference to Henry IV as 'the late renowned Henry of France, then of Navarre' (p.19,9-10) it would seem possible to claim that the state of the text now represented by J and S was composed some time after May 1610, the month of Henry's assassination. Knowledge of Greville's methods of revision makes me wary of placing so much reliance on this single reference--the single word 'late' could quite easily be a subsequent insertion. All that can be claimed with certainty is that some time after May 1610 Greville worked on the text.

Evidence less open to doubt, but not as specific, is Greville's repeated references to his enforced retirement; see, for example, p.1,1-8, p.126,20-23 and p.136,18-21. In April 1604 Greville surrendered his office as Treasurer of the Navy¹, and was kept from office until his recall as Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer in October 1614². Since these references occur in different parts of the text, it is unlikely that Greville made any substantial additions to the Dedication after 1614. It would appear, however, that as late as the second half of 1614 Greville may have been inserting material into the text.³ The period of composition can therefore be placed between 1604 and 1614, though it is more likely that the bulk of the Dedication as we now have it was completed by 1612, when it seemed to Greville and his contemporaries that his period of political isolation would come to an end with the death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.⁴

In March 1610 Greville wrote to John Coke despairing, it would seem, of being able to complete his work on the history of Queen Elizabeth:

¹See Rebholz, p.175.

²See ibid., p.332.

³See p.120,11-p.123,22 and the note to p.122,26-30.

⁴See Rebholz, pp.233-34.

I thank you, John, for your gatherings. The books were ready and had been sent you according to appointment, but for two reasons:...the chief was, first the daintiness of the council chest, then Samuel Daniel with whom I have spoken can give me no light, and Sir Robert Cotton can, but his own industries are so precious to him as I must fetch them out of the original in his house, for part with the books upon any gage or condition he will not. Now, Master John, to write common stuff and leave the original acts of estate ready to refine or correct us were indeed parva agere magno motu; so as I suspend to see what occasion will bring forth, and if in the mean time God be pleased to prevent me, there is one good affection lost, and I think better [so] lost than other ways marred in the handling.¹

The phrase 'the daintiness of the council chest' no doubt refers to Robert Cecil's reluctance to allow Greville access to state papers. Soon after writing this letter, then, Greville must have abandoned his plans for writing a separate history of Elizabeth I. The version of the work now represented by J and S was thus given its shape some time after March 1610. There is no unquestionable evidence that indicates how soon before this date the first eleven chapters of the Dedication were drafted.

Greville's use of Camden's material for what are now Chapters XV and XVII need cause no doubts about the terminus ad quem of 1614. Although Camden's Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, ad annum Salutis MDLXXXIX was not published until 1615, a manuscript of the work, or at least an earlier draft of it, could have been made available to Greville much before that. Camden himself was reading through a fair copy of the Annals in September 1613.²

¹Earl Cowper MSS at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, bundle 15. Greville consistently spells his friend's name 'Jhon'. The letter is endorsed 1610/11 March 8 in a later hand, but it clearly belongs to March 1610: Greville refers to his 'honourable friend the Archbishop' [Richard Bancroft] who died in November 1610; see Sir F. Maurice Powicke and E.B. Fryde, ed., Handbook of British Chronology, 2nd ed. (London, 1961), p.212.

²See British Library Cottonian MS Faustina F. III, f.2.

THE PROSE STYLES OF THE DEDICATION

The most significant element of Greville's prose is a well-developed form of suspended syntax which he is able to deploy in three distinct ways, thus producing three distinct prose styles. The discursive, middle, style is best exemplified by the opening periods of the text.¹ The first period (p.1,1-8) can be divided into three groups of two members each. The first two members, joined by a conjunction, provide the topic which requires a complement; this is supplied in the correlative structure of the next two members. Although syntactical expectations have been satisfied, rhythm and logic demand a rounding out of the period after the climax. These demands are met by conjoining a further correlative structure. The second period (p.1,8-11) may be treated as a single member functioning as a transition to a third period (p.1,11-16) consisting of five members. Because the first two, co-ordinated, members have an unusual position in the period, and because the interrogative structure is both delayed and extended, the syntax of the period is incomplete until the very last member. The slight rhythmic imbalance of a period with two pairs of members and a culminating single member is quite appropriate for a rhetorical question. Greville is fully aware of the pleasures of the well-rounded period, and so closes the first two periods with clearly recognisable cadences: 'conversation amongst the living' is an adaptation of the classical cursus velox (7-4-2), and 'long since departed' of the cursus planus (5-2).²

The lack of the well-rounded period with its well-poised members is what distinguishes Greville's more elevated style. The periods are long and complex, as for example:

Amongst which kind of prophets give me leave to

¹The present, modernised, text does not display the periodic structure of the prose to the best advantage; see below, pp.liv-liv.

²For a discussion of the analysis of the cadence of English prose, see Norton R. Tempest, The Rhythm of English Prose (Cambridge, 1930), pp.74-82 and pp.131-32.

reckon this gentleman who, first, having out of the credible almanac of history registered the growth, health, disease and periods of governments (that is to say, when monarchies grow ready for change by over-relaxing or contracting, when the states of few or many continue, or forsake, to be the same), and, in the constant course of those vicissitudes, having foreseen the easy satiety of mankind with religion and government, their natural discontentment with the present, and aptness to welcome alteration; and again, in the descent of each particular form to her own centre, having observed how these United Provinces had already changed from their ancient dukedoms to popularity, and yet in that popularity been forced to seek protection among the monarchies then reigning, and (to make perfect this judgement of his) had summed up the league offensive and defensive between us and them--even then he grew doubtful lest this advantage would in time leave latitude for envy and competency to work some kind of rent in our union.

e/-

[pp.87,17-88,3]

Here the subordinate structure that follows from the first member is suspended for twelve members. Although the closing member is cadenced ('rent in our union' being an adaptation of the cursus planus, 5-2), all sense of the oratorical period is lost. The sources of the complexity are, typically, the accumulation of instances ('first...and again'), parentheses, and absolute participial constructions. Greville often produces a period in which the dependent syntax becomes so unwieldy that he simply leaves the sentence incomplete and reverts to his original subject by means of anacoluthon.¹ Further characteristic uses of this elevated style may be found at pp.27,16-19, 29,17-29, 106,13-29 and 130,7-18.

The syntax of Greville's matter-of-fact, or curtailed, style is predominantly conjunctive; correlative and subordinating constructions are strictly controlled, and there is also a marked decrease of appositional and semi-independent members, though not of Greville's favourite parentheses. In consequence, the periods are short and business-like, as for example:

All this while Don Antonio landed not, the fleet seemed to us (like the weary passengers' inn) still to go farther from our desires, letters came from the Court to hasten it away, but it

¹See, for example, p.30,6-7, p.76,3 and p.109,17.

may be the leaden feet and nimble thoughts of Sir Francis wrought in the day and unwrought by night while he watched an opportunity to discover us without being discovered; for within a few days after, a post steals up to the Court, upon whose arrival an alarm is presently taken, messengers sent to stay us, or, if we refused, to stay the whole fleet.

[pp.45,27-46,1]

Further examples of this style may be found at pp.12,24-13,15, 38,24-40,29, 44,10-45,8, 75,8-18 and 76,29-77,18, where Greville finds himself obliged to provide factual narrative.¹

Greville's purpose is however not to provide information, and so the curtailed style is not much in evidence in the Dedication. The elevated style, on the other hand, is more prominent. It has much in common with the style of Amphialus's 'justification' in Arcadia III.4:

He fell by degrees to show, that since the end whereto anything is directed, is ever to be of more noble reckoning, than the thing thereto directed: that therefore, the weal-public was more to be regarded, than any person or magistrate that thereunto was ordained. The feeling consideration whereof, had moved him (though as near of kin to Basilius as could be, yet) to set principally before his eyes, the good estate of so many thousands, over whom Basilius reigned: rather than so to hoodwink himself with affection, as to suffer the realm to run to manifest ruin....

To this effect, amplified with arguments and examples, and painted with rhetorical colours, did he sow abroad many discourses....²

From this it would seem that both Sidney and Greville were aware of a convention that demanded a highly elaborate, cumulative, syntax for polemical writing. Such a convention is explicitly stated by Thomas Wilson when he recommends that 'we increase our cause by heaping of words and sentences together, couching [touching?] many reasons

¹See Thomas Wilson, The arte of rhetorique (London, 1553), sig. P2V, for the necessity of using a plain style for the narration of facts.

²Prose Works I,371-73. I have modernised the spelling, but not the punctuation, of this extract. Sidney's concluding remark is a neat summary of Aristotle's Rhetoric II.20 and III.6.

into one corner which before were scattered abroad, to the intent that our talk might appear more vehement'.¹

After syntactic complexity, the most important feature of Greville's prose is its reliance on metaphor. Metaphoric language proliferates throughout the text, its use not being restricted to any one of the three levels of style. To a modern reader a single figure is made more effective by being set in comparative isolation,² but Greville's taste was obviously different. Not only is his style complexly figurative, but he adds to this a deliberate indirectness--instead of naming anything, he describes it metaphorically.³ The use of metaphor and periphrasis as the means of amplification is a rhetorical commonplace,⁴ but Greville's individuality lies in his combination of the two. Occasionally he repeats a favourite trope such as 'noun-adjective-natured'⁵ or a proverbial expression like 'overshoot in his own bow',⁶ and this adds to the highly wrought figurative texture of the work. Whether he was conscious of it or not, Greville also had a tendency of returning to certain images; the most obvious of these is the one associated with the Spanish 'imperial eagle' and its nest.⁷

The often almost impenetrable density of Greville's prose is a function not only of the highly complex, and frequently compacted, syntax, and of the clustered metaphoric language, but also of the peculiarities of the diction. Greville's choice of words is often, it would seem, influenced by a felt need for decoration; thus he

¹Thomas Wilson, op. cit., sig. S2v.

²See, for example, pp.1,3-6, 38,4, 39,1-2, 40,1, 45,28 and 45,30-31, and 77,17.

³See, for example, pp.11,2-10, 15,13-20, 60,3-22, 60,30-61,8, 61,18-24, 98,10-99,5, 133,20-26 and 137,17-25.

⁴See, for example, Aristotle's Rhetoric III.6, where periphrasis and metaphor are recommended as ways of making language impressive.

⁵See pp.66,13, 88,18-19 and 103,28.

⁶See pp.18,16-17, 45,5-6 and 113,8-9. Like Sidney, Greville is very fond of the figure of paroemia, the use of proverbs.

⁷See, for example, pp.35,17, 59,22, 61,23, 104,2-4, 110,9-10, 132,30-133,1 and 134,16-17.

makes continuous use of alliteration, as a glance at the opening periods of the text will reveal. Related to this use of alliteration is Greville's fondness for polyptoton.¹ Decorative reasons aside, Greville often chooses words for their strangeness, or deliberately uses words in an untoward way.² Although he is working within the rhetorical convention that strange words are best suited to emotional expression,³ his use of that convention is peculiarly his own.

Whether or not Greville is an effective prose writer within the conventions he chose to use is a matter which his contemporaries were not allowed to decide; any modern reader who wishes to pass judgement would do well to be cautioned by Greville's own words:

for the style: as it is rich or poor,
according to the estate and ability of the
writer, so the value of it shall be enhanced
or cried down according to the grace and
capacity of the reader....⁴

¹See, for example, pp.121,11, 124,8-9, 131,26, 132,28, 136,20 and 142,4.

²See, for example, 'characteristical' p.1,25; 'statuminate' p.3,18; 'complexions' p.5,23; 'salves' p.5,24; 'remissions' pp.5,27, 18,21 and 86,12; 'hauteur' p.19,17; 'symbolize' p.27,6; 'bondage' p.32,13; 'appearances' p.35,4; 'almanac' pp.54,6 and 87,19; 'climax' p.60,3 and p.71,15-16 var.; 'equilibrium' p.66,4; 'discreation' p.72,8; 'ramass' p.73,21; 'ejulation' p.86,13; 'metaphysical' p.94,28; 'series' p.111,16; 'monopolise' p.113,13; 'exorbitant' pp.127,4 and 140,5; 'subsist' p.132,6; 'aspect' p.140,8.

³See Aristotle's Rhetoric III.7.

⁴P.142,20-23.

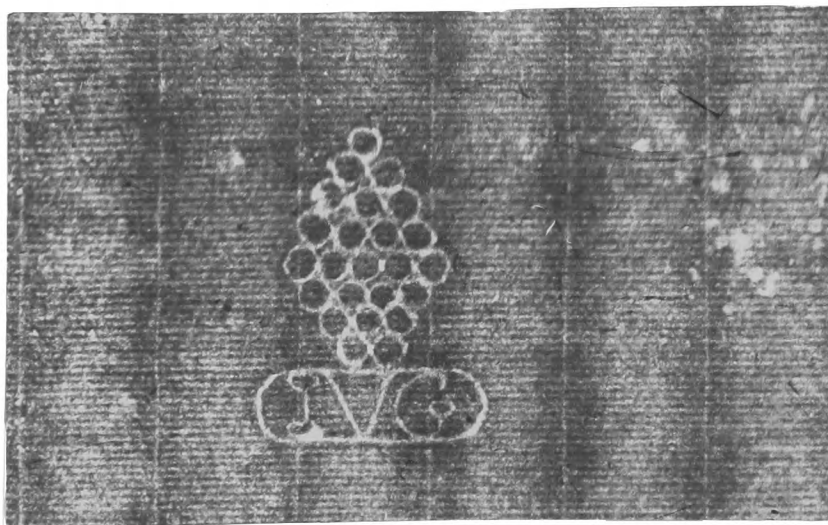
TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

THE TEXTS

[J] A MS in the possession of Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen
Folio. [ii] + 44 + [xviii] + 2 + [x] + 16 + [iv] = 96ff.
300 x 191mm.

The MS is gathered as follows: ff. i-4 5-12 13-26 27-38
39-50 51-60 61-64 [62+ χ 1. χ 2] 65-72 73-84 85-92 [χ 1. χ 2
being an inserted fold between ff.62 and 63].

ff.1-44, untitled text with seventeen chapters beginning
at ff.1,4^v,7,8^v,10,13,15,16^v,18,20^v,23,25,27,29,33,37^v,42^v;
ff.44^v-62^v, blank; χ 1^r, blank; χ 1^v- χ 2^v, 'Books Bought by
William Leuefon Gower efqr. & not as yet added to the
Catalogue'; ff.63-72^v, blank; f.73^r-73^v, 'Books lent
Abroad' [in pencil], and 'Books wanting in the Catalogue'
[in ink]; ff.74-85^v, 'A Catalogue of Books belonging to
Will<ia>m Leuefon Gower att Trentham'; ff.86-89^v, 'Books
bought at London Since May 21th 1681'; ff.90-92^v, blank.¹
The text is written in a large italic hand showing some
Secretary influence.² There are forty-seven exemplars of a
watermark from a matched pair of moulds:



[from f. 46]

¹Dr. Juel-Jensen intends publishing the details of
these lists at some time in the future. I have not noted
when the compiler of the lists has left the verso of a
leaf blank.

²The hand is not like John Langley's; see pp. xxxii-
xxxiv.

This watermark is similar to Heawood's no. 2179, which he dates approximately at 1638. The inserted fold has a watermark similar to Heawood's nos. 2673 and 2691, which he dates at 1659 and 1672 respectively. The binding is nineteenth century olive calf, and the end-papers are of wove paper. The untrimmed edges of the leaves are gilded, which may be taken as evidence of an earlier binding. From a series of numbers (2-10) written in pencil of various leaves, the gathering of the sheets may be ascertained. This is substantiated by the configuration of the watermarks. Certain of the booklists are dated, the earliest being 1666/7. The William Leveson Gower mentioned in the booklists was in fact Sir William Gower who, on inheriting Trentham from his great uncle, Sir Richard Leveson, K.B., in 1661, took on the Leveson name. Sir Richard Leveson had been the heir of his cousin and namesake Sir Richard Leveson, the admiral (d. 1605), who had been acquainted with Greville during the latter's stint as Treasurer of the Navy.¹ The MS appears to have remained in the possession of the Leveson-Gower family until it was sold for the Duke of Sutherland at Christie's on Tuesday, 24 November, 1959 [see the Catalogue of a Selected Portion of Valuable Printed Books and a Few Interesting Manuscripts from the Library at Sutton Place, Guildford, Surrey: The Property of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.T., P.C. (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., 1959), Lot 334]. The purchaser was Dr. Juel-Jensen.²

¹See Rebholz, pp.163, 170, 174 and 345-47.

²For details of the Leveson-Gower family see G.E. C[ockayne] et. al., The Complete Peerage, 13 vols. (London, 1910-1940) under 'Gower and Gower of Sittenham', 'Stafford (Marquessate)' and 'Sutherland (Dukedom)'. A history of Trentham till 1842 by John Cornforth may be found in Country Life CXLIII (1968), 176-80, 228-31 and 282-85. The Hall was almost entirely demolished in 1910, and the grounds laid out as public gardens.

[S] Shrewsbury Public Library MS 295.¹

Folio. 45 + [i] = 46ff.

340 x 216mm.

The MS is gathered as follows: eleven quires of four leaves each, and one of two leaves.

ff.1-45^v, untitled text with seventeen chapters beginning at ff.1,5,7^v,9^v,11,15,17,19,20,23,26^v,28,30,32^v,36^v,40^v and 44^v.

The text is written in a single seventeenth century Secretary hand showing some italic influence. There are twenty-three exemplars of a watermark from a matched pair of moulds:



[from f. 25]

This watermark is similar to Heawood's no. 140 [c.1630].

¹

This manuscript has been described by S.Blaine Ewing in "A New Manuscript of Greville's 'Life of Sidney'," Modern Language Review, XLIX (1954), 424-27. I have not indicated where I have found inadequacies in Ewing's description.

Prick holes in the gutter may be regarded as evidence of previous binding. The quires are sewn with string. A pair of endleaves of wove paper bear the watermark 'GR', while the binding itself consists of boards covered with vellum and fastened with vellum thongs. On the spine is a hand-written legend: 'Life of Sr Phi Sidy'. It would appear that the MS was paginated throughout (from 1-90) on the upper, outer corner of the recto of each leaf, but that subsequent binding and cropping have eliminated at least some instances of this. Ewing indicates¹ that he found a slip of paper bearing the name 'Revd. J.B. Blakeway' inserted between the leaves. John Brickdale Blakeway (1765-1826), the topographer, was born in Shrewsbury. He served at the Royal Peculiar of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury from 1793 until his death. In 1807 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. After his death his wife deposited most of his manuscripts in the Bodleian. On the recto of the front fly-leaf, in Blakeway's handwriting (checked against his MSS in the Bodleian), appears the following statement: 'This MS. I purchased at the sale of Gen. Langleys books at Golding. The edition of Ld Brooke's Life of Sir Philip Sidney printed at London in 1652 has been taken from a fuller & better copy. Nevertheless this MS. serves to correct several material errors in that edition'. There then follow two columns headed 'Printed' and 'MS' detailing some variant readings. This list is continued on the recto of the final fly-leaf, after which Blakeway comments: 'Besides these various readings, or rather errata, for such they plainly are, Lord Brooke, in the copy from which the impression was made, has altered the situation of many parts of the work not always for the better, & introduced up & down various additional paragraphs. [Then as a separate paragraph] John Langley

¹Ewing, op. cit., p.424.

of Brosely great uncle to the generals great-grandfather was "servant" to Robert Sidney fourth earl of Leicester great grandson of Sir Philip Sidney's brother Robert'. These statements were corrected and clarified in Blakeway's posthumously published The Sheriffs of Shropshire (Shrewsbury, 1831):

John Langley...was of the Amias, in the... parish of Brosely, by the gift of Robert Sidney, first Earl of Leicester and President of Wales, to whom he had been a confidential servant.¹

At the sale at Golden, in 1819, of the effects of Arnold Archer Langley, a general in the service of the Honourable East India Company, among other curious books and manuscripts, was a manuscript of that strange tissue of strong sense couched in pedantic language, Lord Brooke's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, the elder brother of Mr. Langley's patron. The printed work has been given from an imperfect copy, but the manuscript at Golden contained many most important readings, without which the book as now edited is unintelligible. There was also an original portrait on pannel of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, uncle to the said Earl of Leicester, through whom the book and picture no doubt came into the family....²

Arnold Archer Langley was the great-great-grandson of one John Langley who succeeded to the possessions of his uncle, the John Langley mentioned by Blakeway, in 1661. This latter John Langley matriculated at Balliol College on 6 July 1613 at the age of eighteen.³ Sir William Dugdale refers to him as 'my worthy friend Mr. John Langley, whose delight and knowledge in antiquities deserves greater commendations than I can in a few lines express'.⁴ I have not been able to

¹ p.188.

² p.187n., continuing onto p.188.

³ See Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, 4 vols. (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891-1892), III, 878.

⁴ In The Antiquities of Warwickshire, 2nd ed., rev. William Thomas (London, 1733), p.207.

substantiate the assertion that John Langley was a 'servant' of Robert Sidney,¹ though if it is true it would possibly explain why the manuscript came to be in Langley's possession. John Langley did act as steward or attorney to Sir Richard Leveson of Trentham in Staffordshire, whose descendants possessed the manuscript now in the possession of Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen.²

¹Robert Sidney was at no time Lord President of the Council in Wales.

²There is a considerable collection of Langley's letters among the Sutherland MSS now in the Staffordshire County Record Office (D 593/P/8/2/). See also the lease of 'the Farme of Slepe' granted to John Langley by Sir Richard Leveson for faithful service on 18 July 1653 (Shropshire County Record Office, SRO 38/87). A.F.C.C. Langley's 'The Family of Langley of Shropshire' in Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2nd series, V (1893), 113-150, is informative, but needs to be treated with caution.

[T] Trinity College, Cambridge MSS R.7. 32 and 33.

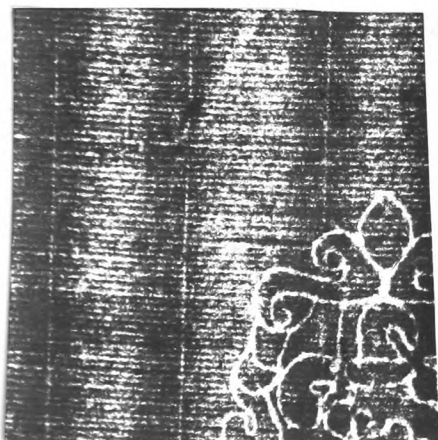
Octavo. MS R.7.32, [i]+75+[iv] ff.; MS R.7.33, 61+[iii] ff.

MS R.7.32, 131.5 x 70mm; MS R.7.33, 130 x 72mm.

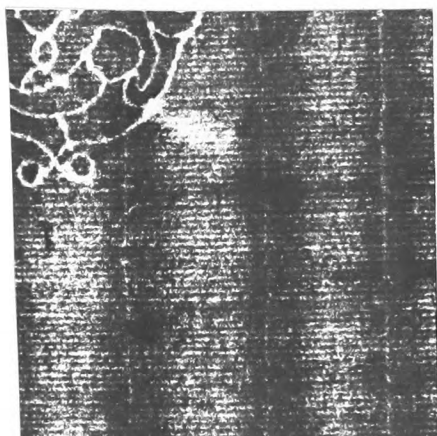
MS R.7.32, f.i^v, 'A Dedication to S*<i>r* Philip Sidney'; ff.1-75^v, the text, chapters 1-11, beginning on ff.1, 12, 18^v, 24, 28^v, 37^v, 43^v, 49, 56, 67 and 72^v respectively.

MS R.7.33, ff.1-61, the text, chapters 12-18, beginning on ff.1, 6, 11^v, 21^v, 34^v, 49 and 58 respectively.

The text is written in two clearly distinguishable hands, one in each of the two MSS. Both scripts are basically Secretary, but show some italic influence; the hand in MS R.7.33 is the more vigorous, but except in a handful of cases it does not punctuate the text. The size of the volumes makes identification of the watermarks difficult. Instances of two portions of a watermark recur throughout the two MSS:



[from MS R.7.32 f. 9]



[from MS R.7.32 f.43]

Both volumes are bound in pressed morocco over board, with gilt tooling along the flattened outer edges, and along the margins of the face, of each covered board. On the inside cover of MS R.7.33 is a pasted-in slip of paper headed 'Grevill life of Sydney'. Written in

pencil, the paper lists words and phrases that are either unusual or difficult to understand.¹ The list was compiled by reference to the editio princeps of 1652; each of the items has a number which refers to the pagination of that volume next to it. The manuscript was deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1691, along with the bulk of the library of Sir Henry Newton [later Puckering] (1618-1701).² Sir Henry Newton was a younger son of the Sir Adam Newton who was tutor to Prince Henry until 1610, and thereafter his secretary. Later Sir Adam was treasurer or receiver-general to Prince Charles. In 1605 he married Katherine, the youngest daughter of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper in Queen Elizabeth's reign. In 1654 Sir Henry Newton inherited by deed of settlement the estates of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Puckering. He assumed the name of Puckering, and removed to Sir Thomas's residence, the Priory, Warwick. An ardent royalist, Sir Henry was forced to reside quietly in Warwick for much of the inter-regnum.

¹The list could be in Grosart's hand, but because it is written in pencil, and because the writer is at obvious pains to write distinctly, this is by no means certain. An example of Grosart's hand may be found in Bodleian MS Top. Gen. d. 1. f.157.

²See Montague Rhodes James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-1904), II, 242. The famous Milton autograph manuscript (MS R. 3. 4) was also part of the Newton (Puckering) bequest; see M.R. James, op. cit., II, 50-51.

[1652] [Within a border of printer's flowers] | THE
 LIFE | Of the Renowned | Sr PHILIP SIDNEY. | WITH | The true
 Intereft of England | as it then stood in relation to all
 For- | rain Princes: And particularly for sup- | preffing
 the power of Spain Stated by Him. | His principall Actions,
 Counfels, | Designes, and Death. | Together with a short
 Account of | the Maximes and Policies used by Queen |
Elizabeth in her Government. | [rule] | Written by Sir
FULKE GREVIL | Knight, Lord BROOK, a Servant to Queen |
Elizabeth, and his Companion | & Friend. | [rule] | LONDON,
 Printed for Henry Seile over againft St | Dunstans Church
 in Fleet-ftreet. | MDCLII. |

Coll: 8^{vo}, A⁴ B-R⁸ [\$4 (-K4) signed]; 132
 leaves, pp. [8] 1-112 109-153 158-208
 201-247 [1] [=255], [C3 as 'G3'; p.92
 as '26'.]

Contents: A1: title. A1^v: blank. A2-A4: dedicatory
 epistle, headed | Most humbly, | To the Right Honorable |
THE | COUNTESSE | OF | SVNDERLAND. | A4^v: blank.
 B1-R8: text, headed THE Life of the Renowned Sr
PHILIP SIDNEY. . R8^v: blank.

RT] || The Epistle | Dedicatory. ||

|| The Life of the Renowned | Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. ||
 [note: Renowned L8^v; SIDNEY (no period) \$3 MNQ,
 \$4 OPR; Renowned (turned letter) F2^v; the lower
 rule on sigs. M-R is made up of segments of varying
 lengths.]

(no r-t on pages with headings.)

CW] C5^v Again,] Againe,
 C8^v in-] in
 I8 only] grounds
 K4^v kind] kinde
 K6^v gllth] glifh

Typography: text, Roman, English (face ht. 4.7mm.)

2511., 104.5 (127) x 66 mm.

Notes: Wing, B4899. Analysis of the running titles reveals that the type used for printing these for sheets B to L was distributed, and that a new set was made up for printing the running titles of the remaining sheets: thus, a tilted N on \$8 BCDEFGHL, \$6 I; broken E [**E**] on \$5 BCDEFGHIK, \$7 L; different fount P on \$3 BCDEFGHIK, \$ L; different fount E \$5 MNQ, \$6 OPR; sheets M to R, instead of having two solid rules--one above and the other below the running titles--as before, have a lower rule made up of a set of clumsily arranged and uneven sections. (The configuration of segments on sig. M7 --the first two segments measure 15.4 and 3.3mm. respectively--recurs on sigs. N7, O8, P8, Q7 and R8, thus confirming that a pair of skeletons was used for printing the remaining sheets.) It would appear that the first ten and last six sheets were not set by the same compositor: from sig. M3 (p.165) l.7, the preposition 'than' is consistently spelled as 'then', the last 'than' occuring on sig. L7^V (p.158) l.8; from sig. M3, chapters are headed 'CAP.' intsead of 'CHAP.'.

Copies examined: Bodleian Library (Ashmole 1565 and Crynes 206) [As] [Cr]; Corpus Christi College Library [CC]; Christ Church Library [Ch]; Balliol College Library [Ba]; two copies from the library of Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen, one having the book-plate of the Earl of Derby [Ju] [De].

Twenty instances of press variants have been noticed:

	sig.	line	
1.	H1	25	between him, and his As Ch Ba Ju De btween then him, his Cr CC
2.	H2	2	And As Ch Ba And Cr CC Ju De
3.	I1	4	counfels As Cr CC Ba councels Ch Ju De

4.	I1	9	us, than	As Cr CC Ba
			us than	Ch Ju De
5.	I1	17	hold;	As Cr CC Ba
			hold:	Ch Ju de
6.	I2 ^v	25	firft,	As Cr CC Ba
			Firft;	Ch Ju De
7.	I3	14	Princes, as <u>Navarre</u> , <u>Portugall</u> ,	As Cr CC
			Princes as <u>Navarre</u> <u>Portugall</u> ,	
8.	I3	15	<u>Brunswick</u> , and &c.	As Cr CC Ba
			<u>Brunswick</u> , &c.	
9.	I3	17	interrupt	As Cr CC Ba
			intterrupt	Ch Ju De
10.	I4 ^v	6	half-Moon	As Cr CC Ba
			half Moon	Ch Ju De
11.	I4 ^v	7	them,	As Cr CC Ba
			them;	Ch Ju De
12.	I4 ^v	15	gallies,	As Ch CC Ba
			gallies:	Ch Ju De
13.	I4 ^v	20	Kingdomes, rather	As Cr CC Ba
			Kingdomes rather,	Ch Ju De
14.	I5	2	State	As Cr CC Ba
			ftate	Ch Ju De
15.	I5	12	Manumiffions	As Cr CC Ba
			Manmiffions	Ch Ju De
16.	I7	5	because	As Cr CC Ba
			beacuse	Ch Ju De
17.	I7	17	<u>Paris</u> ;	As Cr CC Ba
			<u>Paris</u> ,	Ch Ju De
18.	I8 ^v	19	Nation sin wonder	As Cr CC Ba
			Nationsin wonder	Ch Ju De
19.	I5 ^v	12	drfs	As Ba
			drefs	Cr CC Ch Ju De
20.	I5 ^y	15	opened	As Ba
			oppofed	Cr CC Ch Ju De

In addition to the copies collated mechanically, I have also examined four copies in the British Library [E. 1288. (1); 1418. i. 42; 275. d. 41; G. 2013], a copy belonging to Mr. John Buxton, and one in my own possession. None of the copies I have examined has the variant reading 'commodius' for 'commodious' recorded by Nowell Smith, p.93, l.7n.

Bodleian Ashmole 1565 has the following inscription on the reverse of the title page (sig. Al^v):

S^r Ph: Sydney was borne

29. Novemb. 1554.

19^h. 50' P.M.

Cantiæ Polo 51. 52'

Ex m̄s Gulielmi Lilly <.....> [possibly Ashml.]¹

Historical note. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register to Henry Seile on 31 October 1651². The Thomason copy is dated 24 November 1651³. The volume is dedicated to Dorothy Spencer, Countess of Sunderland (1617-1684), the eldest child of Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester, sister of Algernon Sidney, and Waller's 'Sacharissa'. In 1639 Dorothy Sidney married Henry, Lord Spencer, who was created Earl of Sunderland in 1643, and was killed at the battle of Newbury soon after. After the death of her husband, the Countess of Sunderland lived either at Penshurst or at the Spencer family home, Althorp, in Northamptonshire. In 1652 she married Robert (later Sir Robert) Smythe of Sutton-at-Hone and Boundes in Kent. She is buried in the Spencer family chapel at Brington, Northamptonshire. I have been assured that there are no dedication copies of the book in the libraries of either Althorp or Penshurst. It may be that if there was a dedication copy, it found its way into the library of Charles Spencer, the third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), Harley's great rival both as a statesman and book-collector. This library was divided in 1749 between

s/

¹The manuscript referred to is now Bodleian MS Ashmole 174, ff.145-46. For Sidney's birth, compare the Sidney family psalter [Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.7.2 /254] f.6: 'The nativity of Philip Sidney...was on Friday the last of November, being Saint Andrew's Day, a quarter before five in the morning'.

²See A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers. 1640-1708 A.D., 3 vols. (London, 1913), I, 382.

³British Library E. 1288. (1). See Catalogue of the Pamphlets...Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I, 854.

Blenheim and Althorp, Charles, the fifth Earl of Sunderland, having succeeded as the second Duke of Marlborough in 1733. The Blenheim part of the library was sold at a series of sales from 1881 to 1883. A copy of 1652 was sold to one Luks for 1/- on Monday, 17 July 1882.¹ This Luks may be the William Luks, fine art publisher of photographs, who traded at 14 Bedford Street, Covent Garden.²

Subsequent editions

Lord Brooke's Life of Sir Philip Sidney. Ed. Sir Egerton Brydges. Kent: Printed at the Private Press of Lee Priory by Johnson and Warwick, 1816.

Sir Egerton Brydges' edition is based solely on the editio princeps of 1652. Spelling and typographical conventions were brought into line with practices current in 1816. The paragraphing and periodic structure of 1652 were retained, though slight changes in medial punctuation--for example, the substitution of commas for parentheses--were occasionally made.

The Works in Verse and Prose Complete of the Right Honourable Fulke Greville. The Fuller Worthies Library. 4 vols. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. N.p., 1870. Vol. IV, 1-224.

Grosart based his text on 1652. He retained the spelling, paragraphing and sentencing, but altered the medial punctuation, substituting, for example, dashes for parentheses. He was the first editor to make use of T. In general, he preferred the variant readings of T.

¹See Bibliotheca Sunderlandia. Sale Catalogue of the...Sunderland or Blenheim Library...to be sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson. 3rd Portion (London, 1882), p.456, item 5764.

²See the Post Office London Directory (Commercial) for 1882.

The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney.... London: Gibbings, 1906. [A private reprint of 11 copies on vellum and 260 copies on paper. Classified in The National Union Catalog as PR 2343. B7. 1906.]

The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney.... Chiswick: The Caradoc Press, 1907. [A private reprint of 11 copies on vellum and 260 copies on paper. Classified in The National Union Catalog as PR 2343. B86.]

I have seen neither of the above items. Some of the details of publication are suspiciously alike.

Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney. Tudor & Stuart Library. Ed. Nowell Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.

Nowell Smith was unable to decide which of 1652 or T represented the later stage of revision. His edition is a type-facsimile of 1652, with corrections--where he felt them to be necessary--from T.

The relationship of the texts.

The internal organisation and provenance of both J and S suggest that the two manuscripts are closely related, and this is supported by the errors¹ and omissions² they have in common. The nature of the relationship is however difficult to establish: the numerous errors peculiar to S revealed in the apparatus criticus rule out the possibility that J was copied from S, but not that S is a careless copy of J. S's derivation from J would seem to be substantiated by a number of omissions in S at points where J's normally very clear script is difficult to read³. The peculiarities of the script in J may also be used to explain the error in S at p.22,17, where the 'I' of S's 'Istracifme' may derive from the strangely formed majuscule 'O' in J⁴. It may however be that these omissions and errors in S, and peculiarities in J, resulted from obscurities in a common source of which J would then be the more reliable witness. The case for the independent derivation of J and S respectively from a common source is difficult to establish in the light of J's apparent accuracy and S's carelessness, but there are at least some instances of what must be regarded as irreversible errors in J that could not have been corrected without reference to an independent source⁵.

The text as represented by J and S was subjected to a major process of revision which consisted, for the most part, of the transposition of existing material, the addition of new material, and a few minor deletions.

¹Such as those, for example, at pp.69,24, 88,10 and 134,8.

²Such as those at pp.7,11; 14,22; 15,1-2; 15,27; 22,8; 50,1-2; 115,12-22; 129,8-11; 129,13n.

³Such as those at p.20,5 (J f.7; S f.8), p.54,23 (J f.19^v; S 22^v), p.73,20 (J f.22^v; S f.26), and p.125,4 (J f.40; S f.42^v).

⁴See J f.8 and S f.9.

⁵See pp.9,15; 28,11; 29,10; 46,8; 75,20-22, 84,14; and 90,7.

The result of this revision is reflected by both 1652 and T. The differences between 1652 and T are such as could only have resulted from further, though rather minor, revision. Since much of the material in each of the representatives of the text is substantially the same, it is possible to establish the direction of revision on the basis of shared error as well as inferred authorial correction. Although T and 1652 are closely related, only T follows J and S in reproducing a major error at p.131,12; the reading of 1652 is such that it could only reflect authorial intervention¹. Several other variants confirm that 1652 represents the final state of recension². I have found no evidence to persuade me that T does not represent an intermediate state of revision³; the two cases where T does contain unique material⁴ cannot be regarded as significant, since Greville was quite capable of deleting fairly substantial passages elsewhere⁵. It may be that Greville, as in Caelica and A Treatise of Monarchy⁶, separately revised two different working copies of the text, and so produced two equally authoritative sets of readings, but the known representatives of the text do not, in my opinion, vary to an extent that would justify such speculation.

¹See the relevant notes.

²See, for example, the variants at p.3,17 and 19, p.55,10 and 11, p.65,31, p.66,23, and p.126,23n. The individual variants are discussed in the Commentary.

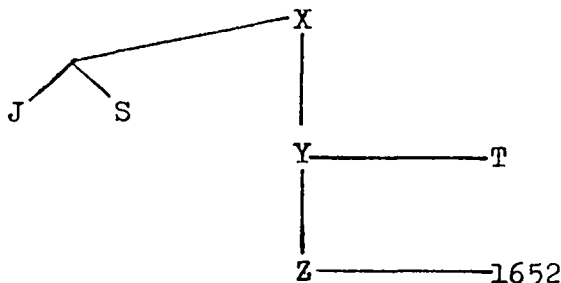
³Variants such as those at pp.47,10n, 65,14, 73,1 and 106,14 could easily have arisen at an intermediate stage of revision, as did T's insertion at p.55,10.

⁴At p.47,10n. and p.106,14.

⁵As, for example, at p.126,23n.

⁶See W. Hilton Kelliher, 'The Warwick Manuscripts of Fulke Greville', British Museum Quarterly XXXIV (1970), pp.112 and 115-116.

The relationship of the three manuscripts and the editio princeps of 1652 may be represented by the following diagram, where X, Y and Z stand for the three successive states of revision rather than any particular conjectured document:



The nature of the source of J and S is difficult to ascertain, though I would conjecture that they came directly from either the author's foul-papers, or from a scribal copy prepared from such papers¹. In either case one would expect to find some evidence of scribal inability to decipher Greville's very difficult hand². Possible cases of this may be found in the omissions at pp.7,11, 14,22, 15,27, 22,8, and 129,13n. and 135,28. These could have arisen because of indecipherable words in the autograph manuscript or in authorial revisions to a scribal copy, or because the scribal fair copy itself reflected the presence of illegible words in the original authorial draft.

That the ultimate source of J and S was an unrevised authorial draft may be inferred from certain omissions in J and S, from the actual state of certain parts of J and S, and from certain corrections and revisions that were effected in the later versions of the text. The omissions in J and S at pp.50,1-2, 115,12-22 and 130,8-11, are more likely to have arisen from an incompleteness in

¹For evidence of Greville's habit of working from scribal copies, see W. Hilton Kelliher, op. cit., pp.112-113 and plate XXIV, and P.J. Croft, Autograph Poetry in the English Language, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1973), I,15.

²Greville himself realised that his hand was difficult to read; see P.J. Croft, ibid.

the source rather than from its illegibility. One can only assume from this that in the rush of getting his ideas onto paper Greville left passages incomplete with the intention of returning to fill in the details later. In keeping with this are the signs of authorial hesitancy: at the end of J and S Chapter XI (J ff.24-24^v and S f.28), and again at the end of J and S Chapter XVII (J ff.43^v-44 and S f.45^v) the material is displayed in such a way as would lead one to believe that the scribes were attempting to reproduce the appearance of an authorial draft--the prose is continuous, but the periods are broken into fragments¹. The impression of an early state of the work is increased by the quality of certain variants J and S have in common. One cannot help feeling that variants such as those at pp. 8,15-16, 29,25, 40,25, 50,25 and 50,26, 69,25, 71,22, 72,4, 73,15, 100,5, 109,20, and 140,27 arose as a result of revisions designed to eliminate the kinds of error, confusion and infelicity so common in unrevised work.

Although the ultimate source of J and S was an early, unrevised authorial draft, the immediate source was more likely to have been a scribal copy of such a set of foul-papers. At p.4,23 there is what I take to be an error that persists through all the representatives of the text. Although it is a small error, and one which is easily glossed over in reading, it is hardly one which Greville, with his evident command of suspended syntax, would have made himself. It seems reasonable to assume, then, that the error was introduced when a scribal copy of the foul-papers was made, and that Greville failed to notice it during subsequent re-readings. An error in the representatives of the earlier states of the text which Greville did not fail to correct may be found at p.131,12. An error of this kind could only have been

¹See the notes to pp.135,14-21, 142,4 and 142,16.

introduced by a scribe guessing about an unfamiliar word.

Many of the variants which J and S have in common may be regarded as products of a process of revision and correction¹. From this it will be seen that Greville revised very carefully in the interests of emphasis and clarity. There are however many other J/S variants which are so indifferent that they cannot be regarded as inferior in any way to the readings which replace them; they are also so numerous that one cannot accept the assumption of their having resulted from normal methods of revision such as deletion and interlineation. It is therefore necessary to conjecture that an entirely new working copy of the text was made at some time after the establishment of the archetype of J and S. Quite probably this would have coincided with the major revision of which 1652 and T are witnesses. I have found no comparable set of indifferent variants as between 1652 and T that would lead me to believe that they did not stem from the same, though slightly altered, working copy. The differences between 1652 and T that cannot be regarded as transmissional errors, could quite easily have been brought about by simple insertions and deletions².

Without further evidence coming to light it will probably not be possible to establish the relationship of each of T and 1652 to its archetype, though on the basis of the fact that each of the scribes of T introduces a similar error--by having 'waste' for 'coast' in the one case, and 'wastes' for 'coasts' in the other³--one could hazard the conjecture that at least one intermediary, the work of a single hand, intervened between T and Greville's working copy.

¹See, for example, pp.24,3, 41,12, 70,20 and 70, 21-22, 71,2-3, 71,6, 71,13-14, 71,20-21, 72,7-8, 109,14, 124,21, 133,14, as well as the variants listed on p.xlvi, lines 15-17.

²See, for example, pp.1,3 and 5, 47,11-15, 55,10 and 55,11.

³See p.2,12 and p.125,14.

The revisions which transformed the text from the state represented by J and S to the state represented by 1652 and T may be represented by the following schema, where the page and line references enclosed in boxes indicate the material that was either deleted or inserted:

J/S		T/1652	
I-VII	1,1-47,10 47,10n [=74,15-23]	1,1-47,10 *47,10n	I-VII
VIII	75,1-78,23 78,23n [= 47,11-48,7]	47,11-48,7 49,1-55,27	VIII
IX	49,1-55,27 56,1-57,8 57,8-9n [=64,21-65,3] 57,10-16 57,15-16n	56,1-57,9 57,10-16 57,17-64,20	IX
X	67,12-19 68,1-74,14	64,21-65,3 65,4-67,12 67,12-19 68,1-74,14	X
XI	130,1-6n 130,7-135,23	74,15-23 75,1-78,23	XI
XII	79,1n 79,1-83,28		XII
XIII	84,1-89,24	79,1-83,28 84,1-89,24	XIII
XIV	90,1-100,12	90,1-100,12	XIV
XV	101,1-106,13 106,29-109,24 110,1-111,21 113,10-114,3 115,1-120,10	101,1-106,13 106,13-29 106,29-109,24 109,25-110,1 110,1-111,21 111,22-113,9 113,10-114,3 115,1-120,10 120,11-123,22	XV
XVI	123,23-126,23 126,23n+ 127,1-129,13	123,23-126,23 127,1-129,13 130,1-6 130,7-135,23 135,24-136,21	XVI
XVII	129,13n [=135,24-136,21] 140,1-142,30	136,22-139,18 140,1-142,30	XVII
			XVIII

+ also in T.

* only in T.

The major revisions of the earliest known state of the text are of two kinds: rearrangements of existing material and additions of new material. Of the transpositions of material the most important from the textual point of view is the incorporation of J/S Chapter XI in 1652/T Chapter XVII. It seems to me that this transposition, along with all the other changes, may best be explained by reference to Greville's habit of continuous revision rather than by any conjectures about changes in his intentions. The last paragraph of J/S Chapter XI (p.13⁵~~8~~, 14-23) implies that Greville has reached the end of his discussion of Queen Elizabeth. It is therefore quite natural that the whole of the chapter should be removed to the actual end of the material on the queen. By doing so Greville also managed to improve the chronology of his narrative: the discussion of Elizabeth I's vigorous foreign policy after 1588 (J/S Chapter XI) no longer precedes the narrative of Sidney's injury and lingering death in 1586 (Chapters XII and XIII).

Having removed J/S Chapter XI, Greville was faced with the problem of providing a transition from the relation of Sidney's proposed raids on Spanish possessions in the West Indies to a narration of the events leading up to Sidney's death. Quite obviously, the solution was to insert the material on the Low Country expedition (p.74,15-p.78,23), since 'from the ashes of this first propounded voyage to America that fatal Low Country action sprang up' (p.74,16-18). When Greville removed this material to 1652/T Chapter XI, he left much of the transition passage to J/S Chapter IX (1652/T Chapter VIII) in its place (p.78,23 var./pp.47,16-48,7). By so doing he produced the rather odd situation of one set of words being used to refer to two entirely different sets of circumstances. Although he removed the inappropriate reference to the Earl of Leicester, he failed to eliminate the inconsistency of having Sidney search for opportunities of active employment abroad immediately after having accepted a post on active service in the Low Countries. It is unlikely that such an inconsistency would have been produced if Greville's primary purpose in transferring the bulk of J/S Chapter VII had not been to fill in the gap left by the removal of J/S Chapter XI.

The third, though rather minor, transposition of material involves the removal of the passage at p.57,8-9 var. to pp.64,21-65,3. As part of his revision of the earlier state of the text Greville decided to break up the neat two-fold structure of J/S Chapter X which he so carefully prepared for at p.55,20-27. Instead of restricting the discussion to the possibilities of attacks on the Spanish mainland on the one hand, or attacks on Spanish possessions in the West Indies on the other, Greville broadens the topic by introducing proposals for English involvement in Continental affairs generally (pp.57,17-64,20 and pp.65,4-67,12). The proposals for a possible attack on Sicily (p.57,8-9 var.) that had been a distracting digression in J/S Chapter X fit quite appropriately into the middle of the new material in 1652/T Chapter IX (pp.64,21-65,3).

Substantial additions to the text occur in Chapter IX, XV and XVII. The material added to Chapter IX has already been partly discussed: the insertions at pp.57,17-64,20 and pp.65,4-67,12 may both be seen as the expansion of the idea of English involvement in European affairs that was present only as an aside in the earlier version. In much the same way, the additions to Chapter XV (p.106,13-29, pp.109,25-110,1, pp.111,22-113,9 and pp.120,11-123,22) may be seen as amplifications of the subjects of the contiguous material--Elizabeth I's vigorous championing of the Protestant cause, her refusal to depend on favourites, the necessity for a strong ruler to be constant in Faith and independent of favourites, and the wisdom of Elizabeth I in maintaining the ancient institutions of government.

Chapter XVII contains the single most substantial addition of new material to the text, Greville's justification of the digression on Elizabeth I. There is no obvious reason why Greville should have volunteered this information in the later version and not in the earlier one: the amount and substance of the material on Queen Elizabeth in both versions is not significantly different. Certainly, the change could not have been prompted by Robert Cecil's refusal to let Greville have access to state papers, since J and S already reflect

Greville's reaction to Cecil's uncooperativeness.¹ It may be that Greville felt the summary conclusion of J/S Chapter XVI (p.129,13 var./pp.135,24-136,21) was too abrupt for the substantially extended digression of the later version. This autobiographical kind of purgatio does much to resolve the imbalance of the second half of the work, and forms a suitable counterpart to the autobiographical introduction of the material on Sidney. Even though Greville may have added this material for aesthetic reasons, he certainly did not let an opportunity for displaying the 'narrow salves' of a later age slip by him. One could possibly speculate that only after Robert Cecil's death in 1612 did Greville dare to set down the details of the interview, but there is no evidence in the text which would confirm this.²

MODERNISATION OF THE TEXT

There is little to be said in favour of producing an 'old-spelling' edition of a work when none of the representatives of the text could possibly meet the requirements for a copy-text.³ J and S, as representatives of the earliest state of the text, are unsuitable by not containing a substantial part of the complete work; an attempt to sophisticate accidentals for the material added during subsequent revisions would, in my opinion, not only be contrary to the spirit of 'old-spelling' editions, but also an exercise in misguided diligence. T is rendered unsuitable by being the work of two scribes: each has different spelling habits, so that, for example, while the

¹In this I disagree with the opinions of S. Blaine Ewing, 'A New Manuscript of Greville's "Life of Sidney" ', Modern Language Review, XLIX (1954), p.427, and Rebholz, p.335.

²The omissions and additions at pp.57,16 var., 130,1-6 var., 79,1 var., 126,23 var., and 47,10 var., are discussed in the notes.

³I accept Greg's working definition that a copy-text is that text which most nearly represents what the author wrote, and which the editor follows, as far as accidental characteristics are concerned, with the least possible alteration; see W.W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', Studies in Bibliography III (1950), 21.

first scribe at times uses -ie or -y indifferently for adjectival and adverbial endings, and at others prefers -ie, the second scribe quite obviously prefers -y; except for a handful of instances, the whole of the second scribe's work is unpunctuated. There seems little point in preserving the habits of two scribes, especially if I am correct in surmising that they were not copying from an authorial manuscript. Although it is possible, I believe, to learn enough from contemporary sources to allow one to understand seventeenth century punctuation, and in some cases to correct obvious errors, it is unrealistic and even presumptuous to believe that one could sophisticate the deficiencies of punctuation in a substantial piece of seventeenth century prose.¹

Two considerations militate against using 1652 as a copy-text. The first is the comparatively long delay between the time of composition of the work and its publication. Little is known of the extent to which printing conventions may have altered during this period of about forty years, though it is certain that the use of 'i', 'j', 'u' and 'v' did change during the interim.² By choosing 1652 as a copy-text one would most likely only succeed in producing a text in Commonwealth disguise. The second consideration is the size of 1652 itself: the text is set to a width of approximately 66mm. in a type with a face-height of between 4.5 and 4.8 mm. With a narrow measure and a large type the number of lines is increased, and so also the number of cases where the compositor would alter spelling in order to facilitate line justification. In this way the likelihood that 1652 may reflect any authorial characteristics present in the manuscript from which it was set is further reduced.

¹I have found the comments on punctuation in the following works particularly useful: Aldus Manutius, Orthographiae ratio (Venice, 1566); Francis Clement, The petie schole (London, 1587); Edmund Coote, The Englishe scholemaister (London, 1596); and Ben Jonson, The English Grammar in Works VIII, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (2nd impression corrected; Oxford, 1954).

²See Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography (2nd impression corrected 1928; Oxford, 1972), pp.310-11.

The great advantage of a modernised text is its readability. The only disadvantage is the loss of the periodic structure of the prose through repunctuation. Morris Croll maintained that 'the only possible punctuation of seventeenth-century prose is that which it used itself. We might sometimes reveal its grammar more clearly by repunctuating it with commas or periods, but we should certainly destroy its rhetoric'.¹ He was, of course, concerned with a loosely ligatured prose style that depends more upon logical association than highly developed syntax, and was not exercised by the notion that the punctuation of any given text may be corrupt. Nevertheless, his opinion must be taken seriously.

1652 punctuates the opening lines of the text according to the periodic structure, not according to the syntax:

to/

The difference which I have found between times, and consequently the changes of life into which their natural vicissitudes do violently carry men, as they have made deep furrows of impressions into my heart, so the same heavy wheels cause me to retire my thoughts from free traffic with the world, and rather seek comfortable ease or employment in the safe memory of dead men, than disquiet in a doubtful conversation amongst the living. Which I ingenuously confess, to be one chief motive of dedicating these exercises of my youth to that worthy Sir Philip Sidney, so long since departed. For had I grounded my ends upon active wisdoms of the present, or sought patronage out of hope, or fear in the future; Who knows not, that there are some noble friends of mine, and many honourable magistrates yet living, unto whom both my fortune, and reputation were, and are far more subject?

J and S mark off the periods, though S uses colons instead of period marks to do so; neither J nor S has an interrogation mark at the end of the last period, nor do they use a semi-colon followed by an upper-case/majuscule letter to signal the major transition in the last period. T, on the other hand, is not quite so successful in pointing the rhetorical structure, and even manages a slight confusion of the syntax in the fifth member of the

¹ 'The Baroque Style in Prose', Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm: Essays by Morris W. Croll, ed. J. Max Patrick et. al. (Princeton, 1966), p.233.

first period:

The difference which I have found between times, and consequently the changes of life into which their natural vicissitudes do violently carry men; as they made deep furrows of impressions into my heart; so the same heavy wheels caused me to retire my thoughts from free traffic with the world, and rather seek comfortable ease, or employment in the safe memory of dead men, than disquiet in a doubtful conversation amongst the living. which I ingeniously confess to be one chief motive of dedicating these exercises of my youth to that worthy Sir Philip Sidney so long since departed, for had I grounded my ends upon active wisdoms of the present, or sought patronage out of hope, or fear in the future; who knows not, that there are some noble friends of mine, and many honourable magistrates yet living, unto whom both my fortune and reputation were, and are far more subject.

While the slightly heavy, modernised punctuation of the present text does not delineate the periods quite so clearly as either of these examples, it makes for more readable prose, by indicating the logical links between individual members and between related periods. If care is taken not to obliterate the limits of the individual periods entirely, the very distinctive cadences with which Greville almost invariably marks the ends of his periods will ensure that the periodic structure does not go undetected.

The value of a more articulate punctuation can be seen in cases where the older style, with its limited resources, manages to obscure the rhetorical design of a piece of prose. By treating the material of p.98,3-9 as a discrete period, all four representatives of the text fail to indicate that this passage is part of a structure which starts at p.97,23. None of the texts manages to punctuate the material into coherence; 1652's attempt may be regarded as typical:

My self, his kinsman, and while I remained about the Queen, a kind of remora, staying the violent course of that fatal ship, and these wind-watching passengers (at least, as his enemies imagined) abruptly sent away to guard a figurative fleet, in danger of nothing, but these prosopopeia's of invisible rancour; and kept (as in a free prison) at Rochester, till his head was off.

THE PRESENT TEXT

My aim has been to produce, as far as is possible, a readable text of the latest state of revision of the Dedication, and to provide in the critical apparatus all those passages from the earlier states of the text that were either altered or omitted during the process of revision. As far as substantive readings are concerned, I have followed 1652 in all cases except where I believe it is in error; readings from T or from J and S have been adopted in accordance with my assessment of where in the transmissional process error was introduced. In a few instances I have found myself obliged to depart from the readings of all four witnesses to the text.

Because I have, with certain limitations, modernised spelling, punctuation and typographical conventions, I have not treated any of the four witnesses to the text as a sacrosanct copy-text. For the sake of convenience, however, I have taken one particular copy of the printed text, Bodleian Ashmole 1565, as my master copy. The critical apparatus does therefore not reflect any of the press variants in the other copies of the 1652 edition. In the case of indifferent variants such as ~~among~~/~~amongst~~ or ~~further~~/~~farther~~ I have not felt obliged to follow 1652. When an indifferent reading in 1652 is supported by T, I have adopted it, but when T, J and S agree against 1652, I have followed the reading of the manuscripts; because of my assessment of J, I have followed T and J in the few instances where they agree against 1652 and S. I have made an exception to this rule where material contiguous to obvious authorial revision in 1652 contains indifferent variants. In such cases I have followed 1652, in the hope of approaching as nearly as possible to a set of readings actually approved by Greville.

In modernising the text I have normalised all spellings except for proper names such as 'the Groyne', 'Count Hollock', and 'Ragusa'. Older grammatical forms such as 'gat' and 'wan', or variant forms such as 'accompt', have not been treated as spelling variants; in distinguishing between variant forms of words and spelling variants, I have been guided by OED. Possessives have been supplied with apostrophes, and, where appropriate,

editorial decisions were made as to whether singular or plural was intended. The use of the form 'Mars his' has been retained, not only for reasons of historical accuracy, but also for the obvious euphony. Conventions for using upper-case/majuscule letters, italics, quotation marks, and the letters 'i', 'j', 'u', 'v' and 'f' have been brought into line with modern practice. In this my guides have been Horace Hart, Hart's Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press Oxford, 37th ed., completely revised, with additions (Oxford, 1970), and Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1973). The entire text has been repunctuated--as far as is possible under the circumstances--according to modern conventions; I have found Kate L. Turabian, op. cit., particularly helpful in this regard. Where the punctuation of any of the witnesses produces a possible difference in meaning, this has been registered in the critical apparatus. I have regarded paragraphing as part of the punctuation, and have not noted those few instances where I departed from the paragraphing of 1652; the single instance where new paragraphing obscures the rhetorical effect of a cadence has been discussed in the note to p.81,4-5.

The critical apparatus has been compiled in conformity with the principles set out above. When a reading is derived from 1652 and those manuscripts which agree with it, the lemma is closed with a square bracket; the variant reading is then given, followed by the siglum of the manuscript which contains it. In all cases where variant readings are shared, the sigla of representatives are separated by commas. Should there be more than one variant reading, these are separated by a semi-colon. When the reading is not derived from 1652, the lemma is followed by the siglum/a of its source, or, in the case of an editorial emendation, by 'ed', and is closed with a colon; variant readings are then given as usual. The above conventions for registering variant readings can only be applied in full where all four representatives of the text have comparable stints of material. When any of the manuscripts do not contain comparable or equivalent material, this will not be detectable from individual entries in the apparatus; it can therefore not be assumed

that failure to register a variant for a given manuscript means that the manuscript in question contains comparable material which is in agreement with 1652. I have, however, supplied notes indicating the beginnings and endings of equivalent material. Variant readings have been modernised except where the actual form of the variant may help to explain matters of textual transmission, or where I wish to draw attention to the actual state of a particular representative. Unless punctuation is the point at issue, it has not been registered in the lemma; final punctuation of variant readings has also not been registered, though it has been assumed that the reader would supply the often necessary changes. I have tried to construct the textual apparatus so as to allow for an approximate reading of the text in the form represented by J and S. Where the processes of revision have transferred substantial passages, this transferred material appears in the apparatus twice: once to register any variants that appear in J and S, and once, in a continuous form, for convenient reading. Where these variant passages themselves contain variants as between the manuscripts, the variant/error is registered in square brackets immediately after the correct reading unless otherwise indicated.

Some notational forms in the textual apparatus require explanation. I have used parallel slashes, / /, to indicate that the enclosed material has been interlined in the relevant manuscript. Square brackets, [], have been used to limit the scope of editorial comments. A caret, ^, has been used to indicate the absence of punctuation. Line-endings have been indicated by ¶. Where manuscript characters are unreadable because of damage or deletion, I have indicated this by enclosing a period mark per character, up to a maximum of three, between angle brackets, thus <...>.

LIST OF SIGLA

- J A manuscript in the possession of
 Dr. B.E. Juel-Jensen.
- S Shrewsbury Public Library MS 295.
- T Trinity College, Cambridge MSS R.7. 32
 and 33.
- 1652 Bodleian Ashmole 1565: The Life of
 the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney,
 (London, 1652).

CHAPTER I

The difference which I have found between times,
and consequently the changes of life into which their
natural vicissitudes do violently carry men, as they have
made deep furrows of impressions into my heart, so the same
heavy wheels cause me to retire my thoughts from free 5
traffic with the world and rather seek comfortable ease or
employment in the safe memory of dead men than disquiet in
a doubtful conversation amongst the living; which I
ingenuously confess to be one chief motive of dedicating
these exercises of my youth to that worthy Sir Philip 10
Sidney, so long since departed: for, had I grounded my
ends upon active wisdoms of the present, or sought
patronage out of hope or fear in the future, who knows not
that there are some noble friends of mine, and many
honourable magistrates yet living, unto whom both my fortune 15
and reputation were, and are, far more subject? But
besides this self respect of dedication, the debt I acknow-
ledge to that gentleman is far greater; as with whom I
shall ever account it honour to have been brought up, and
in whom the life itself of true worth did (by way of 20
example) far exceed the pictures of it in any moral pre-
cepts: so that (if my creation had been equal) it would
have proved as easy for me to have followed his pattern
in the practice of real virtue as to engage myself into
this characteristical kind of poesy in defence whereof he 25
hath written so much as I shall not need to say anything.
For that this representing of virtues, vices, humours,
counsels and actions of men in feigned and unscandalous
images is an enabling of free-born spirits to the greatest
affairs of states, he himself hath left such an instance 30
in the too short scene of his life as I fear many ages

3 have] om. T,J,S. 5 cause] caused T,J,S. 8 amongst]
among J. 9 ingenuously] ingeniously T,J,S. 13 patronage]
patronages S. 15 whom] whon J. 17 self respect T,J,S:
self-respect 1652. 19 account] accompt T. 25 this]
the S. 26 so] [as del.] so J. 28 in feigned T,J,S:
unfeigned 1652. 29 enabling T,J,S: inabling 1652.

will not draw a line out of any other man's sphere to parallel with it.

For my own part, I observed, honoured and loved him so much as, with what caution soever I have passed through my days hitherto among the living, yet in him I challenge a kind of freedom even among the dead: so that although with Socrates I profess to know nothing for the present, yet with Nestor I am delighted in repeating old news of the ages past, and will therefore stir up my drooping memory touching this man's worth, powers, ways and designs, to the end that in the tribute I owe him our nation may see a sea-mark raised upon their native coast above the level of any private pharos abroad, and so, by a right meridian line of their own, learn to sail through the straits of true virtue into a calm and spacious ocean of human honour.

It is ordinary among men to observe the races of horses and breeds of other cattle, but few consider that as diverse humours mixed in men's bodies make different complexions, so every family hath, as it were, diverse predominant qualities in it which, as they are tempered together in marriage, give a certain tincture to all the descent. In my time I have observed it in many houses, especially in this. Sir Henry Sidney, his father, was a man of excellent natural wit, large heart, sweet conversation, and such a governor as sought not to make an end of the state in himself, but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his country: witness his sound establishments both in Wales and Ireland, where his memory is worthily grateful unto this day, how unequal and bitter soever the censure of provincials is usually against sincere monarchal governors--especially such as, though in worth

1 draw] /easily/ draw J; easily draw S. 3 my] mine S.
 5 through] om. J,S. the] /the/ T. 8 Nestor] Nector T.
 in] with S. 12 nation] <...> J. native coast] native
 wast T; natiu<...> J; native coasts S. 13-14 by a]
 <...> J. 14 meridian] mer<...>an J. through] <...> J.
 15 straits of] <...> J. calm] <...> J. ocean] <...> J.
 19 diverse ed: divers 1652,T,J,S. in] into J. 20 diverse
 ed: divers 1652,T,J,S. 29 both] om. J,S. 31 sincere]
om. S.

and place superior, are yet in their own degrees of heraldry inferior to them.

On the other side, his mother, as she was a woman by descent of great nobility, so was she by nature of a large ingenious spirit: whence, as it were even 5
racked with native strengths, she chose rather to hide herself from the curious eyes of a delicate time than come upon the stage of the world with any manner of disparagement--the mischance of sickness having cast such a kind of veil over her excellent beauty as the modesty of 10
that sex doth many times upon their native and heroical spirits. So that it may probably be gathered that this clearness of his father's judgement, and ingenious sensibleness of his mother's, brought forth so happy a temper in this well-mixed offspring of theirs as (without 15
envy be it spoken) Sir Philip deserves to be accompted amongst those eminent plants of our soil which blast or bite not, but rather statuminate and refresh the vines, corn, fruits or whatsoever groweth under their shadows. And as he was their first-born, so was he not the contrac- 20
tion, but the extension, of their strength, and the very acme and perfect type of it.

Of whose youth I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man, with such 25
staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity as carried grace and reverence above greater years; his talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind, so as even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn above that which they had usually read or taught. 30
Which eminence by nature and industry made his worthy father style Sir Philip in my hearing (though I unseen)

1 their] om. T. 6 racked] ranked T. 10 kind of] /kind of/ J. 15 offspring] of spring J; [of del.] spring S. 16 be it] it be T. accompted] accounted S. 17 amongst] among J. which] whose shadows T,S; whose [underlined] shadows J. 19 whatsoever] whatever J,S. their shadows] them J,S. 20 was he] he was J,S. 21 but the] but T; but rather J,S. 22 acme T,J,S: aim 1652. 25 such] such a J,S. 29 something] somewhat J,S. 31 eminence] eminency S. 32 (though...unseen)] om. S.

lumen familiae suae. But why do I mention this relative
 harmony of worth between father and son? Did not his coun-
 try soon after take knowledge of him as a light, or leading
 star, to every degree within her? Are not the arts and
 languages which enabled him to travel at fourteen years old 5
 --and in his travel to win reverence amongst the chief learned
 men abroad --witnesses beyond exception that there was great
 inequality of worth and goodness in him?

Instance that reverend Languet (mentioned for
 honour's sake in Sir Philip's Arcadia), a Frenchman born, 10
 learned usque ad miraculum, wise by the conjunction of
 practice in the world with that well-grounded theory of
 books, and much valued at home till this great worth (even
 in a gentleman's fortune), being discovered for a danger-
 ous instrument against Rome and Spain, by some sparkles got 15
 light enough rather to seek employment elsewhere than to
 tarry, and be driven out of his own country with disparage-
 ment; in Frankfurt he settles, is entertained agent for the
 Duke of Saxony and an underhand minister for his own king;
 lodged he was in Wechel's house, the printer of Frankfurt, 20
 where--Sir Philip in his travel chancing likewise to become
 a guest--this ingenious old man's fulness of knowledge
 travailed as much to be delivered from abundance by
 teaching, as Sir Philip's rich nature and industry thirsted
 to be taught and manured. This harmony of an humble 25
 hearer to an excellent teacher so equally fitted them both
 as, out of a natural descent both in love and plenty, the
 elder grew taken with a net of his own thread, and the
 younger taught to lift up himself by a thread of the same
 spinning; so as this reverend Languet, orderly sequestered 30
 from his several functions under a mighty king and Saxony,

1 relative] <..>latiue J. 2 father] the father S.
 3 soon] <...>e S. or] and S. 4 star] st<..> S.
 5 travel T: travail 1652,J,S. 6 travel T: travail 1652,
 J,S. 'amongst] among J,S. 7 witnesses] witness T.
 10 Philip's] Philip Sidney's S. a Frenchman born T,J,S:
 om. 1652. 13 this] his T. 15 sparkles] sparks T. got]
 got him T. 16 than to] than J,S. 19 an] [and del.]T.
 20 in] at T. 21 his T,J,S: om. 1652. travel T,S:
 travail 1652,J. chancing likewise] changing likeness T;
 chancing J,S. 23 travailed ed: travelling 1652,T,J,S.
 27 both] om. J,S. 30 reverend] reverent J,S.
 31 Saxony] om. T,J,S.

the greatest prince of Germany, became a nurse of knowledge to this hopeful young gentleman and, without any other hire or motive than this sympathy of affections, accompanied him in the whole course of his three years' travel. By which example the judicious reader may see that worth in every nation finds her country, parents, neighbours and friends; yea, and often with more honour, dearness and advancement in knowledges than any pedigree of fleshly kindred will, or can, at home raise or enlarge them to.

Nay, to go yet farther in this private instance, it may please the reader to observe how the same parallel of worth, in what age or estate soever, as it hath power to win, so hath it likewise absolute power to keep: far unlike those creations of chance which hatch other birds' eggs and, by advancing men out of chance or compliment, lose them again as fast by neglect. Contrary to which, even when diversity of years, courses of life and fortunes enforced these dear friends to divide, there yet passed such a continual course of intelligence by letters from one of them to another as in their loss (if they be lost) there lie buried many delicate images and differences between the real and large complexions of those active times and the narrow salves of this effeminate age; because in this excellent mould of their friendship the greatest businesses of estate were so mixed with the sweet remissions of ingenuous good will as men might easily discern in them (as unflattering glasses) that wisdom and love in good spirits have great affinity together. For a farther demonstration, behold even the

1 of] in T. 2 young] om. J,S. 3 this] the J; that S.
 4 accompanied] accompanies J,S. 5 travel T: travail
 1652,J,S. 7 yea] ye T. 8 in] of S. any] any other
 J,S. 9 will, or can,] can T,J,S. 10 to T,J,S: unto
 1652. 11 private] om. J,S. 13 worth] true worth J,S.
 14 likewise] om. S. 15 hatch T,J,S: hath 1652.
 16 men] of men J,S. compliment] compliment, not out
 of judgement J,S. 17 again] om. J,S. neglect] neglect
 or unworthiness T; neglect or equal unworthiness J,S.
 to] /to/ [of del.] S. 18 even when] when even J,S.
 20 course] intercourse J,S. 22 lie T,J,S: be 1652.
 27 ingenuous] ingenious T,J,S. 28 as] as in J,S.
 30 farther] further T.

same Languet (after he was sixty-six years of age)
 fashioning himself a journey into England with the Duke
 Casimir only to see that excellent plant of his own
 polishing. In which loving and unexpected meeting, I dare
 confidently affirm, neither side became loser. At the 5
 sea they parted, and made many mutual tears ominous
 prophesiers of their never meeting again.

These little sparks of two large natures I make
 bold the longer to insist upon, because the youth, life
 and fortune of this gentleman were indeed but sparks of 10
 extraordinary greatness in him, which, for want of clear
 vent, lay concealed and in a manner smothered up; and
 again, to bring the children of favour and chance into an
 equal balance of comparison with birth, worth and education,
 and therein abruptly to conclude that God creates those in 15
 his certain and eternal moulds out of which he elects
 for himself, where kings choose creatures out of Pandora's
 tun and so raise up worth and no worth, friends or enemies
 at adventure. Therefore what marvel can it be if these
 Jacobs and Esaus strive ambitiously one with another, as 20
 well before as after they come out of such erring and
 unperfect wombs?

Now from these particular testimonies to go on
 with Sir Philip's life: though he purposed no monuments of
 books to the world out of this great harvest of knowledge, 25
 yet do not his Arcadian romances live after him admired
 even by our sour-eyed critics who, howsoever their common
 end upon common arts be to affect reputation by depraving
 censure, yet, where nature placeth excellency above envy,
 there (it seemeth) she subjecteth these carping eyes to 30
 wonder, and shows the judicious reader how he may be

1 sixty-six] 66 J,S. 2 a journey] om. S. 6 ominous T,J,
 S: omnious 1652. 10 sparks] sparkles T. 12 vent] [vent
~~del.~~] vent S. a] om. T. 13 chance J,S: change 1652; of
 chance T. 14 balance] [comparison ~~del.~~] balance S.
 16 and eternal] eternal and infallible J,S. 18 and no...
 or] or no...and J,S. 19 adventure] adventure, out of the
 seldom well digested humours of favour J,S. 24 though]
 although J,S. 25 this] his T. 26 romances ed: romanties
 1652; romantiae T; romanzas J,S. 27 even T,J,S: om. 1652.
 sour-eyed T,J,S: four-eyed 1652. howsoever] however J,S.
 28 arts] acts J. depraving] om. J,S. 30 carping] carp-
 ing, unjudicious J,S. 31 wonder T,J,S: wander 1652.

nourished in the delicacy of his own judgement?

For instance, may not the most refined spirits, in the scope of these dead images (even as they are now), find that when sovereign princes, to play with their own visions, will put off public action, which is the splendour of majesty, and unactively charge the managing of their greatest affairs upon the second-hand faith and diligence of deputies--may they not (I say) understand that even then they bury themselves and their estates in a cloud of contempt, and under it both encourage and shadow the conspiracies of ambitious subalterns to their false ends, I mean the ruin of states and princes? 5 10

Again, where kingly parents will suffer, or rather force, their wives and daughters to descend from the inequality and reservedness of princely education into the contemptible familiarity and popular freedom of shepherds, may we not discern that even therein they give those royal births warrant or opportunity to break over all circles of honour (safe-guards to the modesty of that sex), and withal make them frailly apt to change the commanding manners of princely birth into the degrading images of servile baseness? Lastly, where humour takes away this pomp and apparatus from king, crown and sceptre to make fear a counsellor and obscurity a wisdom, be that king at home what the current or credit of his former government for a while may keep him, yet is he sure among foreign princes to be justly censured as a princely shepherd or shepherdish king; which creatures of scorn seldom fail to become fit sacrifices for home-born discontentments, or ambitious foreign spirits, to 15 20 25 30

1 judgement] judgement, and raised far above those captive clouds of this nether region? J,S. 3 these] their S. 5 action] actions T. 11 subalterns] [blank space] (safely) J,S. false] treacherous J,S. 12 ruin] ruin both J,S. 18 those] these J,S. or] or at least J,S. 19 all circles] this circle J,S. safe-guards] a noble and safe guard J,S. 20 them frailly] frailty J,S. 21 princely] om. J,S. 21-22 degrading ...servile baseness] servile degrading...baseness J,S. 25 current...credit] credit or current J,S. 26 may... him] hath left him and may keep him J,S. 29 home-born] om. T; undertaking home-born J,S. 30 discontentments] discontent/ent/ments S. 30-p.8,1 to...up] om. J,S.

undertake and offer up.

Again, who sees not the chanceable arrival of Euarchus into Arcadia, his unexpected election to the temporary sovereignty of that state, his sitting in a cloudy seat of judgement to give sentence (under a masque of shepherds) against his son, nephew, nieces (the immediate successors to that sceptre), and all accused and condemned of rape, parricide, adulteries or treasons by their own laws--I say, who sees not that these dark webs of effeminate princes be dangerous fore-runners of innovation, even in a quiet and equally tempered people? So that, if Sir Philip had not made the integrity of this foreign king an image of more constant, pure and higher strain than nature makes these ordinary moulds wherein she fashioneth earthly princes, even this opportunity and map of desolation prepared for Euarchus, wherein he saw all the successors of this province justly condemned under his own sentence, would have raised up specious rights or pretences for new ambition in him, and, upon the never-failing pillars of occasion, amazedness of people and sad offer of glorious novelties, have tempted him to establish this election for a time successively to him and his forever.

To be short, the like and finer moralities offer themselves throughout that various and dainty work of his for sounder judgements to exercise their spirits in. So that if the infancy of these ideas, determining in the first generation, yield the ingenious reader such pleasant and profitable diversity both of flowers and fruits, let him conceive, if this excellent image-maker had lived to finish and bring to perfection this extraordinary frame of his own commonwealth--I mean the return of

2 not] om. J,S. chanceable] changeable T,S. 7 sceptre] sceptres J. 8 adulteries] adultery S. 9 laws] law J,S. 11 in] to J,S. 12 Philip T,J,S: Philips 1652. 13 constant, pure] pure, constant J,S. 14 nature] God J,S. these T,J,S: those 1652. she] he J,S. 15-16 and... Euarchus] om. J,S. 18 or] and T. 19 and] ad T. 22 establish] [ex del.] establish S. this] his J,S. for a] for <.> S. successively] successive J,S. 27 if the] if that S. these] those J,S. 30 conceive] conceive with grief J,S. 32-p.9,1 the...Basilius] his Basilius S.

Basilius from his dreams of humour to the honour of his
 former estate, the marriages of the two sisters with the
 two excellent princes, their issue, the wars stirred up by
 Amphialus, his marriage with Helen, their successions,
 together with the incident magnificences, pomps of state, 5
 providences of councils in treaties of peace or alliance,
 summons of wars and orderly executions of their disorders
 --I say, what a large field an active, able spirit should
 have had to walk in, let the advised reader conceive with
 grief, especially if he please to take knowledge that in 10
 all these creatures of his making his intent and scope was
 to turn the barren philosophy precepts into pregnant images
 of life, and in them, first on the monarch's part, lively
 to represent the growth, state and declination of princes,
 change of government and laws, vicissitudes of sedition, 15
 faction, succession, confederacies, plantations, with all
 other errors or alterations in public affairs; then again,
 in the subject's case, the state of favour, disfavour,
 prosperity, adversity, emulation, quarrel, undertaking,
 retiring, hospitality, travel and all other moods of 20
 private fortunes or misfortunes. In which traverses I
 know his purpose was to limn out such exact pictures of
 every posture in the mind that any man, being forced in the
 strains of this life to pass through any straits or lati-
 tudes of good or ill fortune, might (as in a glass) see 25
 how to set a good countenance upon all the discountenances
 of adversity, and a stay upon the exorbitant smilings of
 chance.

Now as I know this was the first project of
 these works, rich (like his youth) in the freedom of 30
 affections, wit, learning, style, form and facility to
 please others, so must I again as ingenuously confess

1 dreams] dream J,S. 2 estate] estates S. marriages
 T,J,S: marriage 1652. 4 Helen J,S: Helena 1652,T.
 5 magnificences] magnificences T. state] states S.
 7 executions T,J,S: execution 1652. 9-10 conceive...
 grief] be his own judge J,S. 10 if] if that S.
 11 these] those J,S. making] [knowledge ~~del.~~] making
 J. 13 on] in J,S. lively] om. S. 15 laws] law J.
 20 travel T: travail 1652,J,S. and] [& ~~del.~~] and S.
 21 or misfortunes] o misfortunes T; om. J,S. 22 exact]
 om. J,S. 23 posture in] posture of J,S. any] every
 J,S. forced] /forced/ J. 24 any] these J,S.
 24-25 straits...fortune] straits of fortune J,S.
 26 countenance] counten/a/nce S. 27 smilings T,J,S:
 smiling 1652. 30 rich] which S. 32 ingenuously]
 ingeniously T.

that when his body declined and his piercing inward powers were lifted up to a purer horizon he then discovered not only the imperfection, but vanity, of these shadows, how daintily soever limned: as seeing that even beauty itself, in all earthly complexions, was more apt to allure 5 men to evil than to fashion any goodness in them. And from this ground, in that memorable testament of his, he bequeathed no other legacy but the fire to this unpolished embryo; from which fate it is only reserved until the world hath purged away all her more gross corruptions. 10

Again, they that knew him well will truly confess this Arcadia of his to be, both in form and matter, as much inferior to that unbounded spirit of his as the industry and images of other men's works are many times raised above the writers' capacities; and besides acknow- 15 ledge that howsoever he could not choose but give them many aspersions of spirit and learning from the Father, yet that they were scribbled rather as pamphlets for entertainment of time and friends than any accompt of himself to the world: because, if his purpose had been to 20 leave his memory in books, I am confident in the right use of logic, philosophy, history and poesy--nay, even in the most ingenious of mechanical arts--he would have showed such tracts of a searching and judicious spirit as the professors of every faculty would have striven no less 25 for him than the seven cities did to have Homer of their sept.

But the truth is, his end was not writing even while he wrote, nor his knowledge moulded for tables or schools, but both his wit and understanding bent upon his 30 heart to make himself and others, not in words or opinion, but in life and action, good and great; in which architectural art he was such a master, with so commanding and

3 these] those J,S. 8 this] his T; that J,S. 9 embryo] embryo of his J,S [of his underlined in J]. 10 all] /all/ J. 15 and] and will J,S. 16 howsoever] however J,S. 22 even in] even T; in J,S. 23 ingenious T,J,S: ingenuous 1652. he] he [w del.] T. 24 tracts] traits T, J,S. 26 seven] 7 J. 26-27 of...sept] theirs J,S. 28 is] is this S. 30 and] to S. 33 such] om. T. commanding T,S: commending 1652. 33-p.11,1 and yet] to get S.

yet equal ways amongst men, that wheresoever he went he was beloved and obeyed: yea, into what action soever he came last at the first, he became first at the last, the whole managing of the business not by usurpation or violence, but (as it were) by right and acknowledgement falling into his hands, as into a natural centre; by which only commendable monopoly of alluring and improving men, look how the sun draws all winds after it in fair weather--so did the influence of this spirit draw men's affections and undertakings to depend upon him.

5

1 amongst] among J,S. 5 and] an T. 6 a] an T.
 8 look T,J,S: om. 1652. sun T,J,S: same 1652.

CHAPTER II

Here I am still enforced to bring pregnant
evidence from the dead, amongst whom I have found far more
liberal contribution to the honour of true worth than among
those which now live and in the markets of selfness
traffic new interest by the discredit of old friends: 5
that ancient wisdom of righting enemies being utterly worn
out of date in our modern discipline.

My first instance must come from that worthy
Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, with whom this young
gentleman, having long kept intelligence by word and 10
letters, and in affairs of the highest nature that then
passed current upon the stages of England, France,
Germany, Italy, the Low Countries or Spain--it seems (I
say) that this young gentleman had, by this mutual free-
dom, so imprinted the extraordinary merit of his young 15
years into the large wisdom and experience of that
excellent prince as I, passing out of Germany into England,
and having the unexpected honour to find this prince in
the town of Delft, cannot think it unwelcome to describe
the clothes of this prince, his posture of body and mind, 20
familiarity and reservedness to the ingenious reader,
that he may see with what diverse characters princes
please and govern cities, towns and peoples.

His uppermost garment was a gown, yet such as
(I dare confidently affirm) a mean-born student in our 25
Inns of Court would not have been well-pleased to walk the
streets in; unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like
precious matter and form to the other; his waistcoat

2 amongst] among J,S. 3 among] amongst T. 4 markets T:
market 1652; marks J,S. 5 by] in J,S. 7 discipline]
descriptive J,S. 9 of] om. T. 13 the] and S.
13-14 it...say) T: it seems 1652; yea, it seems J,S.
14 young] om. J,S. by this T,J,S: by his 1652. mutual]
om. J,S. 16 years] [years del.] years S. into] in S.
17 prince T,J,S: Ptince 1652. 19 of T,J,S: om. 1652.
Delft] Deffe S. 20 posture] positure T,J,S. 21 and]
[to del.] /and/ S. the T,J,S: ths 1652. 22 diverse]
divers T,J,S. 23 ingenious T,J,S: ingenuous 1652.
24-25 as (I] (as I J,S.

(which showed itself under it) not unlike the best sort
of those woollen knit ones which our ordinary watermen
row us in; his company about him the burgesses of that
beer-brewing town, and he so fellow-like encompassed with
them as (had I not known his face) no exterior sign of 5
degree or reservedness could have discovered the inequali-
ty of his worth or estate from that multitude. Notwith-
standing, I no sooner came to his presence, but it pleased
him to take knowledge of me; and even upon that (as if it
had been a signal to make a change) his respect of a 10
stranger instantly begat respect to himself in all about
him: an outward passage of inward greatness, which, in a
popular estate, I thought worth the observing, because
there no pedigree but worth could possibly make a man
prince and no-prince in a moment, at his own pleasure. 15

The businesses which he then vouchsafed to
impart with me were the dangerous fate which the crown of
England, states of Germany and the Low Countries did stand
threatened with under an ambitious and conquering
monarch's hand: the main instance, a short description of 20
the Spaniard's curious affecting to keep the Roman ways
and ends in all his actions; on the other side, the clear
symptoms of the hectic fever universally then reigning
among the princes of Christendom ordained (as he thought)
to behold this undermining disease without fear till it 25
should prove dangerous, nay incurable, to them--this
active King of Spain having put on a mask of conscience to
cover an invisible conjunction between the temporal and
spiritual ambitions of these two sometimes creeping, some-
times commanding, Romish and Spanish conquerors. The 30
particulars were many both excellent and enlightening.

As first, the fatal neutrality of France,
jealous of the Spanish greatness (as already both wronged

5 of] or S. 6 or] of S. reservedness T,J,S: deserved-
ness 1652. 7 that] the S. 9 to] om. T. even upon] in
S. 11 begat] begot T. respect to] respecto T.
14 there] ther'es S. 16 businesses which] businesses J;
business S. 17 fate] fates S. 19 threatened]
thre/a/tned T. 20 description T,J,S: descrip- on 1652.
21 Roman J,S: Romans 1652,T. 23 symptoms] symptons T.
26 nay] and S. 30 and Spanish] om. S.

and threatened by it), and yet their kings so full of pleasures, and consequently so easily satisfied with the compliments of words, treaties or alliances, and, since the fall of the Sorbonists, their own exempted church so absolutely possessed and governed by the Jesuits, as, 5 through the bewitching liberties and bondages of auricular confession, they were rather wrought to rest upon a vain security of reputed strength than really to hazard loss, and help themselves by diversion or assailing.

Again, on the Queen's part, by the way of 10 question, he supposed a little neglect (in her princely mildness) while she did suffer a Protestant party raised by God in that great kingdom of France to be a balance or counterpoise to that dangerous heptarchy of Spain (then scarce visible, but since multiplied to an unresistable 15 greatness)--I say, for suffering this strong and faithful party (through want of employment) to sink into itself, and so unactively (like a meteor) to vanish, or smother out in vain and idle apparitions. Withal, reverently he demurred whether it were an omission in that excellent 20 lady's government or no, by a remiss looking on whilst the Austrian aspiring family framed occasion to gain by begging peace, or buying war, from the Grand Signior (and both exceeding much to their own ends), in respect that once in few years this Emperor made himself general 25 by it over all the forces of Christendom, and thereby gained the fame of action, trained up his own instruments martially and got credit with his fellow-bordering princes, through the common counsel or participation of fear; besides that, in the conclusions of peace, he ever 30 saved a mass of riches gathered by diets, contributions, devotions and levies for common defence, which, out of

2 pleasures] their pleasures J,S. 6 bewitching T,J,S: bewitching 1652. 10 the way] way J,S. 15 to T,J,S: by 1652. unresistable] unresi[table T. 18 so...meteor] so like a meteor unactively J,S. 19 out in] like corr. to in J; in S. and] or J,S. reverently he] he reverently J,S. 20 demurred] demanded J,S. 21 whilst] whilst J. the] that J,S. 22 family] [blank space] J, S. 24 their] his J,S. 32 and] om. T. which...of] without [of del.] S.

the ill-accompting hand of war, became (in his exchequer)
treasure to terrify even those Christian neighbours that
did contribute to it. And the more especially he insisted
upon this, because all those crafty pageants of her
enemy's were disguisedly acted even whilst her Majesty 5
had an agent of extraordinary diligence, worth and credit
with that vast estate of Turkey, into whose absolute and
imperious spirit, without any further charge than infusing
the jealousies of competition, these practices among those
Austrian usurpers might easily have been interrupted. 10

Lastly, it pleased him to question yet a greater
oversight in both these kingdoms, England and France,
because while their princes stood at gaze, as upon things
far off, they still gave way for the popish and Spanish
invisible arts and counsels to undermine the greatness 15
and freedom both of secular and ecclesiastical princes--
a mortal sickness in that vast body of Germany, and, by
their insensible fall, a raising up of the house of
Austria many steps towards her long-affected monarchy
over the West. The ground of which opinion was (as he 20
thought) in respect that even the Catholic princes and
bishops themselves (had their eyes been well wakened)
would never have endured any cloud or colour of religion
to have changed their princely sovereignties into such a
kind of low and chaplain tenure as since they sleepily 25
have fallen into, but would rather have stirred them with
many hands to bound this mitre-superstition with the real
cords of truth; and to that end perchance have set Spain
on work with her new and ill-digested conquests, her
dangerous enemy Fez, her native Moors and Jews (since 30
craftily transported), and so probably have troubled the

1-2 his...treasure] the [blank space] J,S. 2-3 that did]
which which do J; which do S. 3 to it] in treasure J,S.
5 whilst] while T. 7 estate] estates S. 8 further]
farther J,S. 9 jealousies] jealousy T. 11 to] yet to S.
yet] om. S. 13 while] whiles J,S. 15 invisible]
/in/visible T. 17 mortal] om. J,S. 18 insensible]
unsensible T. 19 towards] toward J; om. S. her] the J,
S. 20-21 (as...respect] in respect (as he thought) J,S.
23 have T,J,S: hape 1652. 24 into] in S. 25 of] [and
del.] of T. low] loue T. 25-26 sleepily have T,J,S:
have sleepily 1652. 26 would] om. J,S. 27 hands] [blank
space] J; [to b del.; blank space] S. bound T,J,S: bind
1652. 28 have] to have T.

usurpations both of the Pope and Spain over that well-tempered, though over-zealous and superstitious, region of Italy. These, and such other particulars as I had in charge and did faithfully deliver from him to her Majesty, are since performed, or perished, with time or occasion. 5

The last branch was his free expressing of himself in the honour of Sir Philip Sidney after this manner: that I would first commend his own humble service with those fore-mentioned ideas to the Queen, and after crave leave of her freely to open his knowledge and opinion of a fellow-servant of his that (as he heard) lived unemployed under her. With himself he began ab ovo, as having been of Charles the Fifth's privy council before he was one and twenty years of age, and since (as the world knew) either an actor, or at least acquainted with the greatest actions and affairs of Europe; and likewise with her greatest men and ministers of estate. In all which series of time, multitude of things and persons, he protested unto me (and for her service) that, if he could judge, her Majesty had one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of estate, in Sir Philip Sidney, that at this day lived in Europe; to the trial of which he was pleased to leave his own credit engaged till her Majesty might please to employ this gentleman either amongst her friends or enemies. 25

At my return into England I performed all his other commandments; this that concerned Sir Philip (thinking to make the fine-spun threads of friendship more firm between them) I acquainted Sir Philip with, not as questioning, but fully resolved to do it. Unto which he, at the first sight opposing, discharged my faith, impawned to the Prince of Orange for the delivery of it, as an act only intending his good, and so to be performed or dispensed with at his pleasure; yet, for my satisfaction, 30

2 region] religion T. 6 expressing] expression J,S.
 13 Fifth's S: fift's 1652; Fifth T; 5^{ths} J. 14 one
 ...twenty] 21 J; XX^{tie} S. 15 at least] om. S.
 16 and affairs T,J,S: aud affairs 1652. 18 multitude]
 and multitude J,S. 23 till T,J,S: until 1652.
 24 amongst] among J,S. 27 commandments] command-
 ments faithfully J,S. Philip] Philip Sidney T.
 29 between] betwixt J,S. Philip] Philip Sidney T.
 34 or] [and so del.] or T.

freely added these words: first, that the Queen had the life itself daily attending her, and if she either did not, or would not value it so high, the commendation of that worthy prince could be no more (at the best) than a lively picture of that life, and so of far less credit and estimation with her. His next reason was because princes love not that foreign powers should have extraordinary interest in their subjects, much less to be taught by them how they should place their own, as arguments either upbraiding ignorance or lack of large rewarding goodness in them.

This narration I adventure of to show the clearness and readiness of this gentleman's judgement in all degrees and offices of life; with this farther testimony of him, that, after mature deliberation, being once resolved, he never brought any question of change to afflict himself with, or perplex the business, but left the success to his will that governs the blind prosperities and unprosperities of chance, and so works out his own ends by the erring frailties of human reason and affection. Lastly, to manifest that these were not compliments, self-ends or use of each other according to our modern fashion, but mere ingenuities of spirit to which the ancient greatness of hearts ever frankly engaged their fortunes, let actions, their lawfully begotten children (equal in spirit, shape and complexion to their parents), be testimonies ever sufficient.

My second instance comes from the Earl of Leicester his uncle, who told me (after Sir Philip's, and not long before his own death) that when he undertook the government of the Low Countries he carried his nephew

3 or...not] or could not T; could not, or would not J,S.
 high T,J,S: highly 1652. 4 worthy] great S. (at the
 best)] om. S. than] but S. lively] live/ly/ T.
 8 interest in T,J,S: [in- catchword] in 1652. 14 farther]
 further T. 19 and unprosperities] or unprosperities J,
 S. of] of [<...> del.] T. 21 Lastly] And lastly J,S.
 21-22 self-ends] in their self ends J,S. 24-27 let...
 sufficient] and so begot children like and equal in
 spirit, shape and complexion to their well-created
 parents J,S. 25 their T: the 1652. 27 ever] over T.
 28 second] 2^d J. 29 me] om. S. 30 own] om. T.

over with him as one amongst the rest, not only despising
 his youth for a counsellor, but withal bearing a hand
 upon him as a forward young man. Notwithstanding, in
 short time he saw this sun so risen above his horizon
 that both he and all his stars were glad to fetch light 5
 from him, and in the end acknowledged that he held up
 the honour of his casual authority by him whilst he
 lived, and found reason to withdraw himself from that
 burden after his death.

My third record is Sir Francis Walsingham his 10
 father-in-law, that wise and active Secretary. This man
 (as the world knows) upheld both religion and state by
 using a policy wisely mixed with reflections of either.
 He had influence in all countries, and a hand upon all
 affairs; yet even this man hath often confessed to 15
 myself that his Philip did so far overshoot him in his
 own bow as those friends which at first were Sir Philip's
 for this Secretary's sake, within a while became so fully
 owned and possessed by Sir Philip as now he held them at
 the second hand, by his son-in-law's native courtesy. 20

This is that true remission of mind whereof
 I would gladly have the world take notice from these dead
 men's ashes, to the end that we might once again see that
 ingenuity amongst men, which, by liberal bearing witness
 to the merits of others, shows they have some true worth 25
 of their own, and are not merely lovers of themselves
 without rivals.

1 amongst] among J,S. 2 a hand] an hand S. 3 upon T,J,
 S: over 1652. 3-4 in...saw] he saw in short time J,S.
 5-6 he...that] om. J,S. 6 acknowledged] acknowledge T.
 he] om. S. 7 casual] causal T. whilst] whiles J,S.
 8 that] the S. 10 record] om. T. 12 knows] knoweth T.
 14 a] an S. 16 overshoot] outshoot J,S. 20 son-in-
 law's] om. J,S. 22 gladly] om. T. 24 liberal]
 lib<.>/e/rall T.

CHAPTER III

To continue this passage a little further, I must lift him above the censure of subjects and give you an accompt what respect and honour his worth wan him amongst the most eminent monarchs of that time: as first, with that chief and best of princes, his most excellent Majesty, then King of Scotland, to whom his service was affectionately devoted, and from whom he received many pledges of love and favour. 5

In like manner, with the late renowned Henry of France, then of Navarre who, having measured and mastered all the spirits in his own nation, found out this master-spirit among us, and used him like an equal in nature and, so, fit for friendship with a king. 10

Again, that gallant prince, Don John of Austria, viceroy in the Low Countries for Spain, when this gentleman, in his embassy to the Emperor, came to kiss his hand, though at the first--in his Spanish hauteur-- he gave him access as by descent to a youth, of grace as to a stranger, and in particular competition, as he conceived, to an enemy, yet, after a while that he had taken his just altitude, he found himself so stricken with this extraordinary planet that the beholders wondered to see what ingenuous tribute that brave and high-minded prince paid to his worth, giving more honour and respect to this hopeful young gentleman than to the ambassadors of mighty princes. 15 20 25

But to climb yet a degree higher, in what due estimation his extraordinary worth was even amongst enemies will appear by his death, when Mendoza, a Secretary

1 further] farther J,S. 2 above] up above J,S. you] om. T. 3 accompt T,J,S: account 1652. 4 amongst] among J,S. 5 chief...best] best and chief S. 9 with] om. J,S. 13 with] [f del.] with J. 14 of T: de 1652,J,S. 17 hand] hands J,S. 21 this] his T. 23 ingenuous] ingenious T,J,S. and high-minded] high J,S. 26 princes T,J,S: Priuces 1652. 27 degree] little S. 28 amongst] among J,S. 29 Mendoza] Mendoz/a/ T.

of many treasons against us, acknowledged openly that
 howsoever he was glad King Philip his master had lost,
 in a private gentleman, a dangerous enemy to his estate,
 yet he could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of
 so rare a light in those cloudy times, and bewail poor 5
 widow England (so he termed her) that, having been many
 years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment
 bereaved of him by the hands of a villain.

Indeed, he was a true model of worth: a man fit
 for conquest, plantation, reformation or what action 10
 soever is greatest and hardest amongst men; withal, such
 a lover of mankind and goodness that whosoever had any
 real parts in him found comfort, participation and pro-
 tection to the uttermost of his power--like Zephyrus, he
 giving life where he blew. The Universities abroad and at 15
 home accompted him a general Mæcenas of learning, dedi-
 cated their books to him, and communicated every invention
 or improvement of knowledge with him. Soldiers honoured
 him, and were so honoured by him as no man thought he
 marched under the true banner of Mars that had not obtained 20
 Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs in most
 parts of Christendom entertained correspondence with him.
 But what speak I of these with whom his own ways and ends
 did concur, since--to descend--his heart and capacity were
 so large that there was not a cunning painter, a skilful 25
 engineer, an excellent musician or any other artificer of
 extraordinary fame that made not himself known to this
 famous spirit and found him his true friend without hire,
 and the common rendezvous of worth in his time?

Now, let princes vouchsafe to consider of what 30
 importance it is to the honour of themselves and their
 estates to have one man of such eminence, not only as
 a nourisher of virtue in their courts or service, but
 besides for a reformed standard by which even the most

1 against] amongst T. 2 howsoever] however J,S. glad]
 glad that J,S. 5 those T,J,S: these 1652. cloudy]
 /cloudy/ T; [blank space] S. 7 eminent] emined T.
 11 amongst] among J,S. 12 whosoever] whoever S.
 16 Mæcenas T,J,S: Mecaenas 1652. 18 or] and S.
 20 true] /true/ T. of] of [true del.] T. 22 parts]
 part S. 25 skilful] skil/ful/ S. 31 to] to [consider
 del.] J. 32 one] but one J,S.

humorous persons could not but have a reverent^{d/} kind of
 ambition to be tried and approved current. This I do the
 more confidently affirm because it will be confessed by all
 men that this one man's example and personal respect did
 not only encourage learning and honour in the schools, but 5
 brought the affection and true use thereof both into the
 court and camp; nay more, even many gentlemen excellently
 learned amongst us will not deny that they affected to
 row and steer their course in his wake. Besides which
 honour of unequal nature and education his very ways in 10
 the world did generally add reputation to his prince and
 country by restoring amongst us the ancient majesty of
 noble and true dealing as a manly wisdom that can no more
 be weighed down by any effeminate craft than Hercules could
 be overcome by that contemptible army of dwarfs; and this 15
 was it which, I profess, I loved dearly in him, and still
 shall be glad to honour in the great men of this time--
 I mean that his heart and tongue went both one way, and so
 with every one that went with the truth, as knowing no
 other kindred, party or end. 20

Above all, he made the religion he professed
 the firm basis of his life, for this was his judgement (as
 he often told me) that our true-heartedness to the
 reformed religion in the beginning, brought peace, safety
 and freedom to us; concluding that the wisest and best 25
 way was that of the famous William, Prince of Orange, who
 never divided the consideration of estate from the cause
 of religion, nor gave that sound party occasion to be
 jealous or distracted upon any appearance of safety what-
 soever; prudently resolving that to temporize with the 30
 enemies of our faith was but--as among sea-gulls--a strife
 not to keep upright, but aloft, upon the top of every
 billow--which false-heartedness to God and man would in
 the end find itself forsaken of both (as Sir Philip con-

1 kind of T,J,S: om. 1652. 8 amongst] among J,S. that
 T,J,S: but that 1652. 12 amongst] among J,S. 15 by]
 [be overcome del.] by S. and T,J,S: om. 1652. 16 which,
 I ed: which (I 1652,T,J; (which I S. 22 this T,J,S:
 this 1652. 24 peace] peace and T. 24-25 safety...
 freedom] freedom and safety J,S. 27 estate] estates S.
 30 prudently] providently T,J. 32 keep] keep [aloft
 del.] J.

ceived), for to this active spirit of his all depths of
 the devil proved but shallow fords, he piercing into
 men's counsels and ends not by their words, oaths or com-
 pliments (all barren in that age), but by fatnoming their
 hearts and powers by their deeds, and found no wisdom 5
 where he found no courage, nor courage without wisdom,
 nor either without honesty and truth; with which solid
 and active reaches of his, I am persuaded he would have
 found or made a way through all the traverses even of the most
 weak and irregular times, but it pleased God, in this 10
 decrepit age of the world, not to restore the image of her
 ancient vigour in him otherwise than as in a lightning
 before death.

Neither am I, for my part, so much in love with
 this life, nor believe so little in a better to come, as 15
 to complain of God for taking him and suchlike exorbitant
 worthiness from us, fit--as it were by an ostracism--
 to be divided and not incorporated with our corruptions;
 yet, for the sincere affection I bear to my prince and
 country, my prayer to God is that his worth and way may 20
 not fatally be buried with him, in respect that both
 before his time, and since, experience hath published the
 usual discipline of greatness to have been tender of it-
 self only, making honour a triumph, or rather trophy, of
 desire set up in the eyes of mankind either to be wor- 25
 shipped as idols or else, as rebels, to perish under her
 glorious oppressions. Notwithstanding, when the pride of
 flesh and power of favour shall cease in these by death
 or disgrace, what then hath time to register, or fame to
 publish, in these great men's names that will not be offen- 30
 sive and infectious to others; what pen, without blotting,
 can write the story of their deeds, or what herald blaze
 their arms without a blemish; and as for their counsels
 and projects, when they come once to light, shall they not

1 depths] false depths J,S. 2 fords] [foar del.] fords S.
 8 reaches] [blank space] J,S. 12 a] /a/ S. 16 exorbi-
 tant] superlative J,S. 17 ostracism] istracism S.
 20 his T,J,S: this 1652. 23 discipline] disceptiue J,S.
 31 and T,J,S: or 1652. 33 their] the J,S. 34 they not]
 not they T.

live as noisome and loathsome above ground as their
 authors' carcasses lie in the grave--so that the return
 of such greatness to the world and themselves can be but
 private reproach, public ill⁷example and a fatal scorn to
 the government they live in? Sir Philip is none of this
 number, for the greatness which he affected was built upon
 true worth, esteeming fame more than riches, and noble
 actions far above nobility itself.

57
5

1 loathsome J,S: loathsomely 1652,T. 2 lie] live T.
 that T,J,S: as 1652. the return] return S. 3 and]
 or J,S. 5 Philip T,J,S: Philip Sidney 1652. this]
 that J; the S. 8 actions] om. T.

CHAPTER IV

And although he never was magistrate, nor possessed of any fit stage for eminence to act upon-- whereby there is small latitude left for comparing him with those deceased worthies that to this day live unenvied in story--yet can I probably say that if any 5 supreme magistracy or employment might have showed forth this gentleman's worth the world should have found him neither a mixed Lysander, with unactive goodness to have corrupted indifferent citizens; nor yet, like that gallant libertine, Sulla, with a tyrannising hand and ill 10 example, to have ordered the dissolute people of Rome; much less, with that unexperienced Themistocles, to have refused, in the seat of justice, to deal equally between friends and strangers. So that, as we say the abstract name of goodness is great and generally current; her 15 nature hard to imitate, and diversely worshipped according to zones, complexions or education; admired by her enemies, yet ill followed by her friends--so I may well say that this gentleman's large, yet uniform, disposition was everywhere praised; greater in himself than in the world, 20 yet greater there--in fame and honour--than many of his superiors; revered by foreign nations in one form, of his own in another; easily censured, hardly imitated; and therefore no received standard at home, because his industry, judgement and affections perchance seemed too great 25 for the cautious wisdoms of little monarchies to be safe in. Notwithstanding, whosoever will be pleased but indifferently to weigh his life, actions, intentions and death shall find he had so sweetly yoked fame and conscience together in a large heart as inequality of worth 30

1 never was] was never S. 3 him] om. J,S. 5 story] storye[s del.] S. 8 neither] om. J,S. 10 tyrannising] tyrannous J,S. 12 that] that then T. have] /have/ S. 13 seat] state T. 14 as] [as del.] as S. 17 complexions] complexion J,S. 18 I...well] may we truly T,J,S. 21 there--in...honour--than ed. there in...honour than 1652,T; there (in...honour) than J,S. fame] forme S. 25 seemed] loomed T. 26 of] /of/ [<...> del.] T. monarchies] monarchs J,S. 27 but T,J, S: om. 1652. 28 weigh] [weig del.] weigh S. 30 inequality] in equality S.

or place in him could not have been other than humble obedience, even to a petty tyrant of Sicily. Besides, this ingenuity of his nature did spread itself so freely abroad as who lives that can truly say he ever did him harm, whereas there be many living that may thankfully acknowledge he did them good? Neither was this in him a private, but a public, affection: his chief ends being not friends, wife, children or himself, but, above all things, the honour of his maker and service of his prince or country. 5 10

Now though his short life and private fortune were, as I said, no proper stages to act any greatness of good or evil upon, yet are there (even from these little centres of his) lines to be drawn not astronomical or imaginary, but real lineaments--such as infancy is of man's estate--out of which nature often sparkleth brighter rays in some than ordinarily appear in the ripeness of many others. For proof whereof I will pass from the testimony of brave men's words to his own deeds: what lights of sounder wisdom can we ascribe to our greatest men of affairs than he showed in his youth and first employment, when he was sent by the late Queen of famous memory to condole the death of Maximilian and congratulate the succession of Rudolph to the Empire; for under the shadow of this compliment between princes--which sorted better with his youth than his spirit--did he not, to improve that journey and make it a real service to his sovereign, procure one article to be added to his instructions, which gave him scope, as he passed, to salute such German princes as were interested in the cause of our religion or their own native liberty? 15 20 25 30

And though to negotiate with that long-breathed

1 in him] om. S. 3 spread] speak T. 4 truly T,J,S: om. 1652. 8-9 wife...things] children, wife or, above all, himself, but chiefly J,S. 15 such...is T,J: but such as infancy is 1652; om. S. 16 man's estate T,J,S: mans-
[estate 1652. 22 late] last J,S. 25 sorted] sorts S. 27 after to 1652 by an error of eye-slip repeats all material after to in 1.24. 28 one T,J,S: an 1652. instructions] instruction/s/ [<.s> del.] T. 30 interested] interested J,S.

nation proves commonly a work in steel where many strokes
 hardly leave any print, yet did this master-genius quickly
 stir up their cautious and slow judgements to be sensible
 of the danger which threatened them hourly by this fatal
 conjunction of Rome's undermining superstitions with the 5
 commanding forces of Spain. And when he had once awaked
 that confident nation to look up, he as easily made mani-
 fest unto them that neither their inland seat, vast
 multitude, confused strength, wealth nor hollow-sounding
 fame could secure their dominions from the ambition of 10
 this brave aspiring empire, howsoever by the like helps
 they had formerly bounded the same Roman and Austrian
 supremacies. The reasons he alleged were, because the
 manner of this conjunction was not like the ancient under-
 takers who made open war by proclamation, but craftily 15
 (from the infusion of Rome) to enter first by invisible
 traffic of souls, filling people's minds with apparitions
 of holiness, specious rites, saints, miracles, institutions
 of new orders, reformations of old, blessings of catholics,
 cursings of heretics, thunder-bolts of excommunication 20
 under the authority of their Mother Church; and when
 by these shadows they once had gotten possession of the
 weak, discouraged the strong, divided the doubtful and
 finely lulled inferior powers asleep--as the ancient
 Romans were wont to tame foreign nations with the name of 25
Socii--then to follow on with the Spanish less spiritual,
 but more forcible engines, viz. practice, confederacy,
 faction, money, treaties, leagues of traffic, alliance by
 marriages, charge of rebellion, war and all other acts of
 advantageous power; lastly, he recalled to their memories 30
 how by this brotherhood in evil--like Simeon and Levi--
 Rome and Spain had spilt so much blood as they were justly

7 look] lake S. 3 vast] om. J,S. 9 multitude] multitudes
 T. 11 brave] om. J,S. 14 this T,J,S: their 1652.
 15 proclamation] proclation T. 20 cursings] cursing J,S.
 excommunication] excommunications S. 22 by...shadows]
 /by...shadows/ S. they...gotten T: they had gotten 1652;
 they once gotten J; once they had gotten S. 24 finely]
 finally T. 25 of T,J,S: om. 1652. 27 viz.] or S.
 28 faction] factions S. leagues] [levyes del.] leagues S.
 32 spilt] spent S.

become the terror of all governments, and could now be
 withstood or balanced by no other means than a general
 league in religion; constantly and truly affirming that to
 associate by an uniform bond of conscience for the protec-
 tion (as I said) of religion and liberty would prove a 5
 more solid union, and symbolize far better against their
 tyrannies. than any factious combination in policy, league
 of state, or other traffic of civil or martial humours
 possibly could do.

To this end did that undertaking spirit lay, or 10
 at least revive. the foundation of a league between us and
 the German princes which continueth firm to this day--the
 defensive part whereof hath hitherto helped to support the
 ruins of our Church abroad, and diverted her enemies from
 the ancient ways of hostility unto their conclave and 15
 modern undermining arts. So that, if the offensive part
 thereof had been as well prosecuted in that true path
 which this young genius trod out to us, both the passage
 for other princes over the Alps would have been by this
 time more easy than Hannibal's was, and, besides, the 20
 first sound of that drum might happily have reconciled
 these petty dividing schisms which reign amongst us, not
 as sprung from any difference of religious faith, but
 misty opinion, and accordingly moulded first upon the
 desks of busy idle lecturers, then blown abroad to our 25
 disadvantage by a swarm of popish instruments, rather
 Jesuits than Christians, and to their ends most danger-
 ously overspreading the world for want of a confident
 moderator. This (I say) was the first prize which did
 enfranchise this master-spirit into the mysteries and 30
 affairs of state.

1 now] no more J,S. 2 no] on. J,S. 3 league] [levye
~~del.~~] /league/ S. in religion] of religion and
 preservation of princely freedom J,S. 4 the] on. J,S.
 7 league] [levye ~~del.~~] /league/ S. 10 lay] lay corr.
 to lay T. 12 continueth T,J,S: continues 1652. to
 till J,S. 16 arts] acts S. 17 that] the S. 22 these
 T,J,S: those 1652. schisms] shismes T. amongst]
 among J,S. 29 prize] prince T. which] that S.
 30 this] his T. and] of T. 31 state] states S.

CHAPTER V

The next doubtful stage he had to act upon
 (howsoever it may seem private) was grounded upon a public
 and specious proposition of marriage between the late
 famous Queen and the Duke of Anjou; with which current,
 although he saw the great and wise men of the time 5
 suddenly carried down, and every one fishing to catch the
 Queen's humour in it, yet, when he considered the differ-
 ence of years, person, education, state and religion
 between them, and then called to mind the success of our
 former alliances with the French, he found many reasons 10
 to make question whether it would prove poetical or real
 on their part, and, if real, yet whether the balance
 swayed not unequally by adding much to them and little to
 his sovereign: the Duke's greatness being only name and
 possibility, and both these either to wither or be 15
 maintained at her cost; her state, again, in hand, and
 though royally sufficient to satisfy that queen's princely
 and moderate desires or expenses, yet perchance inferior
 to bear out those mixed designs into which his ambition
 or necessities might entice or draw her. 20

Besides, the marriage of King Philip to Queen
 Mary her sister was yet so fresh in memory--with the many
 inconveniences of it--as, by comparing and paralleling
 these together, he found credible instances to conclude
 neither of these foreign alliances could prove safe for 25
 this kingdom: because in her marriage with Spain--though
 both princes continuing under the obedience of the Roman

2 howsoever] however J,S. a] om. J. 5 although] though
 J,S. 6 suddenly carried] carried suddenly J,S. one] om.
 J,S. 11 whether] first whether J,S. prove] om. J.
 12 yet] om. T. 15 be] to T; to be J. 16 cost] costs S.
 17 to satisfy] /to mainteyne/ S. 17-18 princely...
 moderate] moderate and princely J,S. 20 or] and S.
 23 comparing] computing J,S. 24 instances] instance S.
 25 these] those T. 26 her] om. J,S. 27 princes]
 [kingdoms del.] princes S.

Church--neither their consciences, nor their people's,
 could suffer any fear of tumult, or imputation, by change
 of faith; yet was the winning of St. Quentin, with the
 loss of Calais, and the carrying away of our money to
 foreign ends, odious universally, the Spanish pride incom- 5
 patible, their advantageous delays suspicious, and their e/
 short reign here felt to be a kind of exhausting tax upon
 the whole nation.

Besides, he discerned how this great monarch,
 countenanced with our forces by sea and land, might, and 10
 did, use this addition of her strength to transform his
 Low Country dukedoms--fallen to him by descent--into the
 nature of a sovereign conquest, and so, by conjoining
 their dominion and forces by sea to his large empires and
 armies upon the main, would probably enforce all absolute 15
 princes to acknowledge subjection to him before their
 time. And for our kingdom--besides that this king then
 meant to use it as a forge to fashion all his sovereign
 designs in--had he not (except some belie him) a fore-
 running hand in the change of religion after King Edward's 20
 death? And had he not (even in that change) so mastered
 us in our own Church by his chaplain and conclave of Rome
 that both these carried all their courses biased to his
 ends as to an elder brother who had more abundant degrees
 of wealth and honour to return them; so as everybody (that 25
 devoted Queen excepted) foresaw we must suddenly have been
 compelled to wear his livery and serve his ends, or else
 to live like children neglected or disfavoured by our
 Holy Mother?

Again, for our temporal government, was not his 30
 influence (unless report belie him) as well in passing
 many sharp laws--and heavy executions of them with more
 strange counsels--as fashioning our leagues both of peace

3 Quentin T,J,S: Quentins 1652. 4 of] om. J,S.
 5-6 incompatible] incompetent T. 7 here] their T.
 felt...tax] fell to be an exhausting tax S. 8 nation]
 [realm del.] nation S. 10 by] both by J. 11 her]
 his corr. to her J. 17-18 for...meant to] om. S.
 18 forge] force S. 24 more] /more/ [abun del.] S.
 25 them] him J,S. 31 unless T,J,S: except 1652.
 as well] om. J,S. 32 of] on altered to of S. more]
 many J,S. 33 counsels] casts J,S. as] and T.

and traffic to his conquering ends? All these, together
 with that master-prize of his playing, when, under colour
 of piety, he stirred up in that well-affected Queen a
 purpose of restoring those temporalities to the Church,
 which by the fall of abbeys were long before dispersed 5
 among the nobility, gentry and people of this kingdom--
 all these (as he said) did clearly show that this ambitious
 king had an intent of moulding us to his use, even by dis-
 tracting us amongst ourselves. Nevertheless, to give him
 the honour of worldly wisdom, I dare aver he had no hope 10
 of bringing these envious assumptions to pass, but rather
 did cast them out as sounding lines to fathom the depths
 of people's minds, and, with particular fear and distrac-
 tion in the owners, to raise a general distaste in all
 men against the government. Now, if we may judge the 15
 future by what is past, his scope in all these particulars
 could be no other but when our inward waters had been
 thoroughly troubled, then to possess this diversely diseased
 estate with certain poetical titles of his own devised
 long before--and since published by Dolman--to the end that 20
 under the shadow of such clouds he might work upon the next
 heir, and so cast a chance for our goods, lives and liber-
 ties with little interruption. These and suchlike were
 the grounds which moved Sir Philip to compare the past and
 present consequence of our marriage with either of these 25
 crowns together.

And though in danger of subjection, he did con-
 fess our alliance with the French to be less unequal; yet
 even in that he foresaw diversity of religion would first
 give scandal to both, and in progress prove fatal of necessity to one 30
 side, because the weaker sect here--being fortified by
 strong parties abroad, and a husband's name at home--must

2 his] om. T. 3 in]/in/ J. 4 purpose] counsel J,S.
 6 this] the S. 8 his] his own S. 9 amongst] among J,S.
 10 worldly] practic worldly J,S. 11 envious T,J,S:
 curious 1652. 17 no] none S. had been] were J,S.
 19 estate] state J,S. own] om. J,S. 22 cast] ast T.
 our T,J,S: all our 1652. 23 little] like S. 27 danger]
 the danger J,S. 29 of] in J,S. 31 sect] sort T. by]
 with J,S. 32 a] an S.

necessarily have brought the native sovereign under a kind of covert baron, and thereby forced her Majesty either to lose the freedom and conscience of a good Christian, the honour of an excellent prince or the private reputation of an obedient wife. Neither could that excellent lady (as ne and that time conceived) with these or any other cautions have countermined the mines of practice whereby it is probable this prince would have endeavoured to steal change of religion into her kingdom:

[1] As first, by cavilling at the authors and Fathers that upheld her Church.

[2] Then, by disgracing her most zealous ministers through aspersions cast upon their persons, and advancing indifferent spirits whose God is this world, the Court their heaven and, consequently, their ends to bias God's immortal truth to the fancies of mortal princes.

[3] By the subtle latitude of school distinctions, publicly edging nearer the holy mother Church; and therein first waving, then sounding the people's minds, if not with abrupt and spirit-fallen toleration, yet with that invisible web of connivancy which is a snare to entangle great or little flies at the will of power.

[4] By a princely licentiousness in behaviour and conference, fashioning atheism among her subjects, as knowing that in confusion of thoughts he might the more easily raise up superstitious idolatry; which crafty image of his, with all the nice lineaments belonging to it, was the more credible in respect the French have ever scornfully affirmed one chief branch of our princes' prerogatives to be the carrying of their people's consciences which way they list, an absoluteness the more dangerous to

2 her] om. T. 5 an T,J,S: om. 1652. 6 that] the S.
 7 mines] minds T. whereby] wherewith J,S. 8 have
 endeavoured] endeavour J,S. 10 As] om. S. 11 upheld]
 uphold J. her] the J,S. 14 this] [~~this del.~~][this S.
 16 fancies T,J,S: fantasies 1652. 19 nearer] near S.
 Church] the Church T. 22 invisible] invincible S.
 23 power] the power S. 25 among] amongst S. 28 nice]
 nye S. 29 respect] request S. ever T,J,S: om. 1652.
 30-31 prerogatives] prerogative S. 31 their] the S.

their subjects' freedom, because they bring these changes to pass (as the French say) under the safe conduct of our earth-eyed Common Law, and thereby make change legally safe and constancy in the truth exceeding dangerous.

[5] By a public decrying of our ancient customs and statutes, and from that ground giving proclamations a royal vigour in moulding of pleas, pulpits and parliaments—after the pattern of their own and some other foreign nations--which in our government is a confusion almost as fatal as the confusion of tongues. 5 10

[6] By employing no instruments among the people but such as devise to shear them with taxes, ransom them with fines, draw in bondage under colour of obedience, and (like Frenchified Empsons and Dudleys) bring the English people to the poverty of the French peasants, only to fill up a Danaus' sieve of prodigality and thereby to secure the old age of tyranny from that which is never old, I mean danger of popular inundations. 15

[7] To lift monarchy above her ancient legal circles by banishing all free spirits and faithful patriots with a kind of shadowed ostracism till the ideas of native freedom should be utterly forgotten, and then (by the pattern of their own Duke of Guise) so to encourage a multitude of impoverishing impositions upon the people as he might become the head of all discontentedness, and, under the envy of that act, stir them up to depose their natural anointed sovereign. 20 25

[8] When he had thus metamorphosed our moderate form of monarchy into a precipitate absoluteness, and therein shaken all leagues offensive or defensive between us, the kings of Denmark and Sweden, the free princes of Germany, the poor oppressed souls of France, the steady 30

1 subjects'] [people's del.] subjects' S. 3 earth-eyed T,J,S: earth-cy 1652. 5 decrying] descrying S. 7 royal] regal J,S. 9 almost] om. S. 10 tongues] leagues T. 13 in] /them/ into S. bondage] pondage T. under T,J,S: uuder 1652. 16 Danaus'] [blank space] T. 16-17 of... age] om. T. 16 to] om. J,S. 19 lift T,J,S: lift up 1652. 26 act T,J,S: art 1652. 30 or] and S. 31 the free] and free S. 32 Germany T,J,S: Garmany 1652. France] [Germany del.] /France/ S.

subsisting Hanses, and, lastly, weakened that league of religion and traffic which with prosperous success hath continued long between us and the Netherlanders--then, I say, must his next project have been either abusively to entice, or through fear enforce, this excellent lady to countenance his over-grown party abroad by suffering the same sect to multiply here at home till she should too late discover a necessity either of changing her faith, hazarding her crown or, at least, holding it at the joint courtesy of that ambitious Roman Conclave or increasing monarchy of Spain, a sceptre and mitre whose conjunction brings forth boundless freedom to themselves and begets a narrow servitude upon all other nations that by surprise of wit or power become subject to them. 5 10

[9] Besides, in the practice of this marriage he foresaw and prophesied that the very first breach of God's ordinance in matching herself with a prince of a diverse faith would infallibly carry with it some piece of the rending destiny which Solomon and those other princes justly felt for having ventured to weigh the immortal wisdom in even scales with mortal conveniency or inconveniency. 15 20

[10] The next step must infallibly have been (as he conceived), with our shipping to disturb or beleaguer the Netherlanders by sea under colour or pretence of honour unseasonably taken, even when the horse and foot of France should threaten their subsistence by land; and thereby--in this period of extremity--constrain that active people to run headlong into one of these three desperate courses, viz. either to fly for protection to the flower-de-luce, with whom they join incontinent; or 25 30

2 and traffic T,J,S: suffique 1652. which] which as catchword only S. prosperous] proserous S. 3 Netherlanders] Netherlandes S. 4 project] step J,S. 6 countenance] counten/a/nce S. his] this S. 7 to... home] here at home to multiply S. should] could S. 8 discover] om. S. a] an T. 14 become] became J,S. 18 diverse] divers S. would] (in his opinion) would J,S. 21 in] [with del.] in T. 25 Netherlanders] Netherlands S. colour] some colour J,S. 26 and] or J,S. 28 constrain] constrained T. that] the S. 30 courses] extremities J,S. either] 1. either J,S. 31 incontinent T,J,S: in continent 1652. or] 2^{ly} or J,S.

precipitately submit their necks to the yoking citadels of Spain, against whose inquisitions and usurpations upon their consciences and liberties so much money and blood had been shed and consumed already; or else unnaturally to turn pirates, and so become enemies to that trade by which they and their friends have reciprocally gotten and given so much prosperity. The choice or comparison of which mischiefs to them and us he briefly laid before me in this manner:

First, that if they should incorporate with France, the Netherlands' manufactures, industry, trade and shipping would add much to that monarchy both in peace and war: the natural riches of the French having been hitherto either kept barren at home or barrenly transported abroad for lack of the true use of trade, shipping, exchange and such other mysteries as multiply native wealth by improving their manhood at home, and giving forms both to domestic and foreign materials; which defect (as he said), being now abundantly to be supplied by this conjunction with the Netherlands, would in a little time not only puff up that active commonwealth with unquiet pride, but awake the stirring French to feel this addition to their own strengths, and so make them become dangerous neighbours by incursion or invasion to the Baltic Sea, many ways prejudice to the mutual traffic between Italy, the Germans and England, and consequently a terror to all others that by land or sea confine upon them; yea, and apt enough once in a year to try their fortune with that growing monarch of Spain for his Indian treasure.

3 money] men T. 4 or] 3ly or J,S. 5 that] the S.
trade] universal traffic in the world J,S. 6 reciprocal-
ly] om. T. 7 or] and S. 8 briefly] preeflie altered to
preiflie T. 10 First, that] 1. That J,S. 11 the
Netherlands'] their Netherland J,S. 14 at...or] /or at
least/ S. 15 trade] [the del.] trade S. 16 mysteries
as] mysteries; a T. 17 manhood] manrood J. 18 defect]
defects T. 18-19 (as he said)] as (he said) T.
20 Netherlands] Netherlands by land and sea J,S.
23 become] suddenly become J,S. 24 or T,J,S: in 1652.
to] into S. 29 that] the S. of] om. J,S.

2. On the other side, if any stricter league should come to pass between those adventurous French spirits and the solid counsels of Spain, and so through fear, scorn or any other desperate appearances force the Netherlanders into a precipitate but steady subjection of that Spanish monarchy, then he willed me to observe how this fearful union of earth and sea--having escaped the petty monarchs of Europe--would in all probability constrain them to play after-games for their own estates: because these two potent navies (his and the Netherlands'), being thus added to his invincible armies by land, would soon (as he thought) compel that head of Holy Mother Church, whose best use for many years had been (by balancing these two imperial greatnesses one with another) to secure inferior princes--would (as I said) soon enforce that sacred motherhead to shelter herself under the wings of this imperial eagle, and so absolutely quit her mitre-supremacy, or, at least, become chaplain to this suppressing or supporting conqueror. Besides, in this fatal probability he discovered the great difference between the wisdoms of quiet princes--in their moderate desires of subsistence--from the large and hazardous counsels of undertaking monarchs, whose ends are only to make force the umpire of right, and by that inequality become sovereign lords (without any other title) over equals and inferiors.

3. Now for this third point of constraining this oppressed, yet active, Netherland people to become pirates, he willed me in the examples of time past to observe how much Scirpalus did annoy the Grecians; Sextus Pompeius, the Romans even in their greatness; and in the modern, Flushing,

2 those] the J,S. 2-3 French spirits] spirits of France J,S. 5 Netherlanders T,J: Netherlands 1652,S. 9 constrain T,J,S: constrain 1652. 9 estates] estate S. 13 for...been] had been for many years S. 14 these] those J,S. two] tow T. 16 motherhead] motherhood J,S. 17 this] the [in- del.] T. 20 discovered] finely discovered J,S. 20-21 wisdoms T,J,S: wisdom 1652. 21 quiet] [quet del.] /quiet/ S. 24 that] the S. 27 Now] But S. this] the J,S. 28 yet] ye S. become] turn J,S. 29 time] times J,S. how] he wilbe altered to now T. 30 annoy T,J,S: among 1652. 31 their] there T.

Dunkirk, Rochelle and Algiers--inferring withal that this people which had so long prospered upon the rich materials of all nations by the two large spreading arms of manufacture and traffic could not possibly be forced at once to leave this habit, but would rather desperately adventure 5 to maintain these enriching strengths of mariners, soldiers and shipping of their own with becoming a rendezvous for the swarm of discontented subjects universally, inviting them with hope of spoil, and, by that inheritance, to try whether the world were ready to examine her old 10 foundations of freedom in the specious and flattering regions of change and power's encroachments.

[11] Lastly, besides this uneven balance of state, the very reflection of scorn between age and youth; her comeliness, his disadvantage that way; the excessive 15 charge by continual resort of the French hither; danger of change for the worse; her real native states and riches made subject to foreign humours; little hope of succession, and if any, then France assured to become the seat and England the province, 'children or no children, 20 misfortune or uncertainty--these (I say) and suchlike threatening probabilities made him join with the weaker party and oppose this torrent, even while the French faction reigning had cast aspersions upon his uncle of Leicester, and made him like a wise man (under colour of 25 taking physic) voluntarily become prisoner in his chamber.

1 Rochelle] om. S. 3 arms] [armies del.] arms S.
 3-4 manufacture] manufactures J,S. 4 possibly] possible T. 5 leave this] lose their J,S. 8 swarm] swarms J,S.
 9 inviting] inveigling J,S. 10 to try] try J,S.
 11 foundations] inundations S. 12 and...encroachments] om. J,S. 13 [11] ed: om. 1652,T,J; 4 S. 16 continual] the continual T. 25 a wise] /a/ S.

CHAPTER VI

Thus stood the state of things then, and if any judicious reader shall ask whether it were not an error--and a dangerous one--for Sir Philip, being neither magistrate nor counsellor, to oppose himself against his sovereign's pleasure in things indifferent, I must answer 5
that his worth, truth, favour and sincerity of heart--together with his real manner of proceeding in it--were his privileges, because this gentleman's course in this great business was not by murmur among equals or inferiors to detract from princes, or by a mutinous kind of bemoan- 10
ing error to stir up ill affections in their minds whose best thoughts could do him no good, but by a due address of his humble reasons to the Queen herself, to whom the appeal was proper. So that although he found a sweet stream of sovereign humours in that well-tempered lady 15
to run against him, yet found he safety in herself, even against that selfness which appeared to threaten him in her; for this happily born and bred princess was not (subject-like) apt to construe things reverently done in the worst sense, but rather--with the spirit of anointed 20
greatness, as created to reign equally over frail and strong--more desirous to find ways to fashion her people than colours or causes to punish them.

Lastly, to prove nothing can be wise that is not really honest, every man of that time, and consequently 25
all times, may know that if he should have used the same freedom among the grandees of court--their profession commonly being not to dispute princes' purposes for truth's sake, but second their humours to govern their kingdoms by them--he must infallibly have found worth, justice and

8 privileges] priuili/ed/ges T. 9 business] businesses S.
murmur] murmuring J,S. 11 stir] still altered to stirr J.
13 his humble] om. S. 15 lady] [humours del.] lady T.
16 even T,J,S: om. 1652. 21 frail] weak J,S. 26 all T,
J,S: of all 1652. have] /have/ T. 28 commonly...not T,
J,S: being commonly not 1652.

duty looked upon with no other eyes but Lamia's, and so have been stained by that reigning faction which in all courts allows no faith current to a sovereign that hath not passed the seal of their practising corporation.

Thus stood the Court at that time, and thus stood this ingenuous spirit in it: if dangerously in men's opinions who are curious of the present, and in it rather to do craftily than well, yet, I say, that princely heart of hers was a sanctuary unto him; and as for the people, in whom many times the lasting images of worth are preferred before the temporary visions of art or favour, he could not fear to suffer any thing there which would not prove a kind of trophy to him. So that howsoever he seemed to stand alone, yet he stood upright; kept his access to her Majesty as before; a liberal conversation with the French, revered amongst the worthiest of them for himself, and born in too strong a fortification of nature for the less worthy to aboard either with question, familiarity or scorn. In this freedom, even while the greatest spirits and estates seemed hoodwinked or blind, and the inferior sort of men made captive by hope, fear or ignorance, did he enjoy the freedom of his thoughts, with all recreations worthy of them.

And in this freedom of heart, being one day at tennis, a peer of this realm, born great, greater by alliance, and superlative in the prince's favour, came abruptly into the tennis-court, and speaking out of these three paramount authorities he forgot to entreat that which he could not legally command. When, by the encounter of a steady object, finding unrespectiveness in himself (though a great lord) not respected by this princely spirit, he grew to expostulate more roughly. The returns of which style coming still from an understanding heart that knew what was due to itself, and what it ought to others,

1 no] none S. so] to S. 2 stained] stuned T.
 6 ingenuous] ingenious T,J,S. 9 hers] her J. unto] to J,S. 13 that] that [how del.] T. 16 with] among S. amongst] among J,S. 17 born] bound T. 19 while] whiles S. 20 or] and S. 22 or T,J,S: om. 1652.
 26-27 came abruptly T,J,S: abruptly came 1652.
 28 three] 3 T. forgot] forgat T,S. 33 style] stille altered to stile S.

seemed (through the mists of my lord's passion swollen
 with the wind of his faction then reigning) to provoke in
 yielding; whereby the less amazement or confusion of
 thoughts he stirred up in Sir Philip, the more shadows this
 great lord's own mind was possessed with, till at last 5
 with rage--which is ever ill-disciplined--he commands
 them to depart the court. To this Sir Philip temperately
 answers that if his lordship had been pleased to express
 desire in milder characters, perchance he might have led
 out those that he should now find would not be driven out 10
 with any scourge of fury. This answer--like a bellows
 blowing up the sparks of excess already kindled--made my
 lord scornfully call Sir Philip by the name of puppy. In
 which progress of heat, as the tempest grew more and more
 vehement within, so did their hearts breath out their 15
 perturbations in a more loud and shrill accent. The
 French commissioners unfortunately had that day audience
 in those private galleries whose windows looked into the
 tennis court. They instantly drew all to this tumult,
 every sort of quarrels sorting well with their humours, 20
 especially this; which Sir Philip perceiving, and rising
 with an inward strength by the prospect of a mighty faction
 against him, asked my lord with a loud voice that which he
 heard clearly enough before, who, like an echo that still
 multiplies by reflections, repeats this epithet of puppy 25
 the second time. Sir Philip, resolving in one answer to
 conclude both the attentive hearers and passionate actor,
 gave my lord a lie impossible (as he averred) to be
 retorted: in respect all the world knows puppies are gotten
 by dogs and children by men. 30

Hereupon those glorious inequalities of fortune 30
 in his lordship were put to a kind of pause by a precious
 inequality of nature in this gentleman, so that they both

1 passion T,J,S: passions 1652. 1-2 passion...reigning)]
 passion)...reigning J,S. 2 wind] winds T. his] this T.
 4 up] om. J,S. this] the J,S. 6 ill-disciplined] well-
 disciplined altered to ill-disciplined S. 8 answers]
 answered S. 9 characters] [terms del.] characters S.
 11 answer] reasonable answer J,S. 12 sparks] sparkles J.
 13 by...of] om. S. 15 vehement] /vehement/ T; violent J,S.
 within] within [him del.] S. 16 more...shrill] loud and
 more ill S. 22 an T,J,S: om. 1652. 23 he] /he/ T.
 24 clearly] clear S. 25 multiplies] multiplieth T.
 repeats T,J,S: repeated 1652. 29 all] /all/ [of del.] S.

stood silent a while like a dumb show in a tragedy till
 Sir Philip, sensible of his own wrong, the foreign and
 factious spirits that attended, and yet--even in this
 question between him and his superior--tender of his
 country's honour, with some words of sharp accent led the 5
 way abruptly out of the tennis-court, as if so unexpected
 an accident were not fit to be decided any farther in
 that place; whereof the great lord making another sense,
 continues his play without any advantage of reputation
 as by the standard of humours in those times it was con- 10
 ceived.

A day Sir Philip remains in suspense, when,
 hearing nothing of or from the lord, he sends a gentleman
 of worth to awake him out of his trance wherein the French
 would assuredly think any pause, if not death, yet a leth- 15
 argy of true honour in both. This stirred a resolution
 in his lordship to send Sir Philip a challenge. Notwith-
 standing, these thoughts in the great lord wandered so
 long between glory, anger and inequality of state as the
 lords of her Majesty's Council took notice of these differ- 20
 ences, commanded peace and laboured a reconciliation
 between them--but needlessly in one respect, and bootlessly
 in another: the great lord being (as it should seem)
 either not hasty to adventure many inequalities against
 one, or inwardly satisfied with the progress of his own 25
 acts; Sir Philip, on the other side, confident he neither
 had, nor would lose or let fall anything of his right;
 which her Majesty's Council quickly perceiving, recommended
 this work to herself.

The Queen, who saw that by the loss or disgrace 30
 of either she could gain nothing, presently undertakes
 Sir Philip, and, like an excellent monarch, lays before
 him the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen;

3 this] [action action ~~del.~~] T. 4 of T,J,S: to 1652.
 7 any farther] farther J; om. S. 12 Sir T,J,S: Sr 1652.
 15 death] a death J,S. 16 stirred] stirred up T.
 resolution] sudden resolution J,S. 19 glory] glory and
 T. anger] honour S. 20 these T,J,S: the 1652. 21 a]
om. T. 22 between] betwixt J,S. needlessly] needless
 J,S. bootlessly] bootless J,S. 25 or...satisfied]
 inwardly, or satisfied J,S. 33 degree] degrees with s
 possibly deleted T; degrees S.

the respect inferiors ought to their superiors; and the necessity in princes to maintain their own creations, as degrees descending between the people's licentiousness and the anointed sovereignty of crowns; how the gentleman's neglect of the nobility taught the peasant to insult upon both. Whereunto Sir Philip, with such reverence as became him, replied: first, that place was never intended for privilege to wrong, witness herself, who how sovereign soever she were by throne, birth, education and nature, yet was she content to cast her own affections into the same moulds her subjects did, and govern all her rights by their laws. Again, he besought her Majesty to consider that although he were a great lord by birth, alliance and grace, yet he was no lord over him, and therefore the difference of degrees between free men could not challenge any other homage than precedency. And by her father's Act (to make a princely wisdom become the more familiar) he did instance the government of King Henry the Eighth, who gave the gentry free and safe appeal to his feet against the oppression of the grandees; and found it wisdom by the stronger corporation in number to keep down the greater in power, inferring else that if they should unite, the over-grown might be tempted, by still coveting more, to fall (as the angels did) by affecting equality with their maker.

This constant tenor of the truth he took upon him, which, as a chief duty in all creatures--both to themselves and the sovereignty above them--protected this gentleman (though he obeyed not) from the displeasure of his sovereign; wherein he left an authentical precedent to after ages that howsoever tyrants allow of no scope, stamp or standard but their own will, yet with princes there is a latitude for subjects to reserve native and legal freedom

1 ought] owed T. their] om. J,S. 2 creations] creatures T. 5 of the] of S. taught] caused S. 6-7 as...replied] replied as became him S. 8 for] for a J; as a S. 12 their] her J,S. 15 of] in S. 17 the] om. J,S. 18 Eighth] Eight J,S. 19 to] unto T. 20 oppression] oppressions T. 24 did) by] did by) T. 26 truth] the truth T. 27 as] is S.

by paying humble tribute in manner, though not in matter,
to them.

2 them] [<...> del.] /them/ T.

CHAPTER VII

The next step which he intended into the world was an expedition of his own projecting wherein he fashioned the whole body with purpose to become head of it himself--I mean the last employment but one of Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies; which journey, as the scope of it was mixed both of sea and land service, so had it accordingly distinct officers and commanders chosen by Sir Philip out of the ablest governors of those martial times. The project was contrived between themselves in this manner: that both should equally be governors when they had left the shore of England, but while things were preparing at home Sir Francis was to bear the name, and by the credit of Sir Philip have all particulars abundantly supplied.

The reason of which secret carriage was the impossibility for Sir Philip to win the Queen or government --out of the value which they rated his worth at--to dispense with an employment for him so remote and of so hazardous a nature; besides, his credit and reputation with the state lay not that way, so as our provident magistrates--expecting a prenticeship more seriously in martial than mechanical actions, and therein measuring all men by one rule--would (as Sir Philip thought) not easily believe his unexperience equal for a design of so many diverse and dangerous passages, howsoever wise men, even in the most active times, have determined this art of government to be rather a riches of nature than any proper fruit of industry or education. This (as I said) was one reason why Sir Philip did cover that glorious enterprise with a cloud. Another was, because in the doing, while it

3 himself] self T. 8 those...times] that...time J,S.
9 between] betwixt S. themselves] them T. 11 preparing
T,J,S: a preparing 1652. 18 reputation] reputation [lay
del.] S. 19 with] [<...> del.] with S. 21 mechanical]
in mechanical T. 24 diverse...dangerous T: divers...
dangerous 1652; casual and dangerous J; and casual S.
28 reason] occasion T. 29 while] when S.

passed unknown, he knew it would pass without interruption; and when it was done, presumed the success would put envy and all her agents to silence.

On the other side, Sir Francis found that Sir Philip's friends, with the influence of his excellent inward powers, would add both weight and fashion to his ambition, and consequently either with or without Sir Philip's company yield unexpected ease and honour to him in this voyage.

Upon these two diverse counsels they treat confidently together: the preparations go on with a large hand amongst our governors, nothing is denied Sir Francis that both their propounding hearts could demand. To make which expedition of less difficulty, they kept the particular of this plot more secret than it was possible for them to keep the general preparations of so great a journey, hoping that while the Spaniard should be forced to arm everywhere against them, he could not anywhere be so royally provided to defend himself but they might land without any great impediment.

In these terms Sir Francis departs for Plymouth with his ships, vowed and resolved that when he stayed for nothing but a wind the watchword should come post for Sir Philip. The time of the year made haste away, and Sir Francis, to follow it, either made more haste than needed, or at least seemed to make more than really he did. Notwithstanding, as I dare aver that in his own element he was industrious, so dare I not condemn his affections in this misprision of time; howsoever, a letter comes post for Sir Philip, as if the whole fleet stayed only for him and the wind. In the mean season, the state hath intelli-

5 Philip's friends] Philip[s possibly del.] [/company/
possibly del.] S. the] om. J,S. 6 to] [and del.] to S.
7 and] and so J,S. 8 unexpected] unex/pec/ted S. ease
and honour] honour and ease S. 10 diverse T,J: divers
1652,S. 14 which] the S. 15 more] om. T. 19 royally]
regally T. 20 without] with T. impediment] impediments
J,S. 21 departs] departed S. for T,J,S: from 1652.
23 but] but for 1652. wind] wind, then J,S. 25 than]
than he S. 26 at least] om. S. 27 aver] answer J,S.
28 industrious T,J,S: industrous 1652. 31 the wind] in
the wind J,S.

gence that Don Antonio was at sea for England, and resolved
to land at Plymouth. Sir Philip, turning occasion into wis-
dom, puts himself into the employment of conducting up
this king, and under that veil leaves the Court without
suspicion, overshoots his father-in-law, then Secretary of 5
Estate, in his own bow, comes to Plymouth, was feasted the
first night by Sir Francis with a great deal of outward
pomp and compliment.

Yet I that had the honour as of being bred with
him from his youth--so now, by his own choice of all 10
England, to be his loving and beloved Achates in this
journey--observing the countenance of this gallant mariner
more exactly than Sir Philip's leisure served him to do,
after we were laid in bed, acquainted him with my observa-
tion of the discountenance and depression which appeared 15
in Sir Francis, as if our coming were both beyond his
expectation and desire. Nevertheless, that ingenuous
spirit of Sir Philip's--though apt to give me credit, yet
not apt to discredit others--made him suspend his own, and
labour to change or qualify my judgement; till within some 20 7
few days after, finding the ships neither ready according
to promise, nor possible to be made ready in many days, and
withal observing some sparks of false fire breaking out
unawares from his yoke-fellow daily, it pleased him (in
the freedom of our friendship) to return me my own stock 25
with interest.

All this while Don Antonio landed not, the fleet
seemed to us (like the weary passengers' inn) still to go
farther from our desires, letters came from the Court to
hasten it away, but it may be the leaden feet and nimble 30
thoughts of Sir Francis wrought in the day and unwrought
by night while he watched an opportunity to discover us
without being discovered; for within a few days after,
a post steals up to the Court, upon whose arrival an
alarm is presently taken, messengers sent away to stay us,

6 own] owe S. 8 and] an T. 9 as] /as/ S. 10 him T,J,S:
hm 1652. 15-16 which...in] /which/ [of del.] /appeared
in/ S. 16 were] [<...> del.] were S. 17 ingenuous]
ingenious S. 22 possible T,J,S: possibly 1652. be] me
J. many] [any del.] many T. 24 unawares] vnwares J.
27 while T,J,S: whlie 1652. landed T,J,S: lands 1652.
29 farther T,J,S: further 1652. 30 but T,J,S: om. 1652.
feet] [fleet del.] feet T. 33 a] om. J,S.

or, if we refused, to stay the whole fleet. Notwithstanding, this first Mercury--his errand being partly advertised to Sir Philip beforehand--was intercepted upon the way, his letters taken from him by two resolute soldiers in mariner's apparel, brought instantly to Sir Philip, opened and read--the contents as welcome as bulls of excommunication to the superstitious Romanist when they enjoin him either to forsake his right or his Holy Mother Church; yet did he sit this first process without noise or answer. :

The next was a more imperial mandate--carefully conveyed and delivered to himself by a peer of this realm --carrying with it in the one hand grace, in the other thunder. The grace was an offer of an instant employment under his uncle then going general into the Low Countries, 1 against which, although he would gladly have demurred, yet the confluence of reason, transcendancy of power, fear of staying the whole fleet, made him instantly sacrifice all these self-places to the duty of obedience.

Wherein, how unwillingly soever he yielded up 2 his knowledge, affections, public and private ends in that journey, yet did he act this force in a gallant fashion: opens his reserved ends to the general; encourageth the whole army with promise of his uttermost assistance; saves Sir Francis Drake from blastings of Court, to keep up his reputation 2 amongst those companies which he was presently to command; clearerth the dazzled eyes of that army by showing them how, even in that foreign employment which took himself from them, the Queen had engaged herself more ways than one against the Spaniard's ambition, so as there was no 3 probability of taking away her princely hand from such a well-balanced work of her own.

1 refused] refused, then J,S. 2 his T,J,S: this 1652.
 3 intercepted] interrupted T. 8 him] om. J; him [either
 <...> del.] S. 9 first] first [noy del.] T. 13 in the
 other T,J,S: the other 1652. 15 uncle] only uncle S.
 going] /going/ S. 16 although] as though T; though J,S.
 17 confluence] confluency J,S. 19 these] om. J,S.
 self-places T,J,S: salfe-places 1652. 20 unwillingly]
 willingly S. 24 uttermost] utmost J,S. 25 Drake] om.
 J,S. 26 amongst] among J,S. those] the J,S. 27 clearerth]
 clears J,S. that] the J,S. 29 from] for T.

Nevertheless, as the limbs of Venus' picture,
 now perfectly soever begun and left by Apelles, yet after
 his death proved impossible to finish, so that heroical
 design of invading and possessing America--how exactly
 soever projected and digested in every minute by Sir
 Philip--did yet prove impossible to be well acted by any
 other man's spirit than his own, how sufficient soever his
 associate were in all parts of navigation; whereby the
 success of this journey fell out to be rather fortunate in
 wealth than honour.

5

10

Whereupon, when Sir Philip found this and many
 other of his large and sincere resolutions imprisoned
 within the plights of their fortunes that mixed good and
 evil together unequally, and withal discerned how the
 idle censuring faction at home had won ground of the active
 adventurers abroad, then did this double depression both
 of things and men lift up his active spirit into an uni-
 versal prospect of time, states and things, and in them

15

1 Nevertheless] Yet J,S. 2 begun T,J,S: began 1652.
 3 that] the S. 6 did yet] yet did J,S. acted] [a del.]
 acted T. 7 man's] om. J,S. 8 associate] associate T.
 parts] mechanical part J,S. 10 than] than in S.
 honour] honour. [As a separate par.] Yet to deal truly
 with the dead, he was a man not only sufficient in the
 trivial parts of navigation, but even large beyond his
 profession in undertaking that vast empire of Spain, a
 mass so far above him in counsel, we/a/lth and disci-
 plined armies T; honour. Upon these enterprises of his
 I have presumed to stand the longer, because from the
 ashes of this first propounded voyage to America that
 fatal Low Country action sprang up, in which this worthy
 gentleman perished. Besides, I do ingenuously [ingeni-
 ously S] confess that it delights me to keep company
 with him so long as I can, even after his death;
 esteeming his actions, words and conversation the dain-
 tiest treasure my mind could then lay up, or can at
 this day impart with our posterity J,S [the last par.
 of J,S Chap. VII, which is equivalent to the last par.
 of 1652, T Chap. X (p.74,15-23)]. 11-p.48,7 is equiva-
 lent to the last par. of J,S Chap. VIII. 11 Whereupon]
 Notwithstanding J,S. Sir Philip] he J,S. 12 large and
 sincere] sincere and large S. 15 idle censuring T,J:
 idle-censuring 1652; idle uncensuring S. 16 adventur-
 ers J,S: adventures 1652,T. abroad] abroad, and,
 lastly, saw the Earl, his uncle, by misprision of this
 undertaken sovereignty, not only disgraced in person,
 but in him all hope of future designs in those parts
 like to be fatally [totally S] buried J,S. 18 states]
 state J,S.

made him consider what possibility there was for him
 that had no delight to rest idly at home of repropounding
 some other foreign enterprise probable and fit to invite
 that excellent princess's mind and moderate government to
 take hold of. The placing of his thoughts upon which
 high pinnacle laid the present map of the Christian world
 underneath him.

5

1 made him] to J,S. possibility T,J,S: impossibility
 1652. for him] for men J,S. 2 rest idly T: rest idle
 1652; live idly J,S. repropounding] proppounding J,S.
 3 some] any J,S. foreign] om. J,S. probable] honor-
 able, probable J,S. 5 take] om. J,S. of T,J,S: off
 1652. his] /his/ [] [which high del.] S.

CHAPTER VIII

In which view, nature guiding his eyes first to his native country, he found greatness of worth and place counterpoised there by the arts of power and favour: the stirring spirits sent abroad as fuel to keep the flame far off, and the effeminate made judges of danger which they fear, and honour which they understand not. 5

The people (by disposition of the clime) valiant and multiplying, apt indifferently to corrupt with peace or refine with action, and therefore to be kept from rust or mutiny by no means better than by foreign employments, his opinion being that islanders have the air and waters so diversely moving about them as neither peace nor war can long be welcome to their humours, which must therefore be governed in either by the active and yet steady hand of authority. Besides, he observed the sea to have so natural a sympathy with the complexions of them she environs as, be it in traffic, piracy or war, they are indifferent to wander upon that element, and for the most part apter to follow undertaking chance than any settled ends in a merchant traffic. 10 15 20

Now, for the blessed lady which then governed over us, how equal soever she were in her happy creation for peace or war, and her people (as I have showed) humble to follow her will in either, yet, because she resolved to keep within the decorum of her sex, she showed herself more ambitious of balancing neighbour princes from invading one another than under any pretence of title or revenge apt to question or conquer upon foreign princes' 25

Chap. VIII is equivalent to Chap. IX in J,S. 1 view] view of S. 2 native] [~~<.> del.~~] native J. 3 arts] acts T. 10 or] and S. employments] inployments T. 11 that] that /these/ S. have] having S. 14 in either T,J,S: om. 1652. 16 complexions] complexion S. 17 be it] being J,S. 20 merchant] petty merchant J,S. 25 she] om. T.

possessions. And though this moderate course carried her into a defensive war--which commonly falls out rather to be an impoverishing of enemies than any means to enrich or discipline their estates that undertake it--yet could not all the racks of loss, injury or terror stir this excellent lady into any further degree of offensive war than only the keeping of her navy abroad to interrupt the safe coming home of his Indian fleet, and hinder the provision, contracted for in all parts of Europe, to furnish another invincible navy wherewith he purposed to besiege the world, and therein (as his first step) her divided kingdoms. 5 10

On the other side, in his survey of foreign nations, he observed a fatal passiveness generally current by reason of strange inequalities between little humours and great fortunes in the present princes reigning. 15 Amongst whom, for the first object, Henry the Third of France appears to him in the likeness of a good master rather than a great king, buried in his pleasures, his crown domain exhausted, impositions multiplied, the people light, the nobility prone to move, and consequently his country apt, through scorn of his effeminate vices, either to become a prey for the strongest undertaker, or else to be cantonized by self-division; in both which possible disasters their native wealth and variety of objects perchance have made both king and people (howsoever confusedly 20 erring) yet to live secured by the providence of chance. 25

Again, he saw the vast body of the empire resting (as in a dream) upon an immoveable centre of self-greatness, and, under this false assumpsit, to have laid the bridle on the neck of the emperor to work them artificially with a gentle or steady hand to his own will. 30 And, to confirm and multiply this cloudy danger, he discerned how that creeping monarchy of Rome (by her arch-

1-2 a defensive] the [blank space] of a defensive J,S.
 2 rather] om. S. 6 further] farther J,S. 12 his T,J,S:
 this 1652. 16 Amongst] Among J,S. 20 nobility]
 nob[ill del.] illitie T. prone] proud T. move] [warre
 del.] /move/ S. 25 king] erring king J,S. 25-26 people
 ...live] people, and yet live J,S. 26 secured]
 seduced S. chance] change corrected to chance T.
 27 saw] saw [the vast del.] S. 28 centre] centeer T.
 29 this] his T. assumpsit] [<...> del.] assumpsit S.
 33 by T,J,S: hy 1652.

instruments, the Jesuits) had already planted fine schools of serving humanity in divers of their reformed cities, intending so to tempt this well-believing people with that old, forbidden tree of knowledge as they might sin desperately against their own estates before they knew it. 5

The like mist these crafty mist-raisers intended (as he thought) to cast over that well united fabric of the Hanses, whose ends being merely wealth, and their seats environed on every side with active and powerful neighbours, would in all probability make them as jealous 10 of absolute princes in prosperity as zealous in distress to seek protection under them; so that they--being at this time grown mighty by combination--if they should be neglected, would prove apt and able to sway the balance unequally to the ends of the stronger. 15

Besides, he discerned yet a greater and more malignant aspect from that spreading monarchy of Spain, which, absolutely commanding the house of Austria, governing the Conclave, and having gotten or affecting to get a commanding intelligence over these cities, would soon 20 multiply unavoidable danger both to themselves and us by mixing the temporal and spiritual swords to their crafty conquering ends. Nay more; how, upon the same foundation, they had begun yet a more dangerous party even amongst the German princes themselves by adding to the fatal opposi- 25 tion of religion between them the hopes, fears, jealousies, temptations of reward or loss, with all the unnatural seeds of division, which might make them--through these confused threatenings and enticements--to become an easy prey for the Spaniard's watchful, unsatiable and much

2 divers J,S: diverse 1652,T. 3 so] om. S. this] this so S. 4 old] om. T. sin] sin [<.> del.] T. 6 these] the S. crafty mist-raisers T,J,S: crafty-raisers 1652. intended J,S: invented 1652; intended T. 7 that] the S. 8 the] om. S. 10 neighbours] neig/h/bours T. 15 to... stronger] om. J,S. 16 discerned yet] yet discerned J,S. 17 aspect] [aspect del.] aspect S. that] the S. 18 absolutely] resolutely T. 19 affecting] affected T, J,S. 20 soon] apace J,S. 22 swords J,S: sword 1652,T. their] his T,J,S. 22-23 crafty conquering] om. J,S. 23 how] he descried how J,S. 24 they] he J,S. amongst] among J,S. 26 of] in J. jealousies T,J,S: jealousy 1652. 28 seeds] deeds S. 29 enticements T,J,S: exticements 1652. to] om. J,S.

promising ambition.

He likewise observed Báthory, that gallant man, but dangerously aspiring king of Poland, to be happily poised by the ancient competition between him and his nobility, and as busy to encroach upon their marches and add more to his own limited sovereignty as they were to draw down those few prerogatives it had into that well-mixed and balanced aristocracy of theirs. 5

Denmark, howsoever by the opportunity and narrowness of his sound restrained to the selfness of profit, yet by discipline and seat able to second an active undertaker with shipping, money, &c.; but too wise, with these strengths, to help any foreign prince to become emperor over himself, or otherwise to entangle his estate offensively or defensively in common actions. 10 15

The Sweden environed, or rather imprisoned, with great and dangerous neighbours and enemies--the Polack pretending title to his kingdom, and, with a continual claim by sword, enforcing him to a perpetual defensive charge; the King of Denmark being unsafe to him upon every occasion by ill neighbourhood among active princes; and lastly, the barbarous Muscovite only kept quiet through his own distress and oppressions elsewhere--so as, like a prince thus strictly environed, the King of Sweden could not among princes stand as any pregnant place of exorbitant help or terror otherwise than by money. 20 25

The Switzers swollen with equality; divided at home; enemies, yet servants to monarchies; not easily oppressed (in the opinion of those times), nor able to do anything of note alone--and so, a dangerous body for the soul of Spain to infuse designs into. 30

The princes of Italy careful to bind one

4 poised T,J,S: peised 1652. competition] competency J,S. 6 limited] om. J,S. 7 that] the S. 8 and balanced] om. J,S. aristocracy] aristocrate T. 13 these] their S. 15 estate] state J; estates S. 17 Polack T,J,S: Polae 1652. 18 with] through J,S. 19 a] om. T. 20-21 the...princes] om. T. 20 being] om. J,S. 22 lastly,] lastly, by J,S. kept T,J,S: om. 1652. 24 thus strictly] straitly J,S. 25 among] among other J,S. 26 otherwise] other ways J. 28 not] most T.

another by common caution; restrained from the freedom of
 their own counsels by fear of stronger powers above them;
 and as busy in keeping down their people, to multiply
 profit out of them, as to entice the stranger thither to
 gain moderately by him. Through which narrow kind of
 wisdom they, being become rather merchant than monarchal
 states, were confined from challenging their own, or
 enlarging their dominions upon neighbours, and lastly, in
 aspects to other princes' rights, conjured within neutral
 circles by the mystical practice of an abusing Conclave
 and aspiring monarch of Spain. 5 10

The Muscovite bridled by his barbarous neighbour
 the Tartar, and, through native ignorance and incivility--
 like a poor tenant upon a rich farm--unequal to his
 inferiors. 15

The Grand Signior asleep in his seraglio, as
 having turned the ambition of that growing monarchy into
 idle lust; corrupted his martial discipline; profaned
 his Alcoran in making war against his own church, and
 not in person, but by his bashaws--consequently, by all
 appearance, declining into his people by such, but more
 precipitate, degrees as his active ancestors had climbed
 above them. 20

Now, while all these princes lived thus fettered
 within the narrowness of their own estates or humours,
 Spain, managing the popedom by voices and pensions among
 the cardinals, and having the sword both by land and sea
 in his hand, seemed likewise to have all those western
 parts of the world laid as a tabula rasa before him to
 write where he pleased yo el rey. And that which made
 this fatal prospect the more probable was his golden
 Indian mines, kept open not only to read and carry his
 threatening fleets and armies where he had will or right
 to go, but to make way and pretence for more where he 25 30

2 fear T,J,S: force 1652. 3[keeping] to keep J,S.
 5 moderately T,J,S: moderate[1 turned letter]y 1652.
 6 become] /be/come S. 8 neighbours] neig/h/bours T.
 9 aspects T,J,S: aspect 1652. 13 native T,J: natural
 1652,S. 19 and] and that J,S. 20 bashaws ed: basha's 1652;
 basshas T; bassar J; bashanes S. 22 as] [as del.] as S.
 climbed] claimed S. 25 own] om. J,S. 26 voices]
 vices T. 28 those] these J; their S. 29 rasa] casa
 S. 30 el] et S. 31 prospect] aspect S.

list, by corrupting and terrifying the chief counsels both of Christian and heathen princes; which tempting and undermining course had already given such reputation both to his civil and martial actions that he was even then grown as impossible to please as dangerous to offend.

5

Out of which fearful almanac this wakeful patriot, besides an universal terror upon all princes, saw (as I said) that this immense power of Spain did cast a more particular aspect of danger upon his native country, and such as was not like to be prevented or secured by any other antidote than a general league among free princes to undertake this undertaker at home. To make this course plausible, though he knew the Queen of England had already engaged her fortunes into it by protecting the States General, yet, perceiving her governors (as I said) to sit at home in their soft chairs playing fast and loose with them that ventured their lives abroad, he providently determined that while Spain had peace, a Pope, money or credit, and the world men, necessity or humours, the war could hardly be determined upon this Low Country stage; because, if the neighbourhood of Flanders, with help of the sundry sea passages, should tempt these united princes to fall upon that limb of the Spanish empire, it would prove (as he supposed) an assailing of him in the strongest seat of his war, where all exchanges, passages and supplies were already settled to his best advantage, and so a force bent against him even where himself would wish it: Flanders being a province replenished with offensive and defensive armies, and fortified with divers strong cities, of which the assailing armies must be constrained either to leave many behind them, or else to

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2 tempting] korupting corrected to /cor/rupting S.
 6 Out of which T: And out of which 1652; From which grounds J,S. fearful almanac] om. J,S. 7 all] all other J,S. 10 like T,J,S: likely 1652. 11 than] than by S. 12 at home] in the field J,S. 14 into] unto corrected to into S. 15 as I said] om. J,S. 16 and J,S: or 1652,T. 20 war] world corrected to war T. could hardly] would hardly J; would never [haue b altered to hard ly (?)] S. determined] determined[ed del.] S. 22 sundry...passages J,S: sudden...passage 1652,T. 23 that] the S. limb] limn T; limm J; [blank space; limb in later hand] S. 24 of] om. J,S. 27 force] force[d del.] T. 28 would T,J,S: could 1652. 30 divers] diverse T. armies] enemies J, S. 30-31 be...either] either be constrained J,S.

hazard the loss of time and their gallantest troops in besieging of one.

Again, he conceived that France itself was like enough to be tender in seconding our designs with horse or foot there, our neighbourhood upon the same continent (out of old acquaintance) not being over-welcome to them, as he presumed. And for succours from other princes, they were to come far and pass through divers dominions with difficulty, distraction, loss of time and, perchance, loose-handed discipline. 5 10

And so concludes, first, that it would be hard for us to become absolute masters of the field in Flanders, or to ground our assailing of him there upon any other argument than that ever-betraying fallax of under-valuing our enemies or settling undertaking counsels upon market-men's intelligence, as Caesar saith the French in his time used to do; which confident ways, without any curious examination what power the adverse party had prepared to encounter by defence, invasion or diversion, must probably make us losers both in men, money and reputation. And upon these and the like assumpsits he resolved there were but two ways left to frustrate this ambitious monarch's designs: the one, that which diverted Hannibal, and, by setting fire on his own house, made him draw in his spirits to comfort his heart; the other, that of Jason, by fetching away his golden fleece, and not suffering any one man quietly to enjoy that which every man so much affected. 15 20 25

1 their] om. S. 4 enough] om. J,S. 9 divers] diverse T. 10 discipline] discipline, and so, like the many passages of a medicine, lose a great part of their virtue before they come to work T. 11 And so] Whereupon he T; Out of which he J,S. 13 of] om. J,S. 14 fallax] fallacy J,S. 15 settling] settling /or/ S. 18 had T,J,S: hath 1652. 19 encounter] encounter us J,S. diversion T,J,S: division 1652. 20-21 And...like] Upon which J,S. 22 monarch's] mon/ar/chs T; monarch J. 24 draw] to draw S. 27 quietly] om. S.

CHAPTER IX

To carry war into the bowels of Spain, and, by the assistance of the Netherlands, burn his shipping in all havens as they passed along--and in that passage surprise some well-chosen place for wealth and strength, easy to be taken, and possible to be kept by us--he supposed to be the safest, most quick and honourable counsel of diversion; because the same strength of shipping which was offensively employed to carry forces thither--and by the way interrupt all martial preparations and provisions of that griping state--might, by the convenient distance between his coast and ours if the Spaniard should affect to pay us with our own monies, fitly be disposed both ways, and so, like two arms of a natural body (with little addition of charge) defend and offend, spend and supply at one time.

Or, if we found our own stock, or neighbour's contribution, strong enough to follow good success to greater designs, then whether our adventure once more, in stirring up spirit in the Portugal against the Castilian's tyranny over them, were not to cast a chance for the best part of his wealth, reputation and strength both of men and shipping in all his dominions.

Again, lest the pride of Spain should be secretly ordained to scourge itself for having been a scourge to so many, and yet in this real inquisition escape the audacity of undertaking princes, Sir Philip thought fit to

Chap. IX to p.57,8 is equivalent to the first few paragraphs of J,S Chap. X. 3 all havens] every haven T. they] the T. and] and again J,S. 4 easy] easily J,S. 5 possible] possibly J,S. 7 was] were J,S. 9 interrupt T,J,S: to interrupt 1652. 10 that griping] that J; the S. might] om. S. 11 between] of J,S. 11-12 if...monies] om. T. 11 Spaniard] Spaniards S. affect] offer J,S. 15 one time] one J; once S. 18 designs] ends J,S. once more] underlined in J,S. 19 the Castilian's] Castilians T. 20 over them] om. J,S. 22 in] through J,S. 26 audacity] audit and audacity J,S. princes] om. J,S. thought...to] though...to T; om. J,S.

put the world in mind that Seville was a fair city; secure in a rich soil and plentiful traffic, but an effeminate kind of people; guarded with a conquering name; and consequently a fair bait to the piercing eyes of ambitious generals, needy soldiers and greedy mariners. In like sort he mentioned Cadiz, as a strength and key to her trafficful and navigable river not fit to be neglected in such a defensive and diverting enterprise, but at least to be examined.

Lastly, whether this audacity of undertaking the conqueror at home would not, with any moderate success, raise up a new face of things in those parts, and suddenly stir up many spirits to move against the same power under which they long have lain slavishly conjured, and by this affront prove a deforming blemish in the nice fortune of a fearful usurper?

Or, if that shall be thought an undertaking too full of charge, hazard or difficulty, then whether it will not be just--in the wisdom of estate managed among active princes--that as Queen Elizabeth had even been tender in

5 generals] governors J,S. 6 sort] manner J,S. her] om. T. 8-9 but...examined] om. J,S which then add material equivalent to pp.64,21-65,3: Or, if these [it S] failed, then (the winter in those seas giving good opportunity to us, and moving no suspicion in the assailed) whether, after we had secured our own coast by burning his shipping and ship-provision as we passed--I say, whether an adventurous claim of our old right [our...right underlined in J] to the kingdom of Sicily would not be welcome to the Grand Signior, to the mutineers of Algiers, nay even to Italy itself; and if we prospered [prospered /it would/S] yield abundance of wealth to us by spoil and trade, with such a seat beside for diversion or possession as by many visible and invisible helps might either be kept or put away with infinite advantage, gain and honour. 10 of] in J,S. 11 at home] om. J,S. any] om. J,S. 12 a] an T. 13 stir up] work J,S. 14 long...lain [laid corrected to lain] T: long have bin 1652; now lie J,S. by...affront] so J,S. 15-16 nice...usurper] glorious face of an ambitious and fearful usurper J,S which then add, as a separate paragraph: But if all these failed, he then thought it convenient to make trial whether the islands of the Azores [of Azotes S]--the bait of his treasures between Spain and the West Indies, being never thought impregnable--would not lie fit for us both to curb him and enrich ourselves many ways, as he doth by them. 17-p.67,12 no equivalent material in J,S, except for pp.64,21-65,3. 19 wisdom] wisdoms T.

preserving her sovereignty upon the Narrow Seas, and wisely
 considered how nature, to maintain that birthright of hers,
 had made all wars by sea far more cheap, proper and com-
 modious to her than any expedition upon land could possibly
 be--I say, whether to continue this claim would not prove 5
 honour to herself, advantage to her traffic, and reputa-
 tion to her people; I mean, if she should please,
 in those cloudy humours and questions reigning between
 herself and other princes, to keep a strong successive
 fleet all seasonable times of the year upon this pretty 10
 sleeve or ocean of hers? I say, to keep them as provi-
 dent surveyors what did pass from one state to another,
 wherein the law of nature or nations had formerly given
 her interest to an offensive or defensive security: a
 regal inquisition, and worthy of a sea-sovereign--without 15
 wronging friends or neighbours--to have a perfect intelli-
 gence what they had or wanted for delicacy, peace or war
 in general; and in particular, a clear perspective glass
 into her enemy's merchant or martial traffic, enabling
 this queen so to balance this ambitious leviathan in 20
 either kind as the little fishes, his fellow citizens,
 might travail, multiply and live quietly by him under the
 protection of nature.

Again, let us consider whether out of this or
 the like audit it will not be found a just tribute to 25
 opportunity, the rudder of all state wisdoms, that as
 Queen Elizabeth was a sovereign which rested with her sex
 at home, and yet moved all sexes abroad to their own good;
 whether (I say), as she from a devoted zeal to the Church
 had by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in the beginning of her 30
 reign, stirred up spirits in that over-mitred French king-
 dom to become watchful guardians of peace and religion
 there--I say, whether in the same Christian providence
 there might not, by the neglect or breach of many treaties,
 an occasion be justly taken to reap a reasonable harvest

4 possibly] possible T. 7 I mean] om. T. 22 travail T:
 travel 1652.

out of that well-chosen seed-time by receiving Rochelle,
 Brest, Bordeaux or any other place upon that continent
 distressed for religion into her absolute protection?
 Nevertheless, not with intent of reconquering any part of
 her ancient domains lineally descended from many ancestors 5
 --howsoever those places so taken may seem seated like
 tempters of princes to plead in the court of Mars such
 native, though discontinued rights, as no time can pre-
 scribe against--but only to keep those humble religious
 souls free from oppression in that super-Jesuited sovereign- 10
 ty.

In which religious design, to encourage the
 Queen, he advised us to examine if the divisions naturally
 rising amongst their unlimited French grandees grown up
per saltum with their kings above laws, parliaments 15
 and people's freedom would not in all probability cast up
 some light dust into their superiors' eyes as tributes to
 their common idol, disorder; and so, perchance, either
 by treaty, or sight of the first army, stir up Bouillon
 and Rohan for religion, other royalets with hope to make 20
 safe their subaltern governments, even through the ruins
 of that over-soaring sovereignty.

And is it not as probable again that even the
 greatest cities, raised and standing upon the like waving
 encroachments of time and advantagious power, would 25
 readily become jealous of the least strict hand carried
 over them by interruption of traffic, greediness of
 governors, pride of their own wealth or indefinite
 impositions, as Paris, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Rouen or
 Lyons; whereby they might likewise be tempted either to 30
 run head-long with the stream or, at the least, to stand
 at gaze and leave the heraldry of princes to be decided

5 domains ed: domanies 1652; demesnes T. 8 discontinued]
 disconted T. 13 divisions T: diversions 1652. 16 free-
 dom] freedom[s del.] T. 13 disorder T: discorder 1652.
 20 royalets ed: roytelets 1652,T. 22 over-soaring T:
 over-soring 1652. 23 it T: om. 1652. again] om. T.
 24 greatest] great T. 25 time] tinne T. 27 interrup-
 tion] interrupting T. 32 heraldry] heraldries T.
 decided] derided T.

by the stronger party, as for the most part they hitherto have been?

Nay, in this climax to come nearer yet, is it probable that even the Catholic princes and provinces environing this vast kingdom would (as now they do) for want of vent break their hopes, and servilely run out upon the ground like water, and not rather, when this new rent should appear, choose to shake off a chargeable and servile yoke of mountebank holiness under Spanish Rome, and to that end presently mingle money, counsels and forces with ours; as quickly resolved that this way of a balancing union amongst absolute princes would prove quieter rests for them, and sounder foundations for us, than our former parties did, when we conquered France more by such factious and ambitious assistances than by any odds of our bows or beefeaters (as the French were then scornfully pleased to term us)--I say, even when, in the pride of our conquests, we strove to gripe more than was possible for us to hold, as appears by our being forced to come away, and leave our ancestors' blood and bones behind for monuments not of enjoying, but of overgripping and expulsion?

So that the sum of all is whether the taking or surprise of Calais, Rochelle, Bordeaux or some such other good out- or inlet upon that main offered into our protection would not prove honour to us as a brave earnest either to war or peace; beneficial to the French king and crown against their wills, as manifesting to their hot spirits and young counsels that undertaking is not all, and besides clearly showing, in Mars his true glass, how that once well-formed monarchy had by little and little let fall her ancient and reverend pillars--I mean parliaments, laws and customs--into the narrowness of proclamations or imperial mandates, by which like bastard

6 hopes] hoopes T. 3 rent] vent T. 13 rests T: rest 1652. 19 was] it was T. 21 but of] but T. 24 Calais ed: Cales 1652; Calice T. 25-26 that...protection] the main T. 26 honour] an honour T.

children of tyranny she hath transformed her gentry into
 peasants, her peasants into slaves, magistracy into sale-
 works, and crown revenue into impositions; and therein
 have likewise published the differences between monarchs
 and tyrants so clearly to the world as hereafter all
 estates that would take upon their necks the yoke of
 tyranny must justly be reputed voluntary slaves in the
 choice of that passive bondage?

Whereby, one question naturally begetting
 another, the next (as I take it) must be what this
 Austrian aspiring family would do while these two king-
 doms should stand thus engaged: whether invade the king
 of Denmark alone, hoping by his ruin to subdue the yet
 unsubdued princes of Germany, to get the Sound and Eastern
 Seas with all their maritime riches into his power, to
 bring the Hanse towns into some captivated subjections,
 and thereby become sovereign over all eastern traffic by
 sea and land; or else, by lulling France asleep with
 imperial matches or promises, find means to steal the
 flower-de-luce into the lion's garland, and in that
 current of prosperity to citadelize the long-oppressed
 Netherlands into a tenure of uttermost bondage, and so
 build up his eagle's nest above the threatening of any
 inferior region?

But it many times pleaseth God, by the breaking
 out of concealed flashes from these fatal clouds of craft
 or violence, to awake even the most superstitious princes
 out of their enchanted dreams, and cause them to resolve
 suddenly to make head against this devouring sultan with
 leagues offensive and defensive, and, by an unexpected
 union, to become such frontier neighbours to this crown-
 hunter as he might with great reason doubt their treading
 upon his large cloven feet, who intended to have set them
 so heavily upon the heads of many more ancient states,

3 and crown T: crown 1652. 4 have T: om. 1652. 9 one]
 on T. 14 unsubdued T: subdued 1652. 15 riches] richesses
 T. 13 and] and by T. 19 steal] ste/a/le T. 28 to
 resolve ed: to resist 1652; resolve T. 32 great] greate[r
 del.] T. treading T: trading 1652.

peoples or sceptres than his own; and lastly, in the same
 press, by this one affront in the lion's face publishing
 to the world that power is infinite nowhere but in God,
 so as the first blow well stricken most commonly succeeds
 with honour and advantage to the judicious, able and 5
 active undertakers.

Out of which divine providence governing all
 second causes by the first, is it not probable that even
 the natural vicissitudes of war and peace would bring
 forth some active propositions between these many-ways 10
 allied kingdoms of England and France to perfect recon-
 ciliation, and as many again of irreconcilable division
 between them and Spain: France being stirred up by a
 joint counsel and proposition of assistance to the re-
 covery of her long-sleeping rights in Navarre or Naples; 15
 and England only to distract this ambitious monarch from
 his late custom in deposing kings and princes as Navarre,
 Portugal, the Palatine, Brunswick &c., and, as in a
 second course of his devouring gluttony, interrupt him
 from future prosecutions of Denmark and Germany itself to 20
 the same end--with his constant intent, to bring all the
 earth under one man's tyranny.

To prevent which deluge of boundless power, Sir
 Philip was of opinion that, more than charge, it could be
 no prejudice if, to the unvizarding of this masked tripli- 25
 city between Spain, Rome and the sovereign Jesuits of
 France--I say, if the Queen, as defendress of the faith--
 for a main pledge of this new offensive and defensive
 undertaken league--would be pleased to assist the French
 king with the same forces by sea or land wherewith, till 30
 then, she had justly opposed against him, and consequently,
 putting the Spaniard from an offensive to a defensive
 war, manifestly publish and give credit to this unbelieved
 truth, viz. that this arch-conqueror never intended

l or] and T. 11 perfect T: a perfect 1652. 16 distract]
 distruct T. 18 &c., and T: and &c. 1652. 20 prosecutions]
 prosecution T. 20-21 to...end] om. T. 21 his] this T.
 28 new] om. T. 29 undertaken league] league undertaken T.

other favour to the Pope, Emperor or Jesuits, in all this conjunction, than Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, which was that they should be the last whom he purposed to devour.

And farther to encourage these great princes in this true balancing design, with the chargeable and thorny passages proper to it, he providently saw the long-threatened Duchy of Savoy would be in their view, with assurance that this active prince would think it a safe diversion of dangers from his domestical estate, and a fit stage to act his foreign cobwebs upon, if he might have them shadowed under the wings of stronger and every way more able powers, without which his mean estate must in all probability force him to shift his outward garments perchance too often.

The Venetians again, foreseeing with their aristocratical jealousy that their estate had only two pregnant dangers hanging over it, the one eastward, from the Grand Signior, who easily moves not his encompassing half-moon; the other westward, from this Suleiman of Spain, whose unsatiable ambition, they knew, would rest upon no centre, but creep along the Mediterranean seas till he might (contrary to the nature of those waters) overflow all weak or secure neighbour-princes, without any other title or quarrel than stet pro ratione voluntas--and foreseeing, again, in this sudden violence that they could expect no estate to be selfly engaged in their succour, but must resolve to stand or fall alone by that course, where, on the other side, if the eastern half-moon should but seem to move towards them, they were assured to have all the estates of Europe engaged by their own interests to join with them; upon this view, there is no doubt but that wise city would have resolved it to be a choice of less evil to join with these great princes in diverting his Spanish galleys and galleons by sea, and his inveterate

3 whom] which T. 5 farther] further T. 11 cobwebs] coppwebbs altered to cobpwebbs T. 13 powers] princes T. mean] weak T. 19 his] [his del.] his T. 27 in] to T. 28 by...course] om. T. 33 less] the less T.

armies by land from disturbing or subjecting the safety
and traffic of all Christendom to his seven patched coated
kingdoms, rather than, for want of heart or opportunity,
to stand neuter as they do, and become treasurers both of
money and munition for him that already intends thus to 5
conquer them and enjoy it.

Again, shall we (said Sir Philip) in these
collections of particulars forget the state of Italy
itself? Which excellent temper of spirits, earth and air
having long been smothered and mowed down by the differing 10
tyrannies of Spain and Rome, shall we not be confident
they would, upon the approaching of these armies, both stir
up those benumbed sovereignties--which only bear the name
of free princes--to affect their own manumissions, and
help to chase away these succeeding and oppressing 15
garrisons whose forefathers for many years had sold life,
liberty and laws for eight pence the day, and so resolute-
ly oppose those Spanish-born or Spanish-sworn tyrannies
which have for divers ages lorded over that most equally-
tempered nation? 20

Or whether the winter in those seas, giving
opportunity without suspicion, may not encourage the claim
of our old rights in the kingdom of Sicily, more legal
than most of his Spanish intrusions, and therein be wel-
come to the Grand Signior, the freedom of Algiers, nay 25
even to Italy itself; and besides, if we prospered,
yield abundance of wealth by spoil and trade, with such

3 or] not T. 5 thus] om. T. 15 these] those T.
oppressing] suppressing T. 16 years] years since T.
18 Spanish-sworn] sworn T. 20 nation] nation and their
native princes T. 21-p.65,3 This paragraph in J,S Chap.
X comes after diverting enterprise (p.57,8) in 1652,T.
21-26 Or...itself] Or if these [it S] failed, then (the
winter in those seas giving good opportunity to us, and
moving no suspicion in the assailed) whether, after we
had secured our own coast by burning his shipping and
ship-provision as we passed--I say, whether an adventur-
ous claim of our old right [our...right underlined in J]
to the kingdom of Sicily would not be welcome to the
Grand Signior, to the mutineers of Algiers, nay even to
Italy itself J,S. 22 may] might T. the] an advantag-
eous T. 23 legal] legally laid T. 25 nay T: om. 1652.
26 besides] om. J,S. 27 yield] /it would/ yield S.
wealth] wealth to us J,S.

a seat for diversion or possession as by many visible and invisible helps might be kept or put away with infinite advantage?

Lastly, he made a query whether the Pope himself would not (like a secular prophet), to keep his becoming chaplain a little the farther off, either wink or, at least, delay his thundering curses or supplies of Peter-pence against these qualifying armies, only to moderate the over-greatness of this Spanish monarchy whose infancy--having been nourished under the mitre's holy water, and sophistries of his practising conclaves--dares now imperiously publish to the world a resolution of taking all other distinctions from amongst men saving that canonical regiment of wit and might; whereby he might so preserve his spiritual ambition entire, without any charge or change of religion or sovereignties from one hand to another, but like a holy father mediate the restoring of Italy to her ancient, free and distinct principalities. Whereby now, by this moderate course, admit the Pope for his part should impair his temporal profits and subaltern jurisdiction a while, yet shall he be sure (as I said) to multiply his spiritual honours, and enlarge that kingdom, by these works of supererogation; and--by joining with his fellow-princes in a contribution, by way of accompt or countenance, to pay these great armies--be sure to sit rent-free under his and their own vines, as absolute spiritual and temporal princes ought to do.

From which (saith he) this conclusion will probably follow: that the undertaking of this Antony single --I mean France--would prove a begetting of brave occasions jointly to disturb this Spanish Octavian in all his ways of crafty or forcible conquests, especially since Queen Elizabeth, the standard of this conjunction, would

1 seat] seat beside J,S. 2 might] might either J,S.
 3 advantage] advantage, gain and honour J,S. 5 would] could T. 6 the] om. T. 9 this T: his 1652. 14 whereby...so] seeing the Pope thereby might T. 18 free] freed T. Whereby] om. T. 20-21 jurisdiction] jurisdictions T. 21 as I said] om. T. 31 Octavian ed: Ottoman 1652; Augustus T. 32 or] [as del.] /or/ T.

infallibly incline to unite with the better part, and, by
 a sudden changing of Mars his imperious ensigns into a
 well-balanced treaty or universal peace, restore and keep
 the world within her old equilibrium or bounds; and the
 rather, because her long custom in governing would quickly 5
 have made her discern that it had been impossible by
 force or any human wisdom to have qualified these over-
 grown combinations of Spain but only by a countermining
 of party with party, and a distracting of exorbitant
 desires by casting a grey-headed cloud of fear over them, 10
 thereby manifesting the well-disguised yokes of bondage
 under which our modern conquerors would craftily entice
 the noun-adjective natured princes and subjects of this
 time to submit their necks: a map (as it pleased her to
 say) of his secrets in which she confessed herself to be 15
 the more ripe, because under the like false ensigns,
 though perchance better masked, she had seen Philip the
 Second offer the same measure, or with little difference,
 to Henry the Third of France--a principal fellow-member
 in that earthly founded, though heavenly seeming Church 20
 of Rome--when he redelivered Amiens, Abbeville, &c.,
 together with that soldier-like passage made by the Duke
 of Parma through France to the relief of Paris. Yet,
 whether this provident Philip did frame these specious
 charities of a conqueror, Augustus-like, aspiring to live 25
 after death greater than his successor; or providently,
 foreseeing that the diverse humours in succeeding princes
 would prove unable to maintain such green usurpations in
 the heart of a kingdom competitor with his seven-headed
 Hydra kept together only by a constant and unnatural 30
 wheel of fortune till some new child of hers, like Henry
 the Fourth, should take his turn in restoring all unjust
 combinations or encroachments; or lastly, whether, like
 a true cutter of cumin seeds, he did not craftily lay

4 bounds] bonds T. 7 these] those T. 13 subjects]
 subjects as catchword only T. 18 offer T: after 1652.
 19 fellow-member] member T. 21 Amiens T: Amiers 1652.
 23 Paris] Rouen T. 27 diverse T: divers 1652.
 31 wheel] om. T.

these hypocritical sacrifices upon the altar of death as
 peace-offerings from pride to the temple of fear, or
 smokes of a dying, diseased conscience choked up with
 innocent blood--of all which perplexed pedigrees, I know
 not what to determine otherwise than that these tyrannical 5
 encroachments do carry the images of hell and her
 thunder-workers in their own breasts, as fortune doth mis-
 fortunes in that wind-blown, vast and various womb of
 hers.

Or if this should seem of too high a nature, or 10
 too many chargeable parts, then whether, to begin again
 where we left, and, by the example of Drake, a mean-born
 subject to the crown of England, invade, possess and
 inhabit some well-chosen havens in Peru, Mexico or both,
 were not to strike at the root, and assail him where he 15
 is weakest, and yet gathers his chiefest strength to
 make himself monarch over all these western climes--
 supplies being as easy to us as to him, we having both
 winds and seas indifferently open between us?

1 these] those T. 2-3 or...diseased T: as smokes
 dying of a diseased 1652. 6 encroachments T:
 enchorchments 1652. 10-11 or too] or of too T.
 12 and, by] Or, lastly, by J,S, Chap. X, following
 the point in 1652, T equivalent to p.57,16.
 13 invade] to invade T; invade, (and if fortunate-
 ly) then J; invade, (and if fortunately) S.
 14 inhabit T,J,S: nhabite 1652. Peru] Geru S.
 16 chiefest] chief J,S. strength] strength and
 encouragement J,S. 17 over all these T: over all
 the 1652; of these J,S. climes] parts J,S.
 19 between] to J; unto S. The text of J,S, Chap.
 X continues to a point equivalent to p.74,14.

CHAPTER X

Upon due consideration of which particulars, he, foreseeing that each of the former required greater resolution, union and expense than the neutrality, diffidence and quiet complexion of the princes then reigning could well bear; and, besides, the freedom of choice to be taken away, or at the least obstructed, by fatal mists of ignorance or factious counsels reigning among the ministers of kings--he resolved, from the grounds of his former intended voyage with Sir Francis Drake, that the only credible means left was to assail him by invasion or incursion (as occasion fell out) in some part of that rich and desert West-Indian main: 5 10

First, because it is an observation among the wisest that as no man is a prophet in his own country, so all men may get honour much cheaper far off than at home, and at sea more easily than at land. 15

Secondly, in respect he discovered the Spanish conquests in those remote parts--so much noised throughout the world--to be indeed like their Jesuits' miracles, which, coming far, were multiplied by fame and art to keep other nations in wonder and blind worship. 20

Thirdly, out of confident belief that their inhuman cruelties had so dispeopled and displeased those countries that as he was sure to find no great power to

Chap. X to p.74,14, has material equivalent to the latter part of J,S Chap. X. 1 which] every one of which J,S. 2 that each] the end S. 3 neutrality T,J,S: naturality 1652. 4 could well] would at that time J,S. 5 besides] thereby J,S. to] would J,S. 6 the] om. J,S. 7 reigning] remaining J,S. among] amongst T. 7-8 the...kings] their ministers and counsellors of things J,S. 8-9 from...that] om. J,S. 8 grounds T: only [catchword only] grounds 1652. 10 left] then left J,S. by] either by J,S. 11-12 in... main T: in...mine 1652; in the Indies J,S. 13 First] J,S number this and the seven following paragraphs with arabic numerals in the margin. because] <...> corrected to because T. among] amongst T. 14 prophet] pro<...>et corrected to prophet T. 16 more easily] far easilier J,S. 17 discovered] discovereth corrected to discovered T. 19 to] t<.> corrected to to T. their] the J,S. 21 nations in T,J,S: nation sin 1652.

withstand him, so might he well hope the relics of those oppressed Cimaroons would joyfully take arms with any foreigner to redeem their liberty and revenge their parents' blood.

Fourthly, by reason the scale of distance 5
between Spain and America was so great as it infallibly assured Sir Philip he should find leisure enough to land, fortify and become master of the field before any succour could come thither to interrupt him.

Fifthly, the pride, delicacy and security of the 10
Spaniard, which made him live without discipline, and trust more to the greatness of his name abroad than any strength, order, courage or munition at home.

Sixthly, Sir Philip, prophesying what the pedi- 15
grees of princes did warrant--I mean the happy conjunc-
tion of Scotland to these populous realms of England and Ireland--foresaw that if this multitude of people were not studiously husbanded and disposed of, they would rather diminish than add any strength to this monarchy; which danger (he conjectured) could only by this design of foreign employ- 20
ment, or the peaceable harvest of manufactures at home, be safely prevented.

The seventh and a chief motive indeed was that no other action could be less subject to emulation of court, less straining to the present humours of state, more con- 25
curring with expectation and voice of time, nor wherein there was greater possibility of improving merit, wealth, and friends.

Lastly, he did, as all undertakers must do, believe that there is ever good intelligence between 30
chance and hazard, and so left something not summed up beforehand by exact minutes, but rather thought good to venture, upon the cast of a Rubicon die, either to stop

2 Cimar^oons] Cinnrons T. 5 Fourthly] om. J,S. the scale
of the vale S. 6 was] was [was del.] S. 14 the] om. T.
15-16 conjunction] comixion T. 16 of Scotland T,J,S: of
of Scotland 1652. realms of T,J,S: realms 1652. 18 of
T,J,S: om. 1652. 19 any] om. T. 23 no] none S.
24 action] nation J,S. 25 present] presc[e del.]/e/pt S.
humours] humour J,S. 28 and] or J,S. 31 something T,J,
S: some things 1652.

his springs of gold, and so dry up that torrent which carried his subduing armies everywhere, or else, by the wakeful providence of threatened neighbours, force him to waft home that conquering metal with infinite charge, and, notwithstanding, unwarranted from enriching those enemies whom he principally studied to suppress by it. 5

To confirm which opinion, he foresaw how this over-racked unity of the Spanish government (intending to work a change in the free course of nature) had interdicted all manufacture, traffic, or vent by sea or land between the natives of America and all nations else, Spain excepted; and withal, to make the barrenness of Spain more fertile, how he had improved that idle Castilian by employments in activeness, wealth and authority over those vanquished creatures, suffering the poor native Americans to be suppressed with heavy impositions, discouraging idleness, bondage of laws, shearing of the humble sheep to clothe the proud, devouring wolves; finally, under these and suchlike quintessences of tyranny, striving (as I said) even besides nature to make barren Spain the monarchy, and that every way more fertile America to be the province--all which affectations of power to be wiser and stronger than the truth, this gentleman concluded, would in the fulness of time make manifest that the heavy can no more be forced to ascend, and rest fixed there, than the light to go downward as to their proper centre. 10 15 20 25

Notwithstanding, the state of tyrants is so sublime, and their errors founded upon such precipitate steps, as this growing Spaniard both did, doth, and ever will, travail (with his forefathers in paradise) to be 30

4 waft] waste T. 6 by it] om. J,S. 8 over-racked unity T,J,S: racked vanity 1652. 9 a] and S. 11 else] om. J, S. 13 had] om. J,S. that] the J,S. 13-14 by employments] om. J,S. 15 suffering] while he suffered J,S. 17 of the] the J,S. 20 besides] [against del.] besides T; beside J,S. barren Spain] barren T; Spain J,S. 21-22 that...province] America the province J,S. 21 more] om. T. 22 all] om. J,S. affectations T: affections 1652; affection J,S. 24 in the T,J,S: in 1652. 25 rest fixed] be fixed T; rest J,S. 26 as] om. J,S. 30 steps] steepes J. 31 travail T,J,S: travel 1652.

equal or above his maker, and so to imprison divine laws
 within the narrowness of will, and human wisdom with the
 fettered selfnesses of cowardly or over-confident tyranny.
 In which preposterous courses to prevent all possibility
 of commotion, let the reader be pleased to observe how 5
 that continually he forceth his own subjects free-denized
 in America to fetch weapons of defence, conquest, invasion,
 as well as ornament, wealth, necessity and delicacy, out
 of Spain, merely to retain want, supply, price, weight,
 fashion and measure still (contrary to nature) in that 10
 barren crown of Castile; with an absolute power resting
 in himself to rack or ease both peoples according to the
 waving ends of an unsteady and sharp-pointed pyramis of
 power.

Nay, to rise yet a step higher in this bloody 15
 pride, Sir Philip--our unbelieved Cassandra--observed
 this limitless ambition of the Spaniard to have chosen
 that uttermost citadel of bondage--I mean the Inquisition
 of Spain--for her instrument; not, as in former masks, to
 prune or govern, but, in a confidence rising out of the 20
 old age of superstitious phantasms, utterly to root out
 all seeds of human freedom, and (as Sir Philip conceived)
 with fatal dissolution to itself: in respect that these
 types of extremity would soon publish to the world what
 little difference tyrants strive to leave between the 25

1 or above] with J,S. maker] master S. laws] law T.
 2-3 will...tyranny] human will J,S. 3 selfnesses T:
 selfnesses 1652. over-confident T: other confident
 1652. 4 courses] course J,S. 5 commotion] commiction
 T. 6 that continually] out of those desperate counsels
 of oppression T; out of a desperate counsel J,S. free-
 denized ed: free-denized 1652; in free denized T;
 om. J,S. 7 of] for J,S. 8 necessity] om. J,S.
 10 fashion] om. J,S. contrary to nature] om. J,S.
 11-12 with...himself] with power consequently J,S.
 12 rack T,J: rock 1652; raise S. 13 waving] ravening S.
 13-14 an...power] a tyrant J,S. 15-16 bloody pride]
 climax J,S. 16 observed] observed how J,S. 17 to
 have] hath J,S. 18 I mean] om. J,S. Inquisition]
 Inquisitions S. 19 Spain] Spain and Rome J,S. her]
 his S. instrument] instruments T. 20-21 in...phan-
 tasms] om. J,S. 22 Sir Philip] he J,S. 23 dissolu-
 tion to itself] consequence to himself J,S. in...
 these] because those J,S. 25 tyrants strive] tyranny
 strives J,S.

creation, use and honour of men and beasts, valuing them
indifferently but as counters to sum up the diverse, nay
contrary, uses and audits of sublime and wandering suprem-
acy; which true glass would (in this gentleman's opinion)
show the most dull and cowardly eye that tyrants be not 5
nursing fathers, but step-fathers, and so no anointed
deputies of God, but, rather, lively images of the Dark
Prince, that sole author of discreation and disorder, who
ever ruins his ends with over-building.

Lastly, where his reason ended, there many 10
divine precepts and examples did assure him that the
vengeance of God must necessarily hang over those hypo-
critical cruelties which, under colour of converting souls
to him, sent millions of better than their own they cared
not whither; and, instead of spreading Christian religion 15
by good life, committed such terrible inhumanities as
gave those that lived under nature manifest occasion to
abhor the lively characts of so tyrannical a deity.

Now though this justice of the Almighty be many
times slow, and therefore neglected here on earth, yet 20
(I say) under the only conduct of this star did Sir
Philip intend to revive this hazardous enterprise of
planting upon the main of America--projected, nay under-
taken, long before (as I showed you), but ill executed in
the absence of Sir Philip--with a design to possess 25
Nombre de Dios, or some other haven near unto it, as
places, in respect of the little distance between the two
seas, esteemed the fittest rendezvous for supply or retreat

1 men and] men [vnd altered to and] S. 2-4 diverse...
supremacy] divers uses and audits of power J,S.
2 diverse T: divers 1652. 4 would] [<.>v altered to
w]ould S. this gentleman's] his J,S. 5 eye] aye S.
be] are J,S. 6 nursing fathers] nursing- J,S. 7-8 the
...of] that sole author of J; om. S. 8-9 who...
over-building] om. J,S. 12 vengeance] veng/e/ance T.
12-13 hypocritical] om. J,S. 14 of] om. J,S. 16 com-
mitted] comit S. 17 manifest] maifest T. 18 lively
T,J,S: devilly 1652. characts T,J,S: characters 1652.
21-22 Sir...to] he J,S. 22 this] that J,S. 23-24 nay
undertaken] om. J,S. 25-26 with...haven] the design
of both which expeditions had been, shortly, to possess
Nombre de Dios or some other haven upon the main of
America J,S. 26-27 as places] a place J,S.
28 esteemed] esteemed to be T,J,S.

of an army upon all occasions; and besides, by that means,
to circle in his wealth and freedom with a joint, fore-
running fleet, to the end that if the fortune of conquest
prospered not with them, yet he should infallibly pay the
charge of both navies, with infinite loss and disreputa-
tion to the Spaniard. 5

And in this project Sir Philip proceeded so far
with the United Provinces as they yielded to assist and
second the ships of his sovereign under his charge with a
fleet of their own, which, besides a present addition of 10
strength, he knew would lead in others by example. Again,
for supply of these armies, he had (out of that natural
tribute which all free spirits acknowledge to superior
worth) won thirty gentlemen of great blood and state here
in England every man to sell one hundred pounds' land to 15
second and countenance this first fleet with a stronger.

Now when these beginnings were by his own credit
and industry thus well settled, then, to give an excellent
form to a real work, he contrived this new-intended planta-
tion not like an asylum for fugitives--a bellum piraticum 20
for banditti, or any such base ramass of people--
but as an emporium for the confluence of all nations that
love or profess any kind of virtue or commerce. Wherein,
to incite those that tarried at home to adventure, he
propounded the hope of a sure and rich return: to martial 25
men he opened the wide door of sea and land for fame and
conquest; to the nobly ambitious, the fair stage of
America to win honour in; to the religious divines,
besides a new apostolical calling of the last heathen to
the Christian faith, a large field of reducing poor

1 and...means] and besides resolved T; and withal J,S.
3 fleet] fleet in the South Sea T,J,S. 6 the Spaniard]
him J,S. 7 so] om. S. 8 yielded] did yield J,S.
9 under...charge] om. J,S. 10 present] great present S.
11 would] would help to J,S. 12 that] the S.
13 superior] om. J,S. 14 thirty T,J,S: 30 1652. 15 man]
one J,S. one...pounds] 100L J; 100Li S. 16 countenance]
continue J,S. 17 were] were were T. 18 well] om. J,S.
19 a] om. J,S. contrived] continued S. 20 asylum]
asyl[<...> possibly um] J; [blank space] S. 21 such]
other J,S. 24 incite] invite J,S. 26 the wide T,J,S:
wide the 1652. fame and] om. J,S. 27 fair T,J,S: far
1652.

Christians misled by the idolatry of Rome to their mother
 primitive Church; to the ingeniously industrious, variety
 of natural riches for new mysteries and manufactures
 to work upon; to the merchant, with a simple people, a
 fertile and unexhausted earth; to the fortune-bound,
 liberty; to the curious, a fruitful womb of innovation--
 generally, the word "gold" was an attractive adamant to
 make men venture that which they have in hope to grow rich
 by that which they have not.

What the expectation of this voyage was time
 past can best witness, but what the success should have
 been (till it be revived by some such generous undertaker)
 lies hidden in God's secret judgements, who did at once
 cut off this gentleman's life and so much of our hope.

Upon these enterprises of his I have presumed
 to stand the longer because from the ashes of this first
 propounded voyage to America that fatal Low Country action
 sprang up, in which this worthy gentleman lost his life.
 Besides, I do ingenuously confess that it delights me to
 keep company with him even after death, esteeming his
 actions, words and conversation the daintiest treasure
 my mind could then lay up, or can at this day impart with
 our posterity.

1 misled] muffled and misled J,S. mother] om. T.
 2 ingeniously T: ingenuously 1652; ingenious and J,S.
 variety] rariety S. 3 riches] richesse J; riches
 S. 5 and] om. J,S. 9 that] it S. have not] desire
 J,S. 10 time T,J,S: the time 1652. 12 undertaker T,
 J,S: undertakers 1652. 13 hidden T,J,S: hid 1652.
 14 hope] the end of J,S Chap. X. 15-23 Upon...poste-
 rity] the last paragraph of J,S Chap. VII, following
from the equivalent of p.47,10. 18 in T: iu 1652.
 lost...life] perished J,S. 19 ingenuously] ingenious-
 ly T,S. 20 him] him so long as I can J,S. 22 could]
 <...ld> altered to could T.

CHAPTER XI

Therefore to come at the last to that diverting employment promised him under his uncle in the Low Countries: he was upon his return to the Court instantly made, for garrison, Governor of Flushing and, for the field, General of the Horse; in both which charges his carriage testified to the world wisdom and valour, with addition of honour to his country by them. 5

For instance, how like a soldier did he behave himself, first, in contriving, then in executing, the surprise of Axel, where he revived that ancient and severe discipline of order and silence in their march, and after their entrance into the town, placed a band of choice soldiers to make a stand in the market-place, for security to the rest that were forced to wander up and down by direction of commanders, and, when the service was done, rewarded that obedience of discipline in every one liberally out of his own purse. 10 15

How providently, again, did he preserve the lives and honour of our English army at that enterprise of Gravelines, where, though he was guided by directions from the state, and found all accidents concurring with the directions given him, yet, whether out of arguments drawn from the person of La Motte, commander of that town, who had a general reputation of too much worth either Sinon-like to deceive, or easily to be deceived; or out of the strength and importance of that place precious to the owner in many respects, the least of which would redouble 20 25

Chap. XI is equivalent to J,S Chap. VIII; see note for the state of S. 1 at...last] briefly J,S. that] the S. 1-2 diverting...promised] promised employment J,S. 2 him T: to him 1652; om. J,S. 4 for] om. S. 11 severe T,J,S: secure 1652. 19 lives] loves T. English T,J,S: En-[gllsh catchword only]||glish 1652. at] in J,S. 20-22 from...directions T,S: om. 1652; from...intelligence J. 24 either] om. J,S. 24-25 Sinon-like T,J,S: Simon-like 1652. 25 to be] be J,S. 26 that] the J,S. 27 which] which two J,S. redouble] double S.

loss to the growing ambition of a conqueror; or whether
upon caution given by intelligence or whatsoever light of
diversion else--he (I say) was resolute not to hazard so
many principal gentlemen, with such gallant troops and
commanders, as accompanied him in that flattering expedi- 5
tion. Yet because he kept this steady counsel in his
own bosom, there was labouring on every side to obtain
the honour of that service. To all which gallant kind of
competition he made this answer: that his own coming
thither was to the same end wherein they were now become 10
his rivals, and therefore assured them that he would
not yield anything to any man, which by right of his place
was both due to himself, and consequently disgrace for him
to execute by others; again, that by the same rule he
would never consent to hazard them that were his friends 15
and, in divers respects, his equals where he found reason
to make many doubts, and, so, little reason to venture
himself.

Yet as a commander, concluding something fit to
be done, equally for obedience and trial, he made the 20
inferior sort of captains try their fortunes by dice upon
a drum's head. The lot fell upon Sir William Browne, his
own lieutenant, who with a choice company presently
departed, receiving this provisional caution from Sir
Philip, that if he found practice and not faith he should 25
straight throw down his arms and yield himself prisoner,
protesting that if they took him, he should be ransomed,
if they broke quarter, his death most severely revenged.

On these forlorn companies go with this leader,
and, before they came into the town, found all outward 30
signals exactly performed; when they were entered, every
street safe and quiet according to promise till they
were passed any easy recovery of the gate, then instantly
out of the cellars underground they were charged by horse

1 loss] an unredeemable loss J,S. 5 as T,J,S: which
1652. 12 man] om. J,S. 16 divers] diverse T. 21 try]
to try J,S. fortunes T,J,S: fortune 1652. 22 drum's
head] drumme head S. 24 this] his T. 31 when] and
when S. were] om. J,S.

and foot. The leader, following his general's command-
 ment, discovers the treason, throws down his arms, and is
 taken prisoner. The rest of the companies retire, or rather
 fly, towards their ships, but still wounded and cut off by
 pursuit of their enemies; till at length a sergeant of a 5
 band, with fifteen more, all Sidney's men (I mean such as
 could die to win honour and do service to their country),
 made a halt, and, being fortunately mixed of pikes, hal-
 berds and muskets, resolved to be slain with their backs
 to their friends and their faces to their enemies. They 10
 moved or stayed with occasion, and were in both continu-
 ally charged with foot and horse till in the end eight
 were slain and eight left alive. With these the sergeant
 --wounded in the side by a square die out of a field-
 piece--made this brave retreat within view and, at last, 15
 protection of their own navy; bringing home, even in the
 wounds, nay ruins, of himself and company, reputation of
 courage and martial discipline to his country.

Moreover, in those private accidents of discon-
 tentment and quarrel which naturally accompany great 20
 spirits in the best governed camps, how discreetly did
 Sir Philip balance that brave Count Hollock made head of
 a party against his uncle when, putting himself between
 indignities offered to his sovereign through the Earl of
 Leicester's person, and yet not fit for a supreme gover- 25
 nor's place to ground a duel upon, he brought those
 passionate charges which the Count Hollock addressed up-
 wards to the Earl down, by degrees, upon himself, where
 that brave Count Hollock found Sir Philip so fortified
 with wisdom, courage and truth--besides the strong 30
 party of former friendship standing for him in the Count's

2 discovers] discovering J,S. throws] threw S.
 3 companies T,J,S: company 1652. 4 towards] toward
 J. 6 more] men J,S. men] om. J,S. 7 and...to] in
 the service of J,S. 9 resolved] all resolved J,S.
 10 and their] and J,S. 12 with] by J; [with ~~del.~~]
 /by/ S. 14 in T,J,S: at 1652. by T,J,S: with 1652.
 die] dye altered to die T; die of iron J,S. 15 and]
 at J; om. S. 16 protection] within protection J,S.
 even] om. J,S. 19-20 discontentment] discontent-
 ments S. 22 Count T,J,S: om. 1652. made] mande T.
 23 down] downwards J,S. 30 courage] co/v/rage T.

noble nature--as though sense of honour, and many things
 else equal and unequal between them, were in appearance
 provoked beyond possibility of peacing; yet this one in-
 equality of right on Sir Philip's side made the propounder
 calm, and, by coming to terms of expostulation, did not 5
 only reconcile those two worthy spirits one to another
 more firmly than before, but withal through himself
 wrought, if not a kind of unity between the Earl of Leices-
 ter and the Count Hollock, at least a final surcease of
 all violent jealousies or factious expostulations. 10

These particulars I only point out, leaving the
 rest for them that may perchance write larger stories of
 that time. To be short--not in compliments and art, but
 real proof given of his sufficiency above others--in very
 little time his reputation and authority amongst that 15
 active people grew so fast as it had been no hard matter
 for him, with the disadvantage of his uncle and distrac-
 tion of our affairs in those parts, to have raised him-
 self a fortune there; but in the whole course of his life
 he did so constantly balance ambition with the safe pre- 20
 cepts of divine and moral duty as no pretence whatsoever
 could have enticed that gentleman to break through the
 circle of a good patriot.

3 provoked T,J,S: om. 1652. peacing] peicinge T. 4 the]
 /the/ S. 6 to another] unto an other T. 7-8 through...
 wrought] wrought through himself T. 9 the] om. J,S.
 10 jealousies] je/a/lousies T. factious] final S. 11 out]
 at J,S. 13 that] the J,S. and art] om. T. 14 proof]
 proofs 1652. sufficiency T,J,S: sufficiency 1652.
 15 amongst] among J,S. 21 no] /no/ S. 22 have enticed]
 entice J,S. to...through] out of J,S. 23 circle]
 circles T. patriot] J,S Chap. VIII ends with material
which is equivalent to pp.47,11-48,7 as follows: Notwith-
 standing, when he found this and many other of his large
 and sincere [sincere and large S] resolutions imprisoned
 within the plights of their fortunes that mixed good and
 evil together unequally, and withal discerned how the
 idle censuring [uncensuring S] faction at home had won
 ground of the active adventurers abroad, and, lastly, saw
 the Earl, his uncle, by misprision of this undertaken
 sovereignty not only disgraced in person, but in him all
 hope of future designs in those parts like to be fatally
 [totally S] buried, then did this double depression both
 of things and men lift up his active spirit into an uni-
 versal prospect of time, state and things, and in them to
 consider what possibility there was for men that had no
 delight to live idly at home of propounding any other
 enterprise honourable, probable and fit to invite that
 excellent princess's mind and moderate government to hold
 of. The placing of his [which high del. S] thoughts upon
 which high pinnacle laid the present map of the Christian
 world underneath him.

CHAPTER XII

Thus shall it suffice me to have trod out some steps of this Briton Scipio, thereby to give the learned a scantling for drawing out the rest of his dimensions by proportion; and, to the end the abruptness of this treatise may suit more equally with his fortune, I will cut off his actions--as God did his life--in the midst, and so conclude with his death. 5

In which passage, though the pride of flesh and glory of mankind be commonly so alloyed as the beholders seldom see anything else in it but objects of horror and pity, yet had the fall of this man such natural degrees that the wound whereof he died made rather an addition than diminution to his spirits; so that he showed the world--in a short progress to a long home--passing fair and well-drawn lines by the guide of which all pilgrims of this life may conduct themselves humbly into the haven of everlasting rest. 10 15

When that unfortunate stand was to be made before Zutphen to stop the issuing out of the Spanish army from a strait, with what alacrity soever he went to actions of honour, yet, remembering that upon just grounds the ancient sages describe the worthiest persons to be ever best armed, he had completely put on his; but, meeting the marshal of the camp lightly armed (whose honour 20

1 Thus...it] Now, if I should return to Sir Philip [Philip Sidney S] from the high theatre of this worthy princess in whose time, it seemeth, harmless greatness had her uttermost extension, the descent must of necessity seem steep, as between general and particular actions, an absolute, active prince and a large yet limited subject; so that, he being born and bred under the shadow of her wings, and dead in her service, it shall J,S. 5 more] the more J,S. 6 off] out S. 8 though] th[r del.]ough J,S. and] hnd altered to and S. 9 alloyed ed: allyed 1652; allayed T,J,S. 10 seldom] do seldom J,S. 13 to] of T. 15 all] the J; /the/ S. 16 haven] same haven J,S. 20 what] om. J; /what/ S. 22 ancient] auncyenst S. worthiest] [auntient del.] worthiest T.

in that art would not suffer this unenvious Themistocles
 to sleep), the unspotted emulation of his heart to venture
 without any inequality made him cast off his cuisses, and
 so, by the secret influence of destiny, to disarm that
 part where God, it seems, resolved to strike him. Thus 5
 they go on, every man in the head of his own troop, and,
 the weather being misty, fell unawares upon the enemy,
 who had made a strong stand to receive them near to the
 very walls of Zutphen; by reason of which accident, their
 troops fell not only unexpectedly to be engaged within 10
 level of the great shot that played from the rampires,
 but, more fatally, within shot of their muskets, which were
 laid in ambush within their own trenches.

Now whether this were a desperate cure in our
 leaders for a desperate disease, or whether misprision, 15
 neglect, audacity or what else induced it, is no part of
 my office to determine, but only to make the narration
 clear, and deliver rumour as it passed then, without stain
 or enamel.

Howsoever, by this stand an unfortunate hand 20
 out of those fore-spoken trenches brake the bone of Sir
 Philip's thigh with a musket-shot. The horse he rode
 upon was rather furiously choleric than bravely proud,
 and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back,
 as the noblest and fittest bier to carry a martial com- 25
 mander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing
 along by the rest of the army where his uncle--the gene-
 ral--was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he
 called for drink, which was presently brought him; but
 as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor 30
 soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same
 feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which

1 suffer] let J,S. 2 to sleep] sleep S. 2-3 venture
 ...any] be without J,S. 3 off T: of 1652,J,S. 4 to]
 om. J,S. 5 it seems T: it seems, had 1652; om. J; had
 S. 11 level T,J,S: the level 1652. 13 in] [with del.]
 in T. 16 audacity] or audacity J,S. 17 determine]
 [presume del.] determine T. 18 clear] more clear J,S.
 rumour] the rumour T. stain T,J,S: any stain 1652.
 21 out] /out/ J. those] these J,S. 22 he] /he/ S.
 31 who] which S. 32 bottle] same bottle J,S.

Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words: "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine".

And when he had pledged this poor soldier, he was presently carried to Arnhem where the principal 5
chirurgeons of the camp attended for him; some mercenarily out of gain, others for honour to their art, but the most of them with a true zeal (compounded of love and reverence) to do him good, and, as they thought, many nations in him. When they began to dress his wound, he--both by way of charge and 10
advice--told them that while his strength was yet entire, his body free from fever, and his mind able to endure, they might freely use their art, cut and search to the bottom, for besides his hope of health he would make this farther profit of the pains which he must suffer, that 15
they should bear witness they had indeed a sensible-natured man under their hands, yet one to whom a stronger spirit had given power above himself either to do or suffer; but if they should now neglect their art, and re- 20
new torments in the declination of nature, their ignorance or over-tenderness would prove a kind of tyranny to their friend and, consequently, a blemish to their reverend science.

With love and care well mixed, they began the cure, and continued it some sixteen days, not with hope, 25
but rather such confidence of his recovery as the joy of their hearts overflowed their discretion, and made them spread the intelligence of it to the Queen and all his noble friends here in England, where it was received not as private, but public, good news. 30

Only there was one owl among all the birds, which, though looking with no less zealous eyes than the rest, yet saw and presaged more despair--I mean an excellent chirurgeon of the Count Hollock's, who, although the

2 man] [before he drank del.] man J. 4 this] the T.
6-7 for honour T,J,S: out of honour 1652. 7 the] om.
S. 10-11 charge...advice] advice and charge S.
11 strength] [body was del.] strength T. 14 his] the
J,S. 15 farther] further T. 17 their] there S.
22 friend] friends T. 25 sixteen] 16 J. 26 confi-
dence] confid[id possibly del.]ence S. 27 discretion]
discretions J,S. 29 England] Engld[and T. received]
everywhere received J,S. 33 presaged] presaged as
catchword only J. more] /more/ S.

Count himself lay at the same instant hurt in the throat
 with a musket-shot, yet did he neglect his own extremity to
 save his friend, and to that end had sent him to Sir Philip.
 This chirurgeon notwithstanding (out of love to his mas-
 ter) returning one day to dress his wound, the Count 5
 cheerfully asked him how Sir Philip did; and being ans-
 wered with a heavy countenance that he was not well, at
 these words the worthy prince--as having more sense of
 his friend's wounds than his own--cries out: "Away
 villain, never see my face again till thou bring better 10
 news of that man's recovery, for whose redemption many
 such as I were happily lost".

This honourable act I relate to give the world
 one modern example, first, that greatness of heart is not
 dead everywhere; and, then, that war is both a fitter 15
 mould to fashion it, and stage to act it on, than peace
 can be; and, lastly, that the reconciliation of enemies
 may prove safe and honourable where the cement on either
 side is worth--so as this Florentine precept concerning
 reconciled enemies deserves worthily to be buried with 20
 unworthiness the author of it, or at least the practice
 of it cried down and banished to reign among barbarous
 heathen spirits who, while they think life the uttermost
 of all things, hold it safe in nobody that their own
 errors make doubtful to them; and such seems every man 25
 that moves any passion but pleasure in those intricate
 natures.

Now after the sixteenth day was past, and the
 very shoulder-bones of this delicate patient worn through
 his skin with constant and obedient posturing of his body 30
 to their art, he, judiciously observing the pangs his
 wound stang him with by fits, together with many other

1 the same] that T. instant] instance S. 3 friend]
 friend's T. 5 his] the S. 6 him] om. T. 7 a] an S.
 8 words] unexpected words T,J,S. 9 cries] in a dis-
 tracted passion cries T,J,S. 14 that] the S.
 16 peace! [stage del.] /peace/ S. 21 unworthiness]
 worthiness T. 22 of it] om. T,J,S. among] amongst
 T,S. 24 their] there S. own] /own/ T. 28 Now]
 Nor S. sixteenth] 16th T. 29 worn] [worn through
del.] worn S. 30 of] om. T. 31 pangs] paynes S.
 32 stang] stung T. him with] him withal J,S.

symptoms of decay, few or none of recovery, he began rather
 to submit his body to these artists than any farther to
 believe in them. During which suspense he one morning,
 lifting up the clothes for change and ease of his body,
 smelt some extraordinary noisome savour about him differing 5
 from oills and salves as he conceived, and, either out of
 natural delicacy, or at least care not to offend others,
 grew a little troubled with it; which they that sat by
 perceiving, besought him to let them know what sudden in-
 disposition he felt. Sir Philip ingenuously told it, and 10
 desired them as ingenuously to confess whether they felt
 any such noisome thing or no. They all protested against
 it upon their credits, whence Sir Philip presently gave
 this severe doom upon himself, that it was inward mortifi-
 cation; and a welcome messenger of death. 15

Shortly after, when the chirurgeons came to
 dress him, he acquainted them with these piercing intel-
 ligences between him and his mortality, which though they
 opposed by authority of books, paralleling of accidents,
 and other artificial probabilities, yet moved they no 20
 alteration in this man who judged too truly of his own
 estate, and from more certain grounds than the vanity of
 opinion in erring artificers could possibly pierce into;
 so that afterwards, how freely soever he left his body subject to
 their practice, and continued a patient beyond exception, 25
 yet did he not change his mind, but, as having utterly
 cast off all hope or desire of recovery, made and divided
 that little span of life which was left him in this manner.

1 symptoms] sumptoms T. he T,J,S: om. 1652. 10 ingenuously]
 ingeniously T,S. 11 ingenuously] ingeniously T,S.
 13 presently] om. T. 17 dress T,J,S: drss 1652. with
 these] with which these J; with which S. 17-18 intelli-
 gences] intelligence T. 19 opposed T,J,S: opened 1652.
 21 own] om. T. 23 artificers...into] artists...into T;
 artificers could _____ pierce into possibly [possibly
 underlined to indicate the need to transpose it] J; arti-
 ficers' counsel /could/ pierce into possibly S. 24 after-
 wards] afterward T. 26 utterly T,J,S: om. 1652. 28 that]
 the S. of] of his S.

CHAPTER XIII

First, he called the ministers unto him, who were all excellent men of diverse nations, and before them made such a confession of Christian faith as no book but the heart can truly and feelingly deliver; then desired them to accompany him in prayer wherein he besought leave to lead the assembly, in respect (as he said) that the secret sins of his own heart were best known to himself, and, out of that true sense, he more properly instructed to apply the eternal sacrifice of our Saviour's passion and merits to them. His religious zeal prevailed with this humbly devout and afflicted company; in which well-chosen progress of his, howsoever they were all moved, and those sweet motions witnessed by sighs and tears even interrupting their common devotion, yet could no man judge in himself, much less in others, whether this rack of heavenly agony whereupon they all stood were forced by sorrow for him, or admiration of him: the fire of this phoenix hardly being able, out of many ashes, to produce his equal as they conceived.

Here this first mover stayed the motions in every man by staying himself: whether to give rest to that frail wounded flesh of his unable to bear the bent of eternity so much affected any longer; or whether to abstract that spirit more inwardly, and, by chewing as it were the cud of meditation, to imprint those excellent images in his soul, who can judge but God? Notwithstanding, in this change (it should seem) there was little or no change in the object, for instantly after prayer he

1 unto] to T. 2 diverse ed: divers 1652, T, J, S. 8 true] true feeling S. he] he /should be/ S. properly] feelingly J, S. 10 them T, J, S: him 1652. 11 humbly] humble S. 14 in] of J. 15 rack T, J, S: rake 1652. 16 were] was T. sorrow] reason of sorrow T. 17-18 hardly being] being hardly T. 18 many J, S: any 1652, T. they] he S. 26 his T, J, S: hs 1652.

entreated this choir of divine philosophers about him to deliver the opinion of the ancient heathen touching the immortality of the soul, first, to see what true knowledge she retains of her own essence out of the light of herself; then, to parallel with it the most pregnant 5 authorities of the Old and New Testament, as supernatural revelations sealed up from our flesh for the divine light of faith to reveal and work by: not that he wanted instruction or assurance, but because this fixing of a lover's thoughts upon those eternal beauties was not only 10 a cheering up of his decaying spirits, but, as it were, a taking possession of that immortal inheritance which was given unto him by his brotherhood in Christ.

The next change used was the calling for his will, which though at first sight it may seem a descent from 15 heaven to earth again, yet he that observes the distinction of those offices which he practised in bestowing his own shall discern that as the soul of man is all in all, and all in every part, so was the goodness of his nature equally dispersed into the greatest and least actions of 20 his too short life--which will of his shall ever remain for a witness to the world that those sweet and large, even dying, affections in him could no more be contracted with the narrowness of pain, grief or sickness than any sparkle of our immortality can be privatively buried in the 25 shadow of death.

Here again this restless soul of his--changing only the air, and not the chords, of her harmony--calls for music, especially that song which himself had entitled La cuisse rompue; partly (as I conceive by the name) to 30 show that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him, and, by the music itself, to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of angels

1 this] his T. 4 retains] receives S. 6 of] out of J,S.
 10 those] these J; the S. eternal T,J,S: external 1652.
 11 decaying] decayed altered to decaying T. 14 used]
 /used/ J. 16 yet] ye S. 17 those] om. J,S. 19 nature]
 nre T. 21 shall ever J: will ever 1652,T; shall [ever
 del.] S. 24 or] and T. 25 sparkle] [sp del.] sparkle S.
 privatively T,J,S: privately 1652. 27 of his] om. J,S.
 29 that] the S. 30 rompue] compue S. 30-31 by...show]
 om. S. 32 the J,S: that 1652; the and by the T.
 33 heavenly] heaven]like J.

whereof these concords were a kind of terrestrial echo.
And in this supreme, or middle, orb of contemplation he
blessedly went on within a circular motion to the end of
all flesh.

The last scene of this tragedy was the parting 5
between the two brothers; the weaker showing infinite
strength in suppressing sorrow, and the stronger infinite
weakness in expressing of it: so far did unvaluable wor-
thiness in the dying brother enforce the living to de-
scend beneath his own worth, and, by abundance of childish 10
tears, bewail the public in his particular loss. Yea,
so far was his true remission of mind transformed into
ejulation that Sir Philip--in whom all earthly passion
did even as it were flash like lights ready to burn out
--recalls those spirits together with a strong virtue 15
but weak voice, mildly blaming him for relaxing the frail
strengths left to support him in this final combat of
separation at hand; and, to stop this natural torrent of
affection in both, took his leave with these admonishing
words: "Love my memory, cherish my friends: their faith 20
to me may assure you they are honest; but above all govern
your will and affections by the will and word of your
Creator: in me beholding the end of this world with all
her vanities": and with this farewell desired the company
to lead him away. Here this noble gentleman ended the too 25
short line of his life, in which path whosoever is not
confident that he walked the next way to eternal rest
will be found to judge uncharitably.

Thus you see how it pleased God to show forth,
and then suddenly withdraw, this precious light of our 30
sky and, in some sort, adopted patriot of the States-
General; between whom and him there was such a sympathy

1 these] those T. a kind of] to be a J,S. 2 contempla-
tion T,J,S: contemplations 1652. 6 between] of T.
7 sorrow] weakness and sorrow J,S. and] the other J,S.
infinite] in infinite S. 8 of] om. T. unvaluable T,J,S:
invaluable 1652. 13 ejulation] emulation S. passion]
possession S. 15 recalls] recalls J. strong] strange J,
S. 16 weak] feeble J,S. frail] frayle fraile T. 17 this
T,J,S: his 1652. 19 with] in T. 21 all] all [use del.]
T. 25 away] [a in later hand]way S. this] the T.
26 line of T,J,S: scene 1652. 29 Thus] And thus J,S.
31-32 States-General] State General S. 32 sympathy]
natural sympathy J,S.

of affections as they honoured that exorbitant worth in
 Sir Philip by which time and occasion had been like
 enough to metamorphose this new aristocracy of theirs
 into their ancient and much honoured form of dukedom, and
 he, again, applauded that universal ingenuity and prosper- 5
 ous undertakings of theirs over which, perchance, he felt
 something in his own nature possible in time to become an
 elect commander--so usual is it for all mortal constitu-
 tions to affect that which insensibly often works change
 in them to better or worse. 10

Now though I am not of their faith who affirm
 wise men can govern the stars, yet do I believe no star-
 gazers can so well prognosticate the good or ill of all
 governments as the providence of men trained up in public
 affairs may do; whereby they differ from prophets only 15
 in this, that prophets by inspiration, and these by con-
 sequence, judge of things to come. Amongst which kind of
 prophets give me leave to reckon this gentleman who, first,
 having out of the credible almanac of history registered
 the growth, health, disease and periods of governments (that 20
 is to say, when monarchies grow ready for change by over-
 relaxing or contracting, when the states of few or many
 continue, or forsake, to be the same), and, in the con-
 stant course of those vicissitudes, having foreseen the
 easy satiety of mankind with religion and government, 25
 their natural discontentment with the present, and apt-
 ness to welcome alteration; and again, in the descent of
 each particular form to her own centre, having observed
 how these United Provinces had already changed from their
 ancient dukedoms to popularity, and yet in that popularity 30
 been forced to seek protection among the monarchies then
 reigning, and (to make perfect this judgement of his) had
 summed up the league offensive and defensive between us

1 they] the T. 7 become T,J,S: come 1652. 12 can] may
 T,J,S. 15 from] from [proffit ~~del.~~] T. 17 Amongst]
 Among J,S. 20 governments] government T. 23 continue]
 contin[y altered to ule J. to be] /to/ T. 24 those T,
 J,S: these 1652. having] om. T,J,S. 26 natural] om.
 T,J,S. 29 how] how even T,J,S. changed] [chan ~~del.~~]]
 changed T. from] om. S. 31 forced] enforced again T,
 J,S. monarchies] monarchs T. 33 summed] summoned S.
 league] leagues J,S.

and them--even then he grew doubtful lest this advantage would in time leave latitude for envy and competency to work some kind of rent in our union.

But when in the progress of this prospect he fell into a more particular consideration of their traffic 5 and ours--they without any native commodities (art and diligence excepted) making themselves masters of wealth in all nations; we, again, by exporting our substantial riches to import a superfluous mass of trifles, to the vain exhausting of our home-born staple commodities--he 10 certainly concluded that this true philosophers' stone of traffic, which not only turned base metals into gold, but made profit by wars in their own bosoms, would infallibly stir up emulation in such lookers on as were far from striving otherwise to imitate them; and out of these 15 or the like grounds hath many times told me that this active people, which held themselves constantly to their religion and freedom, would at length grow from an adjective to a substantive and prosperous subsistence, whereas we, on the other side, dividing ourselves and waving in 20 both, should at first become jealous, then strange to our friends, and in the end (by reconciliation with our common enemy) moderate that zeal wherein excess is the only mean, and so be forced to cast our fortunes into their arms for support who are most interested in our 25 dishonour and ruin. These, with many other dangers which he provisionally feared, howsoever the wisdom of our government may perchance have put off by prevention, yet were more than conjectural in the aspects of superior, inferior, foreign and domestic princes then reigning. 30

But suppose we could not by this calendar comprehend the change of aspects and policies in several

1 lest] /lest/ [whether del.] T. 2 latitude] a latitude S. 5 more] more [quicke del.] T. 10 home-born] owne borne J,S. 12 metals] /metals/ [commodities del.] T. 15 otherwise] otherways J,S. 16 or] and T. 17 themselves] them T. 21 at T,J,S: om. 1652. strange] strangers J,S. 23-24 is the only T,J,S: only is the 1652. 25 interested T,J,S: interested 1652. 29 aspects T,J,S: aspect 1652. 30 domestic] domestical S.

kingdoms, yet we may at least therein discern both the
 judgement of this Prometheus concerning ourselves, and
 the tender affection he carried to that oppressed nation;
 which respect of his they again so well understood as
 after his death the States of Zeeland became suitors to 5
 her Majesty and his noble friends that they might have
 the honour of burying his body at the public expense of
 their government--a memorable wisdom of thankfulness,
 by well handling the dead to encourage and multiply faith
 in the living. Which request, had it been granted, the 10
 reader may please to consider what trophies it is likely
 they would have erected over him for posterity to admire,
 and what inscriptions would have been devised for eter-
 nizing his memory--indeed, fitter for a great and
 brave nation to enlarge than the capacity or good will of 15
 a private and inferior friend.

For my part I confess, in all I have here set
 down of his worth and goodness, I find myself still short
 of that honour he deserved, and I desired to do him: I
 must therefore content myself with this poor demonstration 20
 of homage, and so proceed to say somewhat of the toys or
 pamphlets which I inscribe to his memory as monuments of
 true affection between us, whereof, you see, death hath
 no power.

1 therein discern] discern therein J,S. 4 understood]
 understood, and so highly valued J,S. 6 that] [if del.]
 /that/ S. 7 expense] expenses J,S. 8 government]
 governments S. 9 by] which by J,S. dead] dea[<..>
 altered to del] J; death S. to...multiply] encourageth
 and multiplies J,S. 12 have] have [set up del.] T.
 14 fitter] far fitter J,S. 15 or good will] om. T.
 16 and] om. J,S. 17 my T,J,S: my own 1652. in...have]
 in all that I J; that in all I S. 19 desired] desire
 J,S. 21 homage] [happiness del.] homage T. or] and T.

CHAPTER XIV

When my youth, with favour of court in some moderate proportion to my birth and breeding, in the activeness of that time gave me opportunity of most business, then did my yet undiscouraged genius most affect to find or make work for itself; and, out of that freedom, 5 having many times offered my fortune to the course of foreign employments as the properest forges to fashion a subject for the real services of his sovereign, I found the returns of those misplaced endeavours to prove both a vain charge to myself, and an offensive undertaking to 10 that excellent governess over all her subjects' duties and affections.

For instance, how mild soever those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely lady, yet, to show that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, 15 I will only choose and allege four out of many; some with leave, some without.

First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's and the Duke Casimir's were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparations, being 20 shipped at Dover with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I stayed by a princely mandate--the messenger, Sir Edward Dyer. Wherein whatsoever I felt, yet I appeal to the judicious reader whether there be any latitude left--more than humble obedience--in these nice cases

1 with] which S. of] at T. 2 in] with J,S. 7 employ-
ments] employment J. properest T,J,S: propriest 1652.
forges] forces S. 8 his] their S. 9 misplaced] amiss-
placed J,S. both a] om. J,S. 10 myself] me J,S.
11 excellent] home-born J,S. over...subjects'] of our
J,S. 13 For] Now for J,S. 14 favours] favour J,S.
14-15 yet...ends] yet that they (like mischance) fell
heavy upon me J,S. 15 they] the T. 16 four] four
instances J,S. 19 John's] John T. Casimir's] Casimir's
[m^r horses with all other preparation del.] T. 20 other]
their J,S. 21 her] om. S. 23 yet] om. S. 24 there]
om. S.

between duty and selfness in a sovereign's service.

After this, when Master Secretary Walsingham was sent ambassador to treat with those two princes in a business so much concerning Christian blood and Christian empires, then did the same irregular motion (which seldom rests, but steals where it cannot trade) persuade me that whosoever would venture to go without leave was sure never to be stayed. Upon which false axiom--trusting the rest to chance--I went over with Master Secretary unknown, but at my return was forbidden her presence for many months. 5 10

Again, when my lord of Leicester was sent General of her Majesty's forces into the Low Countries, and had given me the command of an hundred horse, then I, giving my humours over to good order, yet found that neither the earnest intercession of this grandee, seconded with my own humble suit and many other honourable friends of mine, could prevail against the constant course of this excellent lady with her servants, so as I was forced to tarry behind. And for this importunity of mine to change my course, and seem to prefer anything before my service about her, this princess of government as well as kingdoms made me live in her court a spectacle of disfavour, too long as I conceived. 15 20

Lastly, the universal fame of a battle to be fought between the prime forces of Henry the Third and the religious of Henry the Fourth, then King of Navarre, lifting me yet once more above this humble earth of duty, made me resolve to see the difference between kings present and absent in their martial expeditions; so that, without acquainting any creature (the Earl of Essex 25

1 in...service] om. J,S. service] [safety del.] service
 T. 5 motion] ambition J,S. 8 stayed] taxed T. 12 sent]
 sent to be J,S. 13 into] in J,S. 14 an hundred] 100 J,
 S. 15 my humours] humour J,S. good order] order, and
 assured (as I thought) to obtain leave [leave om. S] by
 his credit J,S. yet] yet then J,S. 16 my T,J,S: mine
 1652. 17 of mine] om. J,S. 20 importunity] opportunity
 S. 21 seem] therein seem J,S. anything T,J,S: nothing
 1652. 22 princess] prince J,S. of...kingdoms] as well
 of government as of kingdoms T; of government J,S.
 25 Henry the Third] H: 3 T; Henry the 3^d J; Henry 3 S.
 26 Henry the Fourth] H: 4 T; Henry the 4th J; Henry 4 S.

excepted), I shipped myself over, and at my return was kept from her presence full six months, and then received after a strange manner. For this absolute princess, to sever ill example from grace, avers my going over to be a secret employment of hers, and all these other petty exiles a making good of that cloud or figure which she was pleased to cast over my absence; protecting me to the world with the honour of her employment rather than she would for example's sake be forced either to punish me farther, or too easily forgive a contempt or neglect in a servant so near about her, as she was pleased to conceive it. 5 10

By which many warnings I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to counsel; and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his sovereign's hand had placed it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from these larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and to bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty in such home services as were acceptable to my sovereign. 15 20

In which retired view, Sir Philip Sidney, that exact image of quiet and action (happily united in him, and seldom well divided in any), being ever in my eyes, made me think it no small degree of honour to imitate or tread in the steps of such a leader; so that to sail by 25

2 full] om. S. 3 princess T,J,S: prince 1652. 6 or... was] she J,S. 7 over] upon J,S. 7-12 protecting...it] protecting me with honour rather than she would either for example's sake punish me farther, or forgive contempt or [and S] neglect in a servant so near about her J,S. 8 the] om. T. 9 be...either] either be forced T; [for J,S see above]. 10 farther] further T. 13 By which] Now by these J,S. the] these J,S. 14 to] om. J,S. than] the T. 18 his] the T,S. placed T,J,S: planted 1652. 19 contract...from] retract J,S. these T,J,S: those 1652. 19-20 but...of] horizons in J,S. 20 to T: om. 1652; sought to J,S. 21 in] with J,S. 22 services] services and sacrifices J,S. 23 In...retired] Now in this J,S. Sidney] om. S. 24 quiet] quiet/ness/ S. 25 my T,J,S: mine 1652. 27 tread] [thr del.] tread S. 27-p.93,1 so...one] and is shortly one J; and is [shurtly del.] /surely/ one S.

his compass was shortly (as I said) one of the principal reasons
 I can allege which persuaded me to steal minutes of time
 from my daily services, and employ them in this kind of
 writing. Since my declining age it is true that I had
 for some years more leisure to discover their imperfec- 5
 tions than care or industry to amend them; finding in my-
 self what all men complain of in the world, that it is
 more easy to find fault, excuse or tolerate than to ex-
 amine and reform.

The works, as you see, are tragedies, with some 10
 treatises annexed. The treatises, to speak truly of them,
 were first intended to be for every act a chorus, and
 though not born out of the present matter acted, yet--
 being the largest subjects I could then think upon, and
 no such strangers to the scope of the tragedies but that 15
 a favourable reader might easily find some consanguinity
 between them--I, preferring this general scope of profit
 before the self-reputation of being an exact artisan in
 that poetical mystery, conceived that a perspective into
 vice, and the unprosperities of it, would prove more 20
 acceptable to every good reader's ends than any bare
 murmur of discontented spirits against the present
 government, or horrible periods of exorbitant passions
 among equals.

With which humble sails, after I had once 25
 ventured upon this spreading ocean of images, my apprehen-
 sive youth, for lack of a well-touched compass, did
 easily wander beyond proportion. And in my old age again,
 looking back upon them with a father's eye, when I con-
 sidered, first, how poorly the inward natures of those

3 daily services] service J,S. this] these T. 4 writing]
 writings T. 8 or] or altered to and [or vice versa] J;
 and S. 10 see] / [see del.] ma; read/ S. 11 the treatises]
 the treaties S. 13 though] that T. 14 subjects] subject
 T. 16 easily find] well find out J,S. 17 between]
 betwixt J,S. 18 self-reputation] safe reputation T.
 exact] om. J,S. 19 poetical] om. J,S. conceived that]
 conceived T. perspective] prospect J,S. 20 unpros-
 perities] unprosperity S. 21 good] om. J,S. 22 the T,J,
 S: their 1652. 25 With which T,J,S: Which with 1652.
 25-26 once ventured] ventured once T. 27 youth] /youth/
 [yo/uth/ del.] S. 29 upon T,J,S: on 1652.

glorious names were expressed; then, how much easier it was to excuse deformities than to cure them--though I found reason to change their places, yet I could not find in my heart to bestow cost or care in altering their light and limited apparel in verse.

5

From hence, to come particularly to that treatise entitled The Declination of Monarchy; let me beg leave of the favourable reader to bestow a few lines more in the story of this changeling than I have done in the rest, and yet to use no other serious authority than the rule of Diogenes, which was to hang the poesy where there is most need.

10

The first birth of that phantasm was divided into three parts with intention of the author to be disposed amongst their fellows into three diverse acts of the tragedies: but (as I said before) when upon a second review they and the rest were all ordained to change their places, then did I, like an old and fond parent unlike to get any more children, take pains rather to cover the dandled deformities of these creatures with a coat of many seams than carelessly to drive them away as birds do their young ones.

15

20

Yet again, when I had in mine own case well weighed the tenderness of that great subject, and consequently the nice path I was to walk in between two extremities, but especially the danger--by treading aside--to cast scandal upon the sacred foundations of monarchy, together with the fate of many metaphysical Phormios before me who had lost themselves in teaching kings and princes how to govern their people--then did this new

25

30

2 was] was (as I said) J,S. excuse] execute S. to cure] [excus ~~del.~~] cure T. 3 I could] could I J,S. 4 cost] costs S. 5 in] of J,S. 6 From...come] From hence to come [to that ~~del.~~] T; Now to come more J,S. 7 beg] entreat J,S. 10 no] none S. other T,J,S: more 1652. serious] /serious/ S. 11 was] is T. 13 that] the J,S. 15 diverse] divers T,S. 17 and] and all T. all ordained] ordained T; ordered J,S. 18 old and fond] old fond [possibly hyphenated] T. 20 dandled...creatures] deformities of these dandled creatures J,S. 23 mine] my S. 24 great] om. J,S. 25-26 extremities] extremes T. 28 metaphysical] metaphorical T; om. J,S. 29 before...had] who had already J,S. 30 how] om. J,S. new] /new/ J.

prospect dazzle mine eyes, and suspend my travail for a time.

But the familiar self-love which is more or less born in every man, to live and die with him, presently moved me to take this bear-whelp up again and lick it. Wherein I, rousing my spirits under the banner of this flattery, went about as a fond mother to put on richer garments in hope to adorn them. But while these clothes were in making I perceived that cost would but draw more curious eyes to observe deformities; so that from these checks a new counsel rose up in me, to take away all opinion of seriousness from these perplexed pedigrees, and to this end carelessly cast them into that hypocritical figure ironia wherein men (commonly to keep above their works) seem to make toys of the uttermost they can do.

And yet again, in that confusing mist, when I beheld this grave subject which should draw reverence and attention to be over-spangled with lightness, I forced in examples of the Roman gravity and greatness, the harsh severity of the Lacedemonian government, the riches of the Athenian learning, wit and industry, and, like a man that plays divers parts upon several hints, left all these indigested crudities equally applied to kings or tyrants: whereas, in every clear judgement, the right line had been sufficient enough to discover the crooked if the image of it could have proved credible to men.

Now for the several branches or discourses following, they are all members of one and the same imperfect body, so as I let them take their fortune (like

1 travail ed: travel 1652, T, J, S. 4 born...him] in every man, and born in them that live, and die with them J, S. 5 take] take up T. up] om. T. 6 my spirits T, J, S: myself 1652. 11 to] which was to J, S. 12 these] those proud J, S. 13 to...end] om. J, S. that] the S. 14-15 men (commonly...works) J, S: men commonly (to keep above their works) 1652; commonly men to keep above their works) T. 15-16 uttermost T, J, S: utmost 1652. 17 yet again] om. J, S. mist] mist again J, S. 18 and] to S. 19 be] be thus J, S. 23 these T, J, S: the 1652. 24 indigested] undigested T. 28 or discourses] om. T, J, S. 30 fortune T, J, S: fortunes 1652. like] as J, S.

essays) only to tempt and stir up some more free genius
to fashion the whole frame into finer moulds for the
world's use: the first limb of these treatises--I mean
that fabric of a superstitious Church--having, by her
masterful ambition over emperors, kings, princes, free 5
states and councils, with her conclave deceits, strengths
and unthankfulness spread so far beyond my horizon as I
at once gave over her and all her derivatives to Gama-
liel's infallible censure; leaving laws, nobility, war,
peace and the rest (as glorious trophies of our old pope, 10
the sin) to change, reform or become deformed according
as vanity, that limitless mother of those idolatries,
should either win of the truth, or the truth of them.

Lastly, concerning the tragedies themselves,
they were in their first creation three, whereof Antony 15
and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions in
foresaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed
in the fire; the executioner, the author himself, not
that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother
to the rest, but lest, while he seemed to look over-much 20
upward, he might stumble into the astronomer's pit: many
members in that creature (by the opinion of those few
eyes which saw it) having some childish wantonness in
them apt enough to be construed or strained to a per-
sonating of vices in the present governors and govern- 25
ment.

From which cautious prospect I, bringing into
my mind the ancient poets' metamorphosing man's reasonable

2 moulds T,J,S: mould 1652. 3 these treatises T,J:
those treaties 1652; these treaties S. 4 superstitious]
superstitious outward J,S. 6 her] the J,S. 7-8 I...
gave] made me at once give J,S. 8 derivatives T,J,S:
derivations 1652. 10-12 and...vanity] and (for [(and
for S] the most part glorious trophies of her Pope) the
sin to change, reform or become deformed according as
Rome J,S. 12 those idolatries T: these idolatries 1652;
theirs J,S. 13 them] her J,S. 14 Lastly] Now J,S.
17 empire] empires S. follow] become followers of J,S.
18 in T,J,S: to 1652. fire] [fire del.] fire T.
22 members] [creatures del.] members T. 23 which] that
T. some] om. J,S. 24 construed...to] construed for J;
construed S. 28 man's] of man's T.

nature into the sensitive of beasts or vegetative of plants,
 and knowing these all, in their true moral, to be but
 images of the unequal balance between humours and times,
 nature and place; and again, in the practice of the world,
 seeing the like instance not poetically, but really, 5
 fashioned in the Earl of Essex then falling (and ever
 till then worthily beloved both of Queen and people)--
 this sudden descent of such a greatness, together with
 the quality of the actors in every scene, stirred up the
 author's second thoughts to be careful, in his own case, 10
 of leaving fair weather behind him, he having, in the
 Earl's precipitate fortune, curiously observed how long
 that nobleman's birth, worth and favour had been flattered,
 tempted and stung by a swarm of sect-animals whose proper-
 ty was to wound and fly away, and so, by a continual 15
 affliction, probably enforce great hearts to turn and
 toss for ease, and, in those passive postures, perchance
 to tumble sometimes upon their sovereign's circles.

Into which pitfall of theirs when they had once
 discerned this Earl to be fallen, straight, under the 20
 reverend style of laesa majestas, all inferior ministers
 of justice, they knew, would be justly let loose to work
 upon him. And accordingly, under the same cloud, his ene-
 mies took audacity to cast libels abroad in his name
 against the state, made by themselves; set papers upon 25
 posts to bring his innocent friends in question; his
 power, by the Jesuitical craft of rumour, they made
 infinite, and his ambition more than equal to it; his
 letters to private men were read openly by the piercing

2 these] them J,S. 6 ever] even J,S. 8 a T,J,S: om.
 1652. 11 he] om. J,S. 12 how T,J,S: first, how 1652.
 13 that nobleman's T: this nobleman's 1652; his J,S.
 15 was] being J,S. fly] to flee T. and so...a] by
 J,S. 16 affliction] infliction S. probably] must
 probably J,S. 17 and] and so J,S. 17-18 perchance
 ...upon] tumble sometimes into J; tumble into S.
 19 of theirs] om. J,S. 21 reverend] revered S. laesa
majestas] laesa majestatis T. 22-25 justice...papers]
 justice are let loose to work and move [move and work
 S] upon him; libels cast abroad, in his name, against
 the state by his enemies; papers set J,S. 25 upon T,
 J,S: npon 1652. 27 they] om. J,S. 29 were] om. J,S.
 29-p.98,1 piercing eyes] peirce-eyes S.

eyes of an attorney's office, which warrants the construction of every line in the worst sense against the writer; myself, his kinsman and--while I remained about the Queen--a kind of remora (staying the violent course of that fatal ship and these wind-watching passengers, at least as his enemies imagined), abruptly sent away to guard a figurative fleet in danger of nothing but these prosopopeias of invisible rancour, and kept (as it were in a free prison) at Rochester till his head was off.

Before which sudden journey, casting mine eyes upon the catching court airs which I was to part from, I discerned my gracious sovereign to be every way so environed with these, not Jupiter's, but Pluto's, thunder-workers as it was impossible for her to see any light that might lead to grace or mercy, but many encouraging meteors of severity as against an unthankful favourite and traitorous subject, he standing by the law of England condemned for such. So that let his heart be (as in my conscience it was) free from this unnatural crime, yet these unreturning steps seemed well worth the observing, especially in the case of such a favourite as never put his sovereign to stand between her people and his errors, but here and abroad placed his body in the forefront against all that either threatened or assaulted her: and being no admiral, nor yet a creator of admirals (whereby fear or hope might have kept those temporary Neptunes in a kind of subjection to him), yet he freely ventured himself in all sea-actions of his time, as if he would war the greatness of envy, place and power with the greatness of worth

1 warrants T,J,S: warranteth 1652. 2 line T,J,S: time 1652. 3 remained] stayed J,S. 4 staying] hindering J,S. violent] om. S. 5 these] those T. 6-7 figurative] om. J,S. 8 as it were T,J,S: as 1652. 9 al om. S. 10 mine] my J. eyes] eyes (as I said) J,S. 11 which] om. T. 13 not...Pluto's] clouds and J,S. 15 lead] tend T. encouraging] enraging J; raging S. 20 well] to me J,S. 25 nor yet] nor to be J,S. 26 have kept] keep J,S. 27 freely ventured] freely adventured T; adventured J,S. 28-p.99,1 sea-actions...industry] sea-actions, seeming to war the greatness of place with his great worth and incomparable industry J,S. 28 his] that T. 29 envy, place] place, envy T.

and incomparable industry. Nevertheless he wanted not judgement to discern that whether they went with him, or tarried behind, they must probably prove unequal yoke-fellows in the one, or, in the other, passing curious and carping judges over all his public actions.

5

Again, this gallant young earl, created as it seems for action, before he was Marshal--first as a private gentleman, and after as a lieutenant by commission--went in the head of all our land troops that marched in his time; and, besides experience, still wan ground, even through competency, envy and confused mixtures of equality or inequality among the factious English, all inferior to his own active worth and merit.

10

Lastly, he was so far from affecting the absolute power of Henry the Third's favourites--I mean, under a king to become equal at least with him in creating and deposing Chancellors, Treasurers and Secretaries of Estate to raise a strong party for himself--as he left both places and persons entire in their supreme jurisdictions or magistracies under his sovereign as she granted them. And though he foresaw a necessary diminution of their peaceful predicaments by his carrying up the standard of Mars so high, and withal knew they, like wise men, must as certainly discern that the rising of his, or falling of their, scales depended upon the prosperity or unprosperity of his undertakings, yet (I say) that active heart of his freely chose to hazard himself upon their censures without any other provisional rampire against

15

20

25

1-2 Nevertheless...that] So that J,S. 3-5 yoke-fellows ...actions] yoke-fellows, or at least envious judges of his public actions J,S. 5 public actions] actions public T. 6-7 this...action] om. J,S. 7 Marshal] Earl Marshall J,S. first] he first J,S. 10-11 even through] through all J,S. 11 and] or J,S. 12 among T,J,S: amongst 1652. 12-13 factious...merit ed: factious English, all inferior in his own active worth and merit 1652; English factions inferior to his own active worth and merit T; English J, S. 15 Henry the Third's] H: 3ds T. favourites] favour-ites in France J,S. 16 at...him] to a king J,S. 18 Estate T,J,S: State 1652. to] only to J,S. for] to J,S. 18-21 left...them] left all persons free and entire in their supreme magistracies J,S. 19 places T: place 1652. 25 falling] the falling T. of] of all J,S. 28 censures] censure S. 28-p.100,1 against...party] against selfness, envy or faction J,S.

the envious and suppressing crafts of that party than his own hope and resolution to deserve well.

Neither did he, like the French favourites of that time, serve his own humours or necessities by selling seats of justice, nobility or orders of honours till they became colliers pour toute bête, to the disparagement of creating power, and discouraging of the subject's hope or industry in attaining to advancement or profit; but suffered England to stand alone in her ancient degrees of freedoms and integrities, and so reserved that absolute power of creation sacred in his sovereign, without any mercenary stain or alloy. 5 10

1 that] om. T. 4 selling] filling T. 5 seats] places J,S. or] or selling J,S. honours T,J,S: honour 1652. 6 colliers] collars J,S. bête ed: beste 1652,T,J; ceste S. 7-8 hope...profit] hopes both in honour and profit J,S. 9 degrees of] om. J,S. 10 reserved] om. J,S. 11 sacred] om. J,S. 11-12 any...or] stop or J,S. alloy ed: allay 1652,T,J,S.

CHAPTER XV

Now, after this humble and harmless desire of a mean subject expressed in qualifying a great subject's errors by the circumstance of such instruments as naturally like bats both fly and prey in the dark, let the reader pardon me if I presume yet again to multiply digression upon digression in honour of her to whom I owe my self (I mean Queen Elizabeth), and in her name clearly to avow that though I lament the fall of this great man in Israel, nevertheless the truth enforceth me to confess that howsoever these kinds of high justice may sometimes (like the uttermost of the law) fall heavy upon one brave spirit, yet prove they mercy to many by example, and therefore, as legal and royal wisdoms, ought to be honoured equally in all the differing sovereignties through the world, of one, few or many.

And if this assumpsit must be granted universally, then how much more in the case of such a princess as (even while she was a subject) left patterns that might instruct all subjects rather to undergo the indignation of sovereigns with the birthright of duty than with the mutiny of over-sensible and rebellious affections which ever (like diseased pulses) beat faster or slower than they should, to show all to be infected about them; whereas this lady, in the like strains, by an humble and constant temper had already with true obedience triumphed over the curious examinations of ascending flattery or

1-2 a mean subject] mine J,S. 2 great] om. J,S. 3 the] a J,S. such] such [errors del.] T. 5 yet again] om. J,S. 8 to avow T: to know 1652; avow J,S. 9 enforceth] forceth T. 11 like...law] like the uttermost of law T; om. J,S. one] some J,S. 12 they] the T. example] example [& or &c possibly del.] S. 13 legal T,J,S: regal 1652. 14 equally] om. J,S. 15 through...world] om. J,S. 18 a T,J,S: om. 1652. patterns] a pattern J, S. 20 with] om. T. 21 mutiny] mutinies T,J,S. over-sensible] sensible J,S. 23 to...them] om. T,J,S. 24-26 in...curious] by an humble, constant [constraint altered to constant S.] temper triumphed over all the curious J,S. 24 and] and a T. 25 with...obedience] om. T. 26 curious] [constant streams del.] curious T. examinations] examination T.

descending tyranny, even in the tenderness of princes' successions?

And, to make this manifest to be choice and not chance, even when her stepmother misfortune grew ripe for delivery, then was she neither born crying, as children be, 5 nor yet, by the sudden change from a prison to a throne, came she upon that stage confusedly barking after all that had offended; but, like one born to behold true light, instantly fixeth her thoughts upon larger notions than revenge or favour, and, in the infancy of her reign, calls 10 for Bedingfield, her hard-hearted gaoler, bids him enjoy not a deserved, but free-given peace under his narrow vine, with this assurance, that whensoever she desired to have prisoners over-severely entreated, she would not forget to commit the custody of them to his charge. 15

Again, for the next object, looking backward upon her sister's reign, she observes religion to have been changed, persecution, like an ill weed, suddenly grown up to the highest, the mercy of the infinite pre- 20 scribed by abridgement of time and adding torments to the death of his creatures, salvation published in many more creeds than she was taught to believe--a double supremacy in one kingdom, Rome become emperor of the clergy, and, by bewitching the better half of man (I mean the soul), 25 challenging both over clergy and laity the style of the great God: Rex Regum, Dominus Dominantium.

This view brought forth in her a vow like that of the holy king's in the Old Testament, viz., that she would neither hope nor seek for rest in the mortal 30 traffic of this world till she had repaired the precipitate ruins of our Saviour's militant church through all

3-4 to make...even] om. J,S. 4 for] by S. 7 after] against T. 10 and...reign] om. J,S. 11 Bedingfield ed: Benefield 1652,T,J; Beningfield S. her] that J, S. 12 free-given] a free-given T,S. 14 entreated T,J,S: intreated 1652. 16 looking] she looks J,S. backward] back/ward/ S. 17 she] where she J,S. 18 ill] evil J,S. 19-20 prescribed T,J,S: perscribed 1652. 20 and] and in T. 26 great God] Grand Signior, or rather of the great God J,S. Regum] Regnum T; Regum, et J; Regum & S. 30 of] in J,S. 31 through] throughout S.

her dominions, and, as she hoped, in the rest of the world
 by her example. Upon which prince-like resolution, this
 she-David of ours ventured to undertake the great Goliath
 among the Philistines abroad (I mean Spain and the Pope),
 despiseth their multitudes not of men, but of hosts, 5
 scornfully rejects that holy father's wind-blown
 superstitions, and takes the almost solitary truth for
 her leading star.

Yet tears she not the lion's jaws in sunder at
 once, but moderately begins with her own changelings: 10
 gives the bishops a proper motion, but bounded; the
 nobility time to reform themselves with inward and out-
 ward counsel; revives her brother's laws for establishing
 of the church's doctrine and discipline, but moderates
 their severity of proceeding; gives frailty and sect time 15
 to reform at home, and in the mean-season supplies the
 Prince of Condé with men and money, as chief among the
 Protestants in France; gathers and relieves the scattered
 hosts of Israel at the worst; takes Newhaven, perchance
 with hope of redeeming Calais, to the end her axle- 20
 trees might once again lie upon both shores as her right
 did; refuseth marriage; reforms and redeems Queen Mary's
 vanities, who, first glorying in the Spanish seed,
 publisheth that she was with child, and instantly offers
 up that royal supposed issue of hers, together with the 25
 absolute government of all her natives, to the mixed
 tyranny of Rome and Castile. In which endless path of
 servitude the noun-adjective nature of this superstitious
 princess proceeds yet a degree further, striving to con-
 firm that double bondage of people and posterity by Act 30
 of Parliament; where, on the other side, the Spanish
 King, beholding these remiss homages of frailty with the

1-2 and...example] om. J,S. 2 prince-likel princely T.
 3 she-David] the David S. 4 among] amongst T. Spain
 and] om. J,S. 5 their] his J,S. 6 rejects T,J,S:
 rejecteth 1652. 6-8 that...star] the [[the del.] the
 S] wind-blown foundations of superstition, takes the
 (almost) solitary truth for her star J,S. 18 relieves
 T,J,S: revives 1652. 19 hosts] host S. Israel...
 takes] Israell, At the worst, takes S. 26 all] om. J,
 S. 28 this] that J,S. 29 proceeds T,J,S: proceeded
 1652. further] farther J,S. 30 that] this J,S.

unthankful and insatiable eyes of ambition, apprehends
 these petty sacrifices as fit straws, sticks or feathers
 to be pulled out of faint wings for the building up and
 adorning a conqueror's nest; and under this tyrannical
 crisis takes freedom to exhaust her treasure to his own
 ends, breaks our league with France, and in that breach
 shakes the sacred foundation of the rest, wins St.
 Quentin while we lost Calais. 5

Contrary to all which thought-bound counsels of
 her sister Mary, Queen Elizabeth (as I said), not yet
 out of danger of her Romish subjects at home, threatened
 with their mighty faction and party abroad, pestered
 besides with want of money and many binding laws of her
 sister's making, yet, like a palm under all these burdens,
 she raiseth herself prince-like, and, upon notice of her
 agent's disgrace abroad (his servants being put into the
 Inquisition by the Spaniard), her merchants surprised in
 America contrary to the league between Charles the Fifth
 and Henry the Eighth which gave free traffic in omnibus et
singulis regnis, dominiis, insulis (notwithstanding that
 astronomical, or rather biassed, division of the world by
 the Pope's lines, which, contrary to the nature of all
 lines, only keep latitude for the advantage of Spain)--
 she (I say), upon these insolencies, receives the Hollander,
 and protects him from the persecution of the Duke of Alva,
 settles these poor refugees in Norwich, Colchester,
 Sandwich, Maidstone and Southampton. 10 15 20 25

Yet again, when this faith-distinguishing duke
 appealed to herself, she, binding her heart for better or

1 insatiable] unsatiable T. 2 these...sacrifices]
 them J,S. straws, sticks] sticks, straws J,S.
 3-4 to...nest] to build or adorn a conqueror's nest with
 J,S. 4 a T: of a 1652. this] the S. 8 lost] lose J,S.
 10 Mary T,J,S: Mary's 1652. (as I said)] om. S. 11 her]
 the J,S. 12 faction] faction at home T. 14 these]
 [thes ~~del.~~] these S. 15 she] om. J,S. prince-like...
 upon] upon God, she takes J,S. 16 the] om. S.
 19 Eighth] Eight T,S. 20 dominiis, insulis] dominiis et
insulis J; et insulis S. 20-24 (notwithstanding...
 Hollander] and upon this insolvency of his (notwithstanding
 that astronomical division of the world by the Pope's
 lines, [(possibly del. S] which, contrary to the
 nature of all lines, only keep [keeps S] latitude to the
 advantage of Spain) she receives the Hollander J,S.
 25 from the T,J,S: from 1652. 26 these] those J,S.
 28 faith-distinguishing] faith-stretching J,S.

worse to the words of her contract, summons these
 afflicted strangers to depart. Their number was great,
 their time short, and yet their weather-beaten souls so
 sensible of long continued oppressions in their liberties
 and consciences as, by the opportunity of this ostracism, 5
 they in their passage surprised Brill, Flushing and divers
 other towns, expulsing the Spaniards; and by this brave
 example taught and proclaimed a way of freedom to all
 well-affected princes and provinces that were oppressed.

Wherein it may please the reader to observe that 10
 Henry the Third of France, being one in the same league,
 and, belike upon change of heart (which ever brings forth
 new questions), demanding whether "mutual defence against
 all" extended to the cause of religion, was presently
 answered by her that she both treated and concluded in the 15
 same sense, and, if it were required at her hands, would
 perform every branch of it to her uttermost. The French
 king hereupon makes war with the Protestants; Monsieur,
 his brother, secretly protects them by Casimir.

Again, about that time, at the request of the 20
 Spanish king, she guards his navy into Flanders, where,
 it being lost, and she requested by the same king to lend
 him her own ships for recovery of the maritime towns
 fallen from him, this blessed lady both denies this crafty
 request of a conqueror and withal providently refuseth any 25
 of his ships to be harboured in her ports. Yet, in honour
 of her ancient league with the house of Burgundy, she
 publisheth the like inhibition to her beloved and safe
 neighbours, the Netherlands; and instantly, with a strong
 judgement in balancing of foreign princes, persuades the 30
 King of Spain to make peace with the Hollanders, and, on
 the other side, dissuades those many ways distressed Hollanders

3 so] so [long del.] T. 4-5 in...conscienc[es] both in
 liberty and conscience J,S. 6 divers T: diverse 1652;
 many J,S. 8 freedom] liberty J,S. 9 that...oppressed]
om. J,S. 11 the Third] 3 T. 12 belike...(which]
 (belike...which J,S. 13 new] om. J,S. 14-15 presently...
 her] answered by her presently J,S. 17 her] the S.
 18 with] against J,S. 19 by] [from del.] by T. 29 the]
 of T. and] again J,S. 30 of] om. J,S. persuades] she
 persuaded J,S. 32 many ways T,J,S: om. 1652.

from joining with France--as I conceive, thinking that kingdom (manumised from us by time) might, through the conjunction of the Holland shipping and mariners with their disciplined land-armies of horse and foot, prove more dangerous enemies--either by way of invasion or incursion (as I said once before)--than that king's glorious standard, borne among his barbed horse and light foot, had hitherto done either in our enticed undertakings or abandoned retreats.

Besides, it is worthy of reverence in this queen that she was never afraid or ashamed to avow the quarrel of religion for a ground of her friends or enemies; and though, in the charity of a Christian prince even in the danger of a growing faction at home, she was content to let devout conscience live quietly in her realms, yet, when they began to practise disunion in the Church, as their Jesuited spirits naturally affect to do, then, to show that she was as well servant to God as by him king over peoples, she tied the head of the sacrifice perchance a little closer to the horns of the altar, and made those spirits which would not know the true God altogether, to have some kind of sense or smart of his religious laws, howsoever they were dead and sacrificed to the growing supremacy of the Roman mitre or conquering sceptre of Spain, ordained (as she thought), by excess of playing fast or loose with God and the world, in time one to devour the other--ambitious and superstitious subtleties being an abyss or sea where the stronger infallibly devours the weaker. She makes a

1 thinking] in her princely wisdom thinking J,S.
 2 by] in T. 3 the Holland] Holland's T. 4 of...
 foot] om. J,S. 5 enemies] enemies unto us J,S.
 way] the way J,S. 5-6 invasion or incursion]
 invasion T; incursion or invasion J,S. 7-8 his
 ...had] his horse, hath J,S. 10 worthy of rever-
 ence] worth the observing J,S. 11 was never T,J,
 S: never was 1652. avow T,J,S: aver 1652. 12 her]
om. J,S. 13-29 and...weaker] om. J,S. 14 home]
 home especially buttressed with such strong parties
 abroad T. 16 yet] yea T. they] the T. the T:
om. 1652. 21 which] that T. 27 the other] another
 T. and] om. T. 29 She] Hereupon she T; To which
 end she J,S.

public league for defence of religion with the King of Scots,
Denmark and the princes of Germany; persuades a marriage
between Scotland and Denmark; exileth all Jesuits and
seminary priests by Act of Parliament; makes it felony to
harbour any of them in England, or for the English to send 5
any of theirs beyond the seas to be trained up among them.

Upon the loss of Antwerp she resolutely under-
takes the protection of the Netherlanders, and, to distract
the Spaniard (as I said before), sends Drake to the West 10
Indies with one-and-twenty ships, who surprised Domingo
and Cartagena; and immediately after his return with spoil
and triumph, to prevent all possibility of invasion, she
sets him to sea again with commission to burn all ships,
galleys and boats along his Spanish coasts; who in the same
voyage breaks through divers of his galleys in the Bay of 15
Cadiz appointed to withstand him; takes, burns or drowns
one hundred sail laden with munition and victuals; from
thence, in his way to Cape St. Vincent, he surpriseth
three forts, burns ships, fisher-boats and nets; and then
making for the Azores, he there takes a carrack coming 20
from the East Indies. The next year (as treading in his
steps) Cavendish returns from his voyage about the world
with the spoil of nineteen ships and of many small towns in
America.

This and suchlike providence did this miracle 25
of princes use in all her wars; whereby her wars main-
tained her wealth, and that wealth supplied her war, so
as she came ever in state when she demanded aid from her
House of Commons. Neither did she fetch or force prece-
dents from her predecessors in those demands, but made 30
herself a precedent to all posterities, that the love of

1 religion] it J,S. Scots,] om. J,S. 2 and] om. J,S.
Germany] Germany and the King of Scots J,S. 3 between]
betwixt J,S. Scotland] him J,S. 5 harbour] [H del.]
harbour T. 6 seas] sea T. 7 Upon] After T. 8 Nether-
landers] Netherlands J,S. 10 one-and-twenty T,J,S: 21
1652. 13 again...burn] again. He burns J,S. 14 his]
the J,S. who] and J,S. 15 divers of T: diverse of
1652; om. J,S. in] into S. 16 Cadiz J,S: Cales 1652;
[Callice del.] Cales T. or T,J: and 1652,S. 17 one
hundred J,S: 100 1652,T. 18 to] from T. Cape T,J,S:
Capo 1652. 20 Azores] Azones S. 22 voyage T,J,S:
journey 1652. 23 spoil] spoils T 25 providence] provi-
dences J,S. 31 of] of a T.

people to a loving princess is not ever cautiously balanced
by the self-pitying abilities of mankind, but, their
spirits, hearts and states being drawn up above their own
frail selfness, the audit is taken after, and perchance
summed up with a little smart to themselves, wherein they 5
glory.

Neither did she, by any curious search after
evidence to enlarge her prerogatives royal, teach her
subjects in Parliament, by the like self-affections, to
make as curious inquisition among their records to colour 10
any encroaching upon the sacred circles of monarchy, but
left the rise or fall of these two balances asleep with
those aspiring spirits who--by advantage of state or time
taken--had been authors of many biassed motions, and, in
some confused Parliaments amongst the Barons' Wars, even 15
forced her ancestors with one breath to proscribe and
restore; to call out of the House of Commons by writ to
the Upper House during the session, wherein one man's
sudden advancement proves envious to four hundred of his
equals; and, from the same not truly active, but rather 20
passive vein, to imprison and release unjudicially, some-
times striving to master the multitude by their nobility,
then again waiving the nobility with the multitude of
people--both marks of disease, and no healthful state in
a monarchy. All which she providently foresaw and avoided, 25
lest, by the like insensible degrees of misleading
passions, she might be constrained to descend, and labour
the compassing of disorderly ends by a mechanical kind of
university canvass.

1 ever] om. S. cautiously T,J,S: curiously 1652. 3 own]
om. J,S. 4 frail] om. T. 7 by] after T. 8 prerogatives]
prorogative J,S. 13 who--by ed: who (by 1652,J,S; who
by (T. 14 taken] om. J,S. many] these T; their S.
15 even] having J,S. 16 proscribe] prescribe S.
18 session, wherein] ressession, where T. 20-21 and...
vein] om. J,S. 21-22 sometimes T,J,S: sometime 1652.
22 multitude] [rules del.] multitude T. their] /their/ S.
23 then] and then T. again waiving] balancing J,S. the
nobility] their nobility T. with] again by J,S.
23-24 of people] om. J,S. 24 both] all J,S. 25 All] om.
J,S. foresaw and] om. J,S. 27 passions] passions in
over-trusted creatures J,S. 28 disorderly] disordered S.
mechanical...of] kind of mechanical S.

So that this blessed and blessing lady with a
 calm mind, as well in quiet as stirring times, studied how
 to keep her ancient under-earth buildings upon their first
 well-laid foundations, and, if she found any strayed,
 rather to reduce them back to their original circuits 5
 than suffer a step to be made over or besides those time-
 authorised assemblies; and by this reservedness
 ever coming upon the stage a commander and no petitioner,
 she preserved her state above the affronts of nobility or
 people, and, according to birthright, still became a 10
 sovereign judge over any doubtful or encroaching petitions
 of nobles or commons. For this lady, though not propheti-
 cally, yet like a provident princess, in the series of
 things and times foresaw, through the long-lasting wisdom
 of government (a quintessence, howsoever abstracted out of 15
 moral philosophy and human laws, yet many degrees in use of
 mankind above them)--she (I say) foresaw that every excess
 of passion expressed from the monarch in Acts or Counsels
 of Estate would infallibly stir up in the people the like
 cobwebs of a popular spinning, and therefore from these 20
 piercing grounds she concluded that a steady hand in the
 government of sovereignty would ever prove more prosperous
 than any nimble or witty practice, crafty shifting, or
 imperious forcing humours possibly could do.

Again, in the latitudes which some modern 25
 princes allow to their favourites as supporters of govern-
 ment and middle walls between power and the people's envy, it
 seems this queen reservedly kept entrenched within her

1 So that] Where J,S. 2 stirring] in stirring T. 3 keep]
 keep all J,S. first] om. J,S. 4 strayed] stray J,S.
 5 original] own first J,S. 6 al] any new J,S. or...those]
 those T; these J,S. 7-8 and...and no] whereby, as being
 no J,S. 8 petitioner T,J,S: petitionet 1652. 9 preserved]
 kept J,S. or] and J,S. 10 birthright...became] her
 birth J,S. 11 any...petitions T: any dutiful...petitions
 1652; the petitions J,S. 12 of...commons] of both J,S.
 13 series] course J,S. 14 and times] om. J,S. the] that
 J,S. 16 human] human [<.> del.] S. use] the use J,S.
 17 she...foresaw] om. J,S. 20 popular] peoples J,S.
 therefore] om. J,S. 23-24 witty...forcing] wily practise
 of crafty, imperious shifting or forcing T; witty prac-
 tise of shifting J,S. 24 possibly could] could possibly
 J; could possible S. 25-p.110,1 Again...sceptre] om. J,S.
 27 between] [betw del.] [] between T.

native strengths and sceptre. For, even in the height of
 Essex his credit with her, how far was she from permitting
 him, like a Remus, to leap over any wall of her new-built
 anti-Rome, or, with a young and unexperienced genius, to
 shuffle pulpits, parliaments, laws and other fundamental 5
 establishments of her kingdoms into any glorious appear-
 ances of will or power: it should seem foreseeing that
 howsoever this unexpected racking of people might, for a
 time, in some particulars both please, and add a glossy
 stick to enlarge the eagle's nest, yet that, in the end, 10
 all buildings above the truth must necessarily have forced
 her two supremacies of state and nature to descend, and,
 through irregularities acted in her name, either become a
 sanctuary between the world and inferior persons' errors,
 or (as playing an after-game with her subjects for a 15
 subject) constrain her to change the tenor of commanding
 power into a kind of unprincely mediation--and for what?
 Even vainly to entreat her people that they would hope
 well of divers confusions, howsoever they might seem
 heady, nay ignorant, passions, and such as threaten no 20
 less than a loss of native liberties descended upon her
 people by the same prescription of time and right by which
 the crown had descended upon herself and her ancestors,
 with a probable consequence of many more sharp-pointed
 tyrannies over them and their freedoms than their happily 25

1 strengths] strength T. For] Again J,S. 2 permitting]
 putting J,S. 5 other] other [established del.] T. 7 it
 ...seem] as still J,S. foreseeing T,J,S: a foreseeing
 1652. 8 of people] om. J,S. 9 add] perchance add J,S.
 13 through] though T. 13-14 acted...errors] acted by a
 subject in her name, either to become a middle wall
 between the world and his errors J,S. 15 or] om. S.
 16-17 constrain...what] change the tenor of commanding
 into mediation, and of what kind J,S. 16 of] of [making
del.] T. 18 vainly T,J,S: vanity 1652. people] vassals
 J,S. hope] vouchsafe to hope J,S. 19 divers T: diverse
 1652; many J,S. 19-20 confusions...heady] confusions
 brought upon them by one man's heady J,S. 20 ignorant]
 ig[rant S. 20-p.111,1 and...of] and threatening no less
 than, by degrees, a loss of all native liberties descend-
 ed upon them by the same right and prescription by which
 the crown descended upon their blessed sovereign, and
 consequently a [a om. S] yielding to have a more sharp-
 pointed monarchy reigning over them than their happily
 dead parents ever yet tasted of J,S. 20 threaten]
 threatened T. 21 a] the T. 23 and...ancestors] om. T.
 25 tyrannies] tyrannies to reign T.

deceased parents ever tasted or dreamt of.

Besides, admit these flatterings and threatenings
of hope or fear--which transcendent power is sometimes
forced to work by--could have drawn this excellent
princess and her time-present subjects to make brass an 5
equally current standard with gold or silver within her
sea-compassed dominions, yet abroad, where the freedom of
other sovereignties is bounded with religion, justice and
well-weighed commerce amongst neighbour princes, she fore-
saw the least thought of multiplying self-prerogatives, 10
there would instantly be discredited, and reflected back
to stir up discouragement in the softest hearts of her
most humble and dutiful subjects. Therefore, contrary to
all these captived and captiving appearances, this
experienced governess of ours published to the world by a 15
constant series in her actions that she never was, nor
never would be, overladen with any such excesses in her
person or defects in her government as might constrain her
to support, or be supported by, a monopolous use of
favourites, as if she would make any greater than herself 20
to govern tyrannically by them.

Nay more, so far off was she from any luke-
warmness in religion as (if a single testimony may have
credit) that blessed queen's many and free discourses
with myself ingenuously bare record: that the unexpected 25
conversion of Henry the Fourth fell fatally upon him by

2 Besides] But T; Now, gentle reader J,S. flatterings
and threatenings] flattering and [[and del.] and S]
threatening forces J,S. 3 hope] the hope S. or] and T.
3-4 power...by] power and wit do often strive to work
the people by J,S. 4 drawn] [draw<..> del.] /drawn/ T.
5 princess] queen J,S. 8 with T,J,S: by 1652. 10 thought]
intent J,S. self-prerogatives] prerogatives S. 11 there]
therein corrected to there T. discredited] discovered,
discredited T; discovered J,S. 12 discouragement] murmur
J,S. 12-13 softest...subjects] soft hearts even of the
humblest people J,S. 14 all] om. T. 15 of ours] om. J,
S. 16 in] in all T,J,S. 17 never T,J: ever 1652; om. S.
excesses] excess J,S. 18 defects] defect J,S. 20 favour-
ites] any favourite J,S. any] him J,S. 21 by them] or
over-imperiously by him, and to that end give him a being
(like heteroclites in grammar) above or besides all the
ancient rules of good government J,S. 22-p.113,9 Nay...
bow] om. J,S. 25 ingenuously ed: ingeniously 1652,T.

the weaknesses of his predecessor, Henry the Third, and
 the dissolute miscarriage of his favourites, who, like
 lapwings with the shells of authority about their necks,
 were let loose to run over all the branches of his king-
 dom, misleading governors, nobility and people from the 5
 steady and mutual rest of laws, customs and other
 ancient wisdoms of government into the wildernesses of
 ignorance and violence of will. Amongst which defects,
 all fundamental changes--especially of religion--in
 princes would be found, as she conceived, the true disci- 10
 pline of atheism amongst their subjects, all sacrifices
 --obedience excepted--being but dear-bought knowledges of
 the Serpent to expulse kings and people once again out of
 mediocrity, that reciprocal paradise of mutual human
 duties: prophetically concluding that whosoever will 15
 sell God to purchase earth by making that eternal unity
 of many shapes, must, in the end, make Him of none, and so
 be forced with loss, contempt and danger to traffic not
 for an heir's place, but a younger brother's, in that
 Church at whose wide gates he had, with shame enough, 20
 already turned in, and, under conditions of a servant
 rather than of a son, be constrained--for his first step--to
 set up the Jesuit's faction providently suppressed by
 himself before, and therein to shake the Sorbonists,
 faithful supporters in all times of crown-sovereignty 25
 against these slave-making conjunctions between the
 Spaniard and his chaplain; nay, yet with a greater show
 of ingratitude, his next step must be to suppress those
 humble souls who had long supported him, whilst he was
 King of Navarre, against that murdering holy-water of 30
 Spanish Rome; lastly, to show that no power can rest upon
 a steep, he must precipitately be forced to send ambassa-
 dors to Rome, with his sword in his scabbard servilely

1 his predecessor] om. T. 2 miscarriage] carriage T.
 4 run] come [possibly] come] T. 6 rest] rests T.
 8 violence] violences T. defects] deserts T. 11 their]
 other T. 12 excepted] being excepted T. 16 earth]
 the earth T. 18 to] of T. 19 an heir's] a coheir's
 T. but] [and del.] but T.

begging mercy and grace of such reconciled enemies whose endless ends of spiritual and temporal supremacy, this princess knew, would never forgive any heavenly truth or earthly power that should oppose their combination.

Finally, she concluded that hollow Church of Rome to be of 5
such a Bucephalus nature as no monarch shall be ever able
to bestride it except only the stirring Alexanders of
times present, wherein the world is passing finely over-
shot in her own bow.

Wherefore, to end, as I began, with the case of 10
Essex: was not this excellent princess therein a witness
to herself that she never chose or cherished favourite--
how worthy soever--to monopolise over all the spirits and
business of her kingdom, or to imprison the universal 15
counsels of nature and state within the narrowness of a
young frail man's lustful or unexperienced affections;
not thinking anyone, especially a subject, better able to
do all than herself? Whence, like a worthy head of a
great body, she left the offices and officers of the
crown free to govern in their own predicaments according 20
to her trust, reserving appeals to herself--as a sea-mark
--to warn all creatures under her that she had still a
creating or defacing power inherent in her crown and
person above those subaltern places by which she did
minister universal justice; and though her wisdom was too 25
deep to nurse or suffer faction amongst those great com-
manders and distributors of public rights, yet was she as

5 hollow] holy T. 8 times T: time 1652. passing] om. T.
10-11 Wherefore...witness] Nay, even beyond this, and
even [even om. S] in the same case of Essex, was she not
still a princess, witness J,S continuing from p.111,21.
12 chose or] om. J,S. favourite] favourite, as I said J,
S. 13 over] om. J,S. 14 business] businesses T. or]
and S. 15 state] states S. 15-16 a young, frail] one J,
S. 16 or unexperienced] om. J,S. 17-18 not...herself]
om. J,S. 18 Whence T: Where 1652; But J,S. 19 she] om.
J,S. 21 her] [their del.] /her/ T. trust] trus<.> T;
trust committed to them J,S. reserving] reserved all J,
S. 22 to...her] warning them and all her creatures J,S
[creatures as a catchword only in J]. 23-25 her...
justice] her above them J,S. 25 was] were J,S. 26 faction]
conspiracy or faction J,S. amongst] among J,S. those]
these J,S. 26-27 commanders and] commanders and [minis-
ters of justice del.] T; ministers or J,S. 27 rights]
justice J,S.

careful not to permit any aristocratical cloud or pillar
to show or shadow forth any superstitious or false lights
between her and her people.

2-3 show...people] stand between her throne and her
loving people J,S. 2 superstitious] suspicious T.

CHAPTER XVI

Again, in her household affairs she kept the like equal hand balancing the sloth or sumptuousness of her great stewards and white-staves with the providence and reservedness of a Lord Treasurer; kept up their tables for servants, suitors and for honour's sake in her own house, not suffering public places to be made particular farms of private men, or the honour of her household to be carried into theirs; and, withal, by the same reverend auditor, she watched over the nimble spirits, self-seekings or large-handedness of her active Secretaries, examining their intelligence-money, packets, bills of transportation, propositions of state which they offered up by their places, together with suits of other natures --in her wisdom still severing the deep businesses from the specious but narrow selfness of inferior officers. Besides, all these were examined by reverend magistrates who, having been formerly issuers of her Majesty's treasure in the Secretaries' places, did now worthily become governors of her finances, as best able to judge between the selfness of place or person and the real necessities of her state and kingdom: a fine art of government, by well-chosen ministers successively to wall in her exchequer from the vast expense of many things, especially

2 hand T,J,S: hands 1652. sloth or] om. J,S. 3 great] om. J,S. 4 and] [of del.] and T. reservedness] sworn reservedness J,S. their T,J,S: the 1652. 6 be made] become J,S. 7-8 or...theirs] om. J,S. 9 she] om. J,S. 9-10 self-seekings or T: self-seeking or 1652; self-seekings and J,S. 11 intelligence-money ed: intelligence, money 1652; intelligence, money T,J,S. 12 transportation] transportation, natures of suits J,S. 12-22 offered... wall] offered. & By their superiors [underlined; S marks the end of a paragraph] walled J,S. 13 natures] nature T. 14 deep] real T. businesses T: business 1652. 21 by] [of del.] by T. 22-p.116,2 exchequer... nor] exchequer and kingdom from any vast expense upon foreign ambassadors, which manner of charge, she knew, rewarded not, but deceived and so never brought reverence or J,S.

upon foreign ambassadors, which, she knew, could neither bring reverence nor thankfulness to the sovereign.

Under which head of foreign and domestic ambassadors, the answer wherewith that majestical lady entertained the Polack--expected a treating ambassador, but 5
proving, as she told him, a defying herald--is never to be forgotten among princes as an instance how sensible they ought to be of indignity, and how ready to put off such sudden affronts without any prompting of counsellors; again worthily memorable among her subjects as a 10
demonstrative argument that she would still reserve Moses' place entire to herself amongst all the distributions of Jethro.

And to go on with her domestic affairs, how provident was she--out of the like caution, and to the 15
same end--that even he who oversaw the rest might have his own greatness overseen and limited too: whereupon she forgot not to allay that vast power and jurisdiction of her Treasurer's office with inferior officers of her finances, and, perchance, under an active favourite's eyes kept her 20
own; besides, she watched and checked him in his marriage made with Paulet his predecessor, reserved that man's accompts and arrears as a rod over his grandchild's alliance, qualified and brought the fines of his many and great copyholds to easy rates, would never suffer any 25
proposition to take hold of uniting the Duchy of Lancaster

2 the T,J,S: their 1652. 3 and] or J,S. 5 Polack T,J,S: Polarke 1652. expected] expecting S. treating] creating S. 7 among] amongst T. 8 indignity] indignitie[s del.] S. 9 such] /such/ J. affronts] affronts and unreverent proceedings J,S. any T,J,S: a 1652. counsellors] counsels J,S. 10 again] and again T; or anything else borrowed from without them; an act again J,S. among] amongst T. 11 would] could S. reserve] rese[<...> del.]/rue/ S. 12 entire to herself] om. T. amongst] among J,S. 14 And ...domestic] Now to return again to her domestic J,S. 15 like] om. S. 18 allay] balance J,S. power and] om. T, J,S. 18-19 her...office] a treasurer's office T; a treasurer's place J; treasury place S. 19 officers] offices S. finances] financies T,J,S. 20-21 and...own] under a favourite's eye J,S. 20 eyes] eye T. 21 she] herself J,S. marriage] match J,S. 23 accompts T,J,S: accounts 1652. 24 brought] kept J,S. many and] many [and catchword] many and T. 25 copyholds] copyholders T. to] at J,S. would] and would J,S. 26 to...hold] om. T. of...Lancaster] om. J,S.

to her exchequer, what narrow reasons soever were
 alleged of sparing and cutting off the multiplicity of
 officers with their wages, ignorances or corruptions (all
 chargeable and cloudy paths which the dealing with princes'
 monies doth as naturally bring forth as Africa doth mon- 5
 sters), but like a provident sovereign, knowing that place
 in a monarchy must help as well to train up servants as to
 reward and encourage merit, she constantly, to that end,
 keeps that Chancellorship of the Duchy entire, and would
 not make the rewarding part of her kingdom less to over- 10
 load her exchequer with any addition of instrumental gain
 amongst under-officers, into whose barns those harvests
 are inned for the most part.

Again, with the same caution in all her doings
 she made merit precious, honour dainty and her grants 15
 passing rare; keeping them, as the Venetians do their
 curiously refined gold, to set an edge upon the industry
 of man, and yet, like branches of creation, sparingly
 reserved within the circuit of her throne as inherent and
 tender prerogatives not fit to be left at random in the 20
 power of ambitious favourites or low-looking counsellors
 whose ends are seldom so large or safe for the public as
 the native prince's counsels are, or ought to be.

For the clergy, with their ecclesiastical or
 civil jurisdictions, she fashioned the Arches and West- 25
 minster Hall to take such care one to bound another that
 they, in limiting themselves, enlarged her regalities as
 the chief and equal foundations of both their greatnesses.

1 what...soever] what narrow reasons whatsoever T;
 whatsoever narrow reasons J,S. 2 and] by J,S. 3 wages
 T,J: wages and 1652; wayes S. 4 paths] paths, as they
 informed her J,S. 5 naturally] naturally T; ordinarily J,
 S. 5-6 monsters] wonders J,S. 9 would T,J,S: will
 1652. 10 her] /her/ S. 11 exchequer] private exchequer
 T. addition of] om. S. 11-13 gain...part] gain or
 jurisdiction J,S. 15 grants T,J,S: graces 1652. 16 rare]
 dear J,S. 18 sparingly] curiously and sparingly J,S.
 19 within...throne] within the circles of her throne T;
 within her own power J,S. 21 ambitious...counsellors]
 favourites J,S. 22 or] and T. public] subject J,S.
 24 the T,J,S: her 1652. 25 civil] [civil del.] civil S.
 25-26 Westminster] Westm<inster> T. 27 her regalities
 T,J,S: their royalties 1652. 28 chief] chief [followed
 by caret] J. their greatnesses] om. J,S.

She gave the superior places freely, lest by example she should teach them to commit simony with their inferiors, and so add scandal instead of reputation to God's word, whose allowed messengers they affect to seem.

Her parliaments she used to supply her necessarily expended treasure, and withal as maps of orders or disorders through her whole kingdom. In which reverend body (as I said before) she studied not to make parties or faction, advancing any present royalist in the Nether House to stir up envy upon herself among all the rest, and so publish the crown to use personal practices of hope or fear in these general councils of her kingdom, but, by forbearing art, was never troubled with any artificial brickwalls from them; so as their need and fears concurring with her occasions made their desires and counsels concur too, and out of those equal and common grounds forced every man to believe his private fishponds could not be safe whiles the public state of the kingdom stood in danger of present or expectant extremities.

Her council-board--as an abridgement of all other jurisdictions--she held up in due honour: propounded not her great businesses of estate to them with any prejudicate resolution which, once discovered, suppresseth the freedom both of spirit and judgement, but opens herself clearly, hears them with respect, observes number and reason in their voices, and makes a quintessence of all their concords or discords within herself, from whence the resolutions and directions came suddenly and secretly forth for execution.

6-7 orders or disorders] order or disorder J,S.
 7 reverend T,J,S: reverent 1652. 8 (as...)...not] she
 studied not (as I said before) J,S. 9 any...House] any
 present royalist out of the Nether House T; any out of
 present merit in the House J,S. 10 up...upon] up envy
 against T; envy upon J,S. among T,J,S: amongst 1652.
 11 use] work by the J,S. 12 these] this great and J,S.
 councils] council J,S. 13 art] to use art J,S.
 14 fears] fear J,S. 15 her occasions] hers J,S.
 16 those] these J,S. 18 whiles] while T,J,S. 19 of]
 of any T,J,S. extremities] extremity T,J,S. 21 due]
 due of T. 22 estate T,J,S: state 1652. 26 a] /a/ S.
 29 for execution] to be executed J,S.

To be short, she kept awe stirring over all her courts and other chief employments as her antidote against any farther necessity of punishment; in which arts of men and government her nature, education and long experience had made her become excellent above both sexes.

5

Again, for the regiment of her grandees at home she did not suffer the nobility to be servants one to another, neither did her gentry wear their liveries as in the ages before; their number and wealth was moderate, and their spirits and powers counterpoised with her magistracy from being authors of any new Barons' Wars, and yet reserved as brave half-paces between a throne and a people.

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Her yeomanry--a state under her nobles and above her peasants (proper to England)--she maintained in their abilities, and never gave them cause to suspect she had any intent, with extraordinary taxes out of the course of parliaments, insensibly to impoverish and make boors or slaves of them; knowing that such a kind of champion country would quickly stir up the nobility itself to become doubtful of their own fences, and, by consequence, in danger not only of holding lives, lands, goods and liberties at their sovereign's indefinite pleasure, but, by suspense of these nursing and protecting parliaments, to have all other native birthrights, viz. pulpits, laws, customs, voices of appeal, audits of trade, humble and reverent mention of coronation-oaths, legal publishers and maintainers of war (true maps of diseases and cures through her kingdom), with many other mutual cements of honour and use between sovereign and subjects, like to be

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2 chief T,J,S: om. 1652. antidote] antidotes S. 3 any] any [extremity del.] T. farther] further T,S. punishment T,J,S: punishments 1652. 5 both] all J,S. 7-8 another] the other T. 8 her] the T,S. liveries] liberties T. the] om. J,S. 10 magistracy T,J,S: majesty 1652. 13-14 under... (...England] between nobility and peasants J,S. 13 nobles] noblesse T. 15 them] them or their superiors J,S. 16 with] by J,S. 17 impoverish and] om. J,S. 19 up] om. J,S. 21 of...lands] to hold their lands, lives J,S. 23 these T,J: those 1652; their S. nursing and protecting] nursing, ordering and protecting J; nourishing [ordering del.] ordering and protecting S. 24 other] other [<.> del.] S.

confounded, or at least metamorphosed, into prerogative taxes wherein the people have neither voices nor valuable return. I say, this home-born princess of ours, making her prospect over these wildernesses of will and power, providently for herself--and happily for us-- refused the broad branch of Pythagoras his Y, and chose that narrower but safer medium of state assemblies, concluding that these two honourable houses were the only judicious, faithful and industrious favourites of unencroaching monarchs.

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So that it appears she did not affect, nor yet would be drawn, like many of her ancient neighbours, the French kings, to have her subjects give away their wealth after a new fashion--viz. without return of pardons, ease of grievances or comfort of laws--lest her loving people might thereby dream of some secret intent to endenize their lives, wealth and freedoms into a ship of Athens of which--the name being old and all riders, sleepers and other timbers new--they were to be shipped down a stream of the like nature, ever and yet never the same; besides, not to be shipped into that ship as mariners, soldiers, sailors or factors, but rather as slaves or conquered outlaws, with great dishonour to the legal and royal state of monarchical government, as she conceived. From which example of chaste power we that live after this excellent lady may with great honour to her ashes resolve that she would have been as averse from bearing the envy of printing any

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20

25

1 confounded...metamorphosed] confounded by changing the levies of these free assemblies J,S. 2 the] om. J,S. have...voices T: neither have voices 1652; have no voice J,S. 2-3 nor...return] om. J,S. 3 ours] ours [f~~del.~~] T. 4-5 these...power] this wildernesses scope of will J, S. 6 the] this J,S. Pythagoras his J,S: Pythagoras 1652; Pythagorus his T. 7 narrower...safer] narrow J,S. state assemblies] parliaments J,S. 7-8 concluding] concluding not in words, but profitable deeds of doing and receiving good J,S. 8 only] om. J,S. 9 faithful] om. J,S. 9-10 favourites...monarchs] favourites, and only worthy to have credit among excellent and unencroaching monarchs J,S. 11-p.123,22 So...equal] om. J,S. 11 yet] /yet/ T. 16 endenize ed: indenize 1652; endemni[<.> altered to z]e T. 18 riders] aiders T. 21 into] in/to/ T. 22 slaves or] slaves and T. 23 royal state] regal styles T. 27 averse T: adverse 1652.

new lines of taxes, impositions, proclamations or mandates
 --without parliaments--upon her ancient celestial or
 terrestrial globes as her humble subjects possibly could
 be, or wish her to be.

Now if we shall examine the reason of her cutting 5
 between laws, king's powers and the people's freedom by so
 even a thread, what can it be but a long and happy descent
 within the pedigrees of active princes, together with the
 moderating education of kings' children in those times, or,
 lastly, a quintessence of abilities gathered out of those 10
 blessed and blessing mixtures of nature, education and
 practice which never fail to lift up man above man, and
 keep him there, more than place or power shall by any
 other encroaching advantages ever be able to do.

In which map, as in a true perspective glass, 15
 this provident princess, seeing both her own part and her
 people's so equally, nay advantageously, already divided
 and disposed, she thought it both wisdom and justice to
 leave them balanced and distinguished as she found them;
 concluding that the least change of parallels or meridian 20
 lines newly drawn upon any ancient globes of monarchal
 government in absence of parliaments would, like the ser-
 vice of God in an unknown language, prove profaned or
 misunderstood, and consequently register such a map of
 writing and blotting, of irregular raising and depressing,- 25
 disadvantageous matching of things real and humours to-
 gether, as must multiply atheism in human duties, cast
 trouble upon her estate for want of reverence at home, and
 provoke this heavy censure through all the world (Spain
 only excepted), that she endeavoured the raising of an 30
 invisible tyrant above the monarch, and to that end had
 made this step over laws and customs into such a dangerous
 kind of ignorant and wandering confusion as would quickly
 enforce mankind either to live like exhausted creatures

1 taxes T: taxe 1652. impositions] imposition T. 2 or]
 and T. 4 or...be] om. T. 5 the] [between del.] the T.
 6 the people's] people's T. 10 a T: in a 1652. 12 up]
 om. T. 21 any T: any the 1652. monarchal] monarchical
 T. 28 want] lack T. 30 the...of] to raise T. 31 monarch]
 monarchs T.

deprived of sabbaths, or like barren earth without privilege of any jubilee; which metamorphosing prospect (as they thought) would resemble Circe's guests, and transform her people into diverse shapes of beasts, wherein they must lose freedom, goods, fortune, language and kind all at once--an enchanted confusion imaged by the poets to warn princes that if they will easily be induced to use these racks of wit and power indefinitely, and thereby force a free people into a despairing estate, they must even in the pride of their governments look in some sort to be forced again either to sacrifice these Empsons and Dudleys--as the most popular act such princes can do--or else, with the two-edged sword of tyranny, irregularly to climb a degree yet higher than the truth to maintain these caterpillars in eating or offering up religion, laws, etc. to the covetous, cruel or wanton excesses of encroaching tyranny, as though God had made all the world for one.

Nay more, it pleased this provident queen even curiously to foresee what face her estate was like to carry if these biased humours should continue any long reign over us, viz. contempt to be cast over the majesty of the crown, fear among the people, hate and envy against the reverend magistrate; enticement of domestic spirits to mutiny, or foreign to invade upon any occasion; the court itself becoming a farm manured by drawing up not the sweat, but even the brows, of humble subjects; and, lastly, the council-board--that glorious type of civil government--compelled to descend, and become broker for money, executioner of extremity, better acquainted with the merchant or mechanical scraping revenues of sick and exhausted kingdoms than foreign treaties, equal balances of trade, true grounds of manufactures, mysteries of importation and exportation, differing strengths and weaknesses of crowns, alteration

1 of] of all T. 3 they] she T. and T: om. 1652.
 4 diverse ed: divers 1652, T. 5 fortune] form T.
 13 irregularly T: irregularity 1652. climb] claim T.
 16 wanton] [wanting on del.] wanton T. 20 any] in a
 T. 24 mutiny] mutine T. 25 a] like a T. sweat T:
 sweet 1652. 26 humble] the humble T. 28 broker]
 brokers T. executioner] executioners T. 33 of] in T.

of factions or parties with advantage, danger of alliances made to the benefit of the stronger, the steady (though sometimes intermittent) undertakings of the conqueror, with all things else that concern magnalia regni, and so apt instruments not reverently to show princes the truth, but rather self-loving creatures full of present and servile flatteries, even to the ruin of that estate wherein they have and enjoy their honours.

Which confusion of place and things being clearly imaged within her, persuaded this lady to restrain the lavish liberties of transcendancy within laws and parliaments as two unbattered rampires against all over-wrestings of power or mutinies of people, and out of these grounds to conclude prince-like with her fore-fathers that superstructiones antiquae nec facile evertuntur, nec solae ruunt; in this axiom making manifest to the world that time-present's children, with their young and unexperienced capacities, are much too narrow moulds for any large branches of well-founded monarchies to be altered or new-fashioned in--the new and old seldom matching well together, let the cement of seeming wisdom on either side appear never so equal.

Now for the right use of these high pillars, if we shall descend to inferior functions, we there find her (like a working soul in a healthful body) still all in all, and all in every part: for with the same restraining providence she kept the crown from necessity to use imperial and chargeable mandates upon her people when she had most need of their service, contrary to the wisdom of all

1-2 the...of] benefit T. 6 and] om. T. 7-8 wherein... enjoy] under which they live and do enjoy T. 11 lavish T: slavish 1652. 15 superstructiones] substructiones T. 16 solae] sole T. this] that T. 22 side] om. T. 23 Now] J,S continue here again from p.120,10. for] from J,S. high] [vnenc<.> underlined and del.] high J. 24 shall] om. J,S. there...her] shall find her there J, S. 25 a healthful] a healthy T; an healthful S. still] om. J,S. 26 and] om. J,S. with] which T. 27 necessity] constraint J,S. 28 and chargeable] om. J,S. most] the most T; many ways most J,S. 29 their] her S. all] om. J,S.

government; neither did she, by mistaking or misapplying instances gathered out of the fatal conquests of her ancestors, parallel her present need and levies with theirs, but wisely considered that the king and the people were then equally possessors of both realms, and so, in all impositions, contributors to themselves at the first hand. 5

From which grounds, like a contented and contenting sovereign, she acknowledged these differences to be real, and accordingly--by an equal audit taken from her itinerant judges with the justices inhabiting in every county--after she was well informed of her subjects' abilities and her enemies' threatenings, she then--by advice of her Privy Council--summoned her parliaments, demanded aid, and was never refused. In return of which loving and free gifts, she disposed those extraordinary helps to the repairing and provisional supplying of her forts along the coast with offensive and defensive munitions: she stored her Office of the Ordinance as a royal magazine to furnish the whole kingdom in extremity, and when there were no wars yet kept she it full as an equal pledge of strength and reputation both abroad and at home. 10 15 20

Lastly, this princess, being confident in these native sea-walls of ours fit to bear moving bulwarks in martial times, and in civil traffics to carry out and in all commodities with advantage, she double-stored her navy magazines with all materials provided beforehand for 25

1 government] governments T. 2 fatal] moth-eaten J,S.
 3 parallel] parallel [with del.] T. her] her [greatest
 need del.] T. need and] om. J,S. 4 theirs] them J,S.
 the people] people J,S. 5 equally] equal T. realms T,
 J,S: Kealmes 1652. so] so the people J,S. 8-13 From
 ...threatenings] And like a governess, acknowledging
 this difference, she--by an equal audit taken from her
 itinerant judges and justices in every county--being
 well informed of her subjects' abilities, and comparing
 it with her occasions J,S. 11 in] om. T. 16 those]
 these J,S. 18 coast] coasts T,S. 19 her] the J,S.
 20 kingdom] kingome S. 21 were no wars] was none J,S.
 kept she T,J,S: she kept 1652. full] filled S.
 22 pledge of] /pledge of/ S. 23-24 these...sea-walls]
 this sea-wall J,S. 24 bear] bear [move del.] T.
 26 her] the J,S. 27 magazines] om. J,S.

such works and things as required time and could not be
bought with money; besides, she furnished her sea-arsenals
with all kind of staple provisions, as ordnance, pitch,
rosin, tar, masts, deal-boards, cordage, etc., for the
building and maintaining of her navy flourishing in mul- 5
titude of ships for war and trade.

And as the life of that vast body, she, for
increase of mariners, gave princely countenance to all
long voyages, knowing they would necessarily require ord-
nance, men, munition and burthen; and further to encourage 10
this long-breathed work, she added out of her exchequer
an allowance of so much in the ton for the builders of any
ships upwards of so many hundred tons; she cherished the
fisherboats with privileges along her coasts, as nurseries
of seamen; brought Greenland and Newfoundland fishings in 15
reputation to increase her stock of mariners, both by
taking and transporting what they took far off.

And for the governors of her navy under the
admiral, as well in times of war as peace, she chose her
principal officers out of the gallantest sea commanders 20
of that time, whose experience, she knew, taught them how
to husband and guide her Muscovy Company in general pro-
visions, not as partners with her merchants, but to govern
instrumental servants and services with skill; the master
shipwrights not only in building, but restraining the 25
ship-keepers' riot or expense in harbour; and, at sea,
how to furnish or marshal ships and mariners in all kind
of sea-fights to their best advantage.

1 such...as] works that J,S. not] not other ways J,S.
2 besides, she] om. J,S. sea-arsenals] arsenals J,S.
3 staple provisions] staple [commodities del.] provisions
T: materials J,S. 4 deal-boards] double boards J,S.
etc.] [blank space] S. 5 of] om. T. 6 for...trade]
for war or trade T; om. J,S. 9 knowing] [th del.] know-
ing S. 10 men T,J,S: new 1652. burthen] burden J,S. further]
farther J,S. 11 long-breathed] om. J,S. 12 an...of] om. J,S.
builders] build[(<...> del.]ers/ S. 13 ships] ship J,S.
upwards T,J,S: upward 1652. tons] om. J,S. 14 coasts]
wastes T. 15 fishings T,J,S: fishing 1652. 19 war as
peace T,J,S: peace as war 1652. her] the J,S. 20 prin-
cipal] principallest S. 21 she knew] om. J,S.
22-24 her...skill] om. J,S. 23 partners T: partner
1652. her] her [lines 18-20 And...gallantest repeated
and del.] T. 23-25 but...only T: om. 1652. 25 not
only] om. J,S. but restraining] to govern J,S. 26 or]
and J,S. 27 how] om. T. furnish or] om. J,S. marshal
T,J,S: martial 1652.

Besides, through the same men's judgements she made all directions pass for the diverse moulds required in shipping between our seas and the ocean, as the draught of water high or low, disposing of ports, cleanly rooms for victuals, convenience of decks for fight or trade, 5 safe conveyance for powder and all other munition, fit stowage of sea-stores according to the difference of heats or colds in the climes they were to reside in or pass through.

Again, as well to instruct the captains in their 10 particular duties as to keep a hand of government over the large trust and charge committed to them, in all expeditions the ship with her furniture, tackle and men; the gunner-room with all munition of that kind; the boat-swain's provision of anchors, cables, canvas and sea- 15 stores; the purser's, steward's and cook's rooms touching victuals--were delivered to the captains by bill indented, the one part kept with the officers of the navy at home, the other in the hands of every private captain to examine his accounts by when he returned; of which myself am wit- 20 ness, as being well acquainted with the use of it in my youth, but utterly unacquainted with the change since, or any reasons of it.

2 directions] direccons S. 2 diverse ed: divers 1652,T, J,S. 3 as] om. J,S. 5 convenience...trade] conveniency ...trade T; om. J,S. 6 munition] munitions T. 7 stowage] stowing J,S. of sea-stores] for sea-stores T. 11 a] an S. 12 large] om. J,S. to] unto T. 13 the ship] the hull of the ship J,S. furniture, tackle T: furniture, tackling 1652; tackle J,S. 14 gunner-room T,J,S: gunner's room 1652. with] and T. 16 purser's] purser J,S. steward's] steward J,S. 20 accounts] accompts J; [acc del.] accompts S. by] om. S. myself] I myself T,J,S. 21-22 in...youth] in the employments of my youth T; in the employments of my person J,S. 23 any] the J,S. it] it T,J,S which then add as a new paragraph: Besides [Lastly J,S], like a provident lady who knew place for the ease of crowns must serve [serve (as I said) J,S] both to reward merit and to [to om. J,S] encourage it (with other like motives mentioned before in the government of the exchequer) [with...exchequer om. J,S], she kept her Cinque Ports severed from the greatness of the admiralty, though she knew [she knew om. J,S] the principal use and end [end[s?]] in keeping of them divided [in...divided: in dividing of them J; in the dividing of them S] were taken away by time and other changes through her sister's neglect and our former [our former om. J,S] unfortunate losses in France [France, with other like motives before mentioned in the government of the exchequer [her exchequer S] J,S.]

Lastly, this great governess could tell how to
 work her high admirals without noise to resign their
 patents when the course of times made them in power and
 gain seem, or grow, too exorbitant; yet kept she up their
 command at sea, and when they were there made them a 5
 limited or absolute commission under the Great Seal of
 England, sometimes associating and qualifying their place
 with a council of war of her own choice, and ever guiding
 the generalities of the voyage with instructions proper
 to the business, and to be published at sea in a time pre- 10
 fixed. Out of which caution, in her principal expedi-
 tions she, striving (as I said) to allay that vast power
 of place with some sensible counterpoise, many times
 joined an active favourite with that sea-Neptune of hers,
 making credit, place and merit finely competitors in her 15
 service; besides, she--well understanding the humours of
 both--tempered them so equally one with another in her
 latter expeditions as--the admiral being remiss and apt
 to forgive all things, Essex severely true to martial
 discipline and loath to wound it by forgiving petty 20
 errors under that implacable tyrant Mars--in all likeli-
 hood her fleet could hardly be oversailed or under-
 ballasted, and consequently the crown, in her absence,
 was sure to be guarded with more eyes than two to prevent
 confusion in martial affairs, where every slip proves 25

1 Lastly] Besides J,S. great] om. T,J,S. could tell]
 knew J,S. 2 high] great T,J,S. 3 patents] letters
 patents T,J,S. times] time S. 4 gain] again S. or
 ...exorbitant] too exorbitant, or grow too great J,S.
 5-6 there...commission] there in person, absolute by
 particular commissions J,S. 7-8 sometimes...with]
 associating them sometimes with J,S. 7 their] om. T.
 11 in her] in all her J [as catchwords only], S.
 12 striving] (for reasons known to herself) striving
 J,S. that] this J,S. 13 sensible T,J,S: insensible
 1652. 15 place...merit] and place J,S. 17 them]
 then T. one] the one J,S. another] the other J,S.
 17-18 her latter] her last J; the last S. 20 loath]
 both T. by] with J; in S. 20-21 petty...Mars] any
 thing J,S. 22 her] that J,S. hardly] not T. 23 and]
 but J,S. 24 was...be] om. J,S. with] by T. prevent]
 discover and prevent J,S. 25 in] because in J,S.
 affairs] actions J,S. where] where [underlined] J.
 slip ed: ship 1652,T; error J,S.

beyond the amendment of second thoughts, and so fatal to that state which pays and negligently ventures.

The merchant part of her kingdom was oppressed with few impositions: the companies free to choose their own officers to fashion their trade, and assisted with the name and countenance of her ambassadors; the custom and return of their industry and adventures contenting them in a free market without any nearer cutting of people's industry to the quick. The Flushingers and Dunkirkers in succession of time, it is true, did much afflict their traffic, though with small strength; whereupon she first travailed to suppress them by force, but found the charge grow infinite, and the cure so casual as she joined treaty with the sword, and set her seas, by that providence and industry, once again at liberty from all molestation or danger of pirates.

Her universities were troubled with few mandates: the colleges free in all their elections, and governed by their own statutes. The gross neglect of using the Latin tongue she laboured to reform, as well for honour of the universities as for her own service in all treaties with foreign princes. She studied to multiply her Civilians with little charge, and yet better allowance to their profession.

In a word, she preserved her religion without waving, kept both her martial and civil government entire above neglect or practice; by which, with a multitude of like instances, she manifested to the world that the well governing of a prince's own inheritances is in the clear house of fame superior to all the far noised conquests of her over-gripping ancestors, since what man lives

1 so] therefore J,S. 2 state] estate T. negligently] om. J,S. ventures] [suffers del.] ventures T. 3 part] state T. 5 and T,J,S: om. 1652. 6 countenance] counten/a/nce S. 6-9 the...quick] om. J,S. 10 succession] success T. it is true] om. J,S. 11 though] although J,S. first] om. T. 12 travailed J: travelled 1652,T,S. 15 liberty] free liberty J,S. 16 of] by J,S. 19 own] own [mand del.] T. 20 laboured T: studied 1652; labours J,S. 22-24 She...profession] om. J,S. 26 her] the J,S. entire] om. T. 28 like] the like J,S. 29 a prince's T,J,S: princes' 1652.

conversant in the calendars of estates but must know that
 had not those wind-blown conquests of ours happily been
 scattered, they must in time have turned the moderate
 wealth and degrees of England into the nasty poverty of
 the French peasants; brought home mandates instead of 5
 laws; waived our freedoms in parliaments with new-
 christened impositions; and, in the end, have subjected
 native and active Albion to become a province, and, so,
 inferior to her own dearly bought foreign conquests--being
 forced to yield up the superlative works of power to the 10
 equal laws of nature which almost everywhere (America excep-
 ted) proclaim the greater to be naturally a lawgiver
 over the less?

2 those T,J,S: these 1652. 2-3 happily...scattered]
 been happily scattered again J,S. 3 must] would J,S.
 3-4 moderate...England] three wealthy degrees of nobles,
 gentry and yeomen J,S. 6 waived ed: waved 1652,T; worn
 out J,S. 6-7 in...impositions] of England in payments,
 with new-christened collections J,S. 7 subjected]
 sub̄ted T. 8-11 province...nature] province? [blank
space of one line]----by raising up that overrun France
 of ours into a sovereignty above us, we yielding up the
 works of force to the equal laws of nature J,S. 9 dearly]
 dear T. 12 proclaim J,S: proclaims 1652,T. greater]
 greater power J,S. be] be [b del.] S. naturally] om.
 J,S. 13 less] J,S Chap. XVI concludes with material
equivalent to pp.135,24-136,21: Lastly, among all these
 reformatations of her government at home: the refining of
 the English standard embased by her sister; the preser-
 vation of the crown revenue entire; her wisdom in the
 change of laws without change of [blank space]; the
 timely and princely help she gave to Henry the Fourth
 when he had nothing but the town of Dieppe left him, his
 credit and means being utterly exhausted, and so that
 brave king ready either to take the [the]the S] sea or
 fly for succour into England; her wise and constant
 establishment of religion in Ireland; her driving off
 [off ed: of J,S] the Spanish forces divers times from
 thence who were ambitiously sent as well to stir up her
 subjects to rebel as to maintain and support them in it
 --together with the former recited particulars, howsoever
 improperly dispersed or bundled up together, yet are in
 their natures so rare as I believe they will still be
 more and more admired in that excellent princess even
 after her death.

Thus have I by the reader's patience given that
 Egyptian and Roman tragedy a much more honourable sepul-
 ture than it could ever have deserved, especially in
 making their memory to attend upon my sovereign's hearse
 without any other hope of being than to wait upon her
 life and death as their maker did, who hath ever since
 been dying to those glories of life which he formerly
 enjoyed and loved in under the blessed and blessing
 presence of this unmatched queen and woman.

CHAPTER XVII

Yet as this wise and moderate governess was far from encroaching upon any other prince's dominions, so wanted she neither foresight, courage nor might both to suppress all insolencies attempted against herself, and to support her neighbours unjustly oppressed; whereof, by the reader's patience, I will here add some few instances. 5

She had no sooner perfected her virgin triumph over that sanctified and invincible navy, and by that loss published the Spanish ambition, weakness and malice to all Christendom, secured her own estate, revived the Netherlands, confuted the Pope, turned the cautions of the Italian princes the right way, and amazed the world, but even then, to pursue that victory and prevent her enemy's ambition which still threatened the world with new fleets--then (I say) did this active lady conclude, with advice of her Council and applause of her kingdom, to defend herself thenceforth by invading, and no more attend the conqueror's pleasure at her own doors. 10 15

Out of which resolution she first sent forth the Earl of Cumberland, who attempted the surprise of Puerto Rico, accomplished it with honour, and so might have kept it had not disease and disorder proved more dangerous enemies to him than the great name and small force of the 20

Chap. XVII to p.135,23 is equivalent to J,S Chap. XI. 1-6 Yet...instances] Immediately after God had given Sir Philip this opportunity to express a model of [of his S] worth to the world, even then, to manifest that the same God is [is followed by caret S] all he hath created and infinite besides, it pleased him [it...him om. S] to take away this fine pattern, perchance lest we should make idols of ourselves, and so give his honour unto men; and yet, like the Almighty, not intending to destroy the way of worth in one creature, he presently stirs up that excellent princess, Queen Elizabeth, to step again into that same path which herself had formerly trodden out to the world J,S. 3 neither] not T. 7 She] For she J,S. 8 and invincible] invincible J,S. 9 the] [the del.] the T. 11 cautions T,J,S: caution 1652. 15 with] by the J, S. 18 doors! door S.

Spanish did.

Again, to prevent danger, not in the bud, but
 root, she took upon her the protection of Don Antonio,
 King of Portugal, sent Sir John Norris and Sir Francis
 Drake with a royal fleet and eleven thousand men to land, 5
 seconded with the fortune and countenance of the Earl of
 Essex; they took the base town of the Groyne, and when
 they had overthrown all that came to succour it, and burnt
 the country, then marched they on to Lisbon, and in that
 journey sacked Peniche, wasted villages and provinces, 10
 entered the suburbs of Lisbon even to the gates of the
 high town, took Cascaes, and burnt three score Spanish
 hulks full of provisions.

And to the same end she did, and still meant
 successively to, maintain a fleet of her own ships and 15
 her fast friends the Netherlands upon his coasts, not
 only to disturb the return of victuals, munition and
 materials for war with which the Empire, Poland and the
 Hansæ towns did usually and fatally even to themselves
 furnish this growing monarch, but withal to keep his 20
 navy which was riding and building in many havens from
 possibility of getting head in any one place to annoy her;
 and thirdly, to set such a tax upon the wafting home of
 his Indian fleets as might, in some measure, qualify that
 fearful abundance which else was like enough to spread 25
 infection through the soundest councils and counsellors
 of all his neighbour princes.

In this mean time the French king, Henry the
 Third, heartened by her example and success, did encounter

2-13 Again...provisions] om. here and placed after line
27 by J,S. 2 Again] Lastly J,S. 5 eleven thousand]
 11000 J; 1000 S. 9 to] towards J,S. 11-12 of...town]
 om. T,J,S. 12 took Cascaes ed: om. 1652; took East
Cales T,J,S [see note!. 13 provisions] provision S.
 14 And] After him again J,S. 16 Netherlands] Nether-
 landers T. 21 many] many [towns del.] T; divers J,S.
 22 of getting] to gather J,S. 23 and] om. J,S. tax]
 task J,S. 24 fleets] fleet J,S. that] the S.
 27 princes] after princes J,S add material equivalent
to lines 2-13. 28 this T,J,S: the 1652. 28-29 the
 French...Third] Henry the Third, the French king J,S.
 29 did encounter] encountered J,S.

the Guisards, a strong faction depending upon Spain; and when he was made away by treason, and the Leaguers in arms under the Spaniard's protection, then did the Queen providently take opportunity to change the seat of her wars, and assisted Henry the Fourth, the succeeding king, by the Earl of Essex until he was able to subsist by himself, and till, by her support, he was strengthened both to overthrow the League and become a second balance against the great and vast desires of Spain. 5

Neither did she rest here or give him breath, but, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail and a strong land army, sent the Earl of Essex and the Admiral of England to invade Spain itself; they took Cadiz, spoiled his fleet of twenty galleys and fifty-nine ships, the riches whereof were valued at 12,000,000 of ducats. Immediately after, employed she not the Earl of Essex with a fleet to the Islands, in which voyage he sacked Villa Franca, and took prizes to the value of four hundred thousand ducats at the least? 10 15

Now when this Spanish invader found himself thus well paid with his own coin, and so forced to divert the provoked hand of that famous queen held over him by stirring up Tyrone in Ireland--to which end he sent money and forces under Don John d'Aquila--even then that lady, first by Essex, and after by Mountjoy, overthrew the Irish, and sent home the Spaniard well recompensed with loss and dishonour for assisting her rebels. By which and the like active courses of hers in successive and successful undertakings that provident lady both bare out the charge of all those expeditions, requited his invasion, clipped the 20 25 30

1 Guisards, a] Guisards' strong J,S. 2 Leaguers T,J,S: Leagues 1652. 4 take] take the J,S. her] om. S. 5 Fourth] 4th T. 11 one...fifty] 150 J,S. 13 took] take S. 14 of] om. T. twenty] 20 J,S. fifty-nine] 59 J,S. 15 12,000,000 T,J,S: twelve millions 1652. 16 not] /not/ S. Earl] same Earl J,S. 17 sacked] sucked S. 18 and T,J,S: om. 1652. 18-19 four hundred thousand] 400,000 J; 40,000 S. 24 even] and even T. then] om. J, S. 28 successive] succession J,S. 29 bare T,J,S: bore 1652. 30 clipped] [requited del.] clipped T.

fearful wings of this growing monarch, and made his credit swell through all the money banks of Europe, causing withal as low an ebb of his treasure.

Again, by this imprisoning of the lion within his own den, she did not only lessen his reputation (a chief strength of growing monarchs), but discovered such a light as perchance might have forced him in time to dispute the titles of his usurpations at home, and have given Portugal, Aragon and Granada opportunity to plead their rights with Castile in the courts of Mars if God had either lengthened the days of that worthy lady who understood him, or time not neglected her wisdom so suddenly by exchanging that active, victorious, enriching and balancing course of her defensive wars for an idle, I fear deceiving, shadow of peace; in which, whether we already languish or live impoverished whilst he grows potent and rich by the fatal security of all Christendom, they that shall succeed us are like to feel and judge freely.

Thus you see how our famous Judith dispersed the terror of this Spanish Holofernes like a cloud full of wind, and by a princely wakefulness preserved all those sovereign states that were in league with her from the dangerous temptations of power, wealth and practice by which the growing monarchs do often entangle inferior, but yet sovereign, princes; and amongst the rest, from that usual traffic of his ledger ambassadors who, trained up in the nimble exchange of intelligence, grow to be of such a Bucephalus nature--like Rome (as I said before),

1 fearful] growing T; om. J,S. growing] fearful T,J,S.
monarch] monarchy T. 5 own] om. J,S. 8 titles] title
T. 9 Granada T: Granoda 1652; Granado J,S. 10 Mars]
[wars del.] Mars S. 11 the] /the/ S. 12 wisdom so]
wisdoms too T; wisdom too J,S. 13 exchanging] /ex/chang-
ing T. 14 her...wars] hers J,S. and] om. J,S.
15 shadow] shadows J,S. 16 whilst] while J,S. 18 shall]
om. S. feel] feel [it del.] T. 20 our] this J,S.
21 Spanish T,J,S: om. 1652. 23 that...her] om. S.
24 and] om. T,J,S. 25 inferior T,J,S: the inferior 1652.
26 but] om. J,S. and] om. J,S. amongst] among J,S.
27 that] the S. usual T,J,S: useful 1652. his] om. J,
S. 29-p.134,1 like...members] om. J,S. 29 like T: so
like 1652.

a body of those members--as the Alexanders of their time
can only manage and make use of: instance Mendoza, in
whom she had long before discovered and discredited all
practices of those specious employments of conquerors'
agents.

5

Besides, in honour of her be it spoken, did not
this mirror of justice, by restraining that unnatural am-
bition of getting other princes' rights within the natural
bounds of well governing her own, become a beam of such
credit as most of the kings or states then reigning freely 10
yielded both to weigh their own interests within the
scales of her judgement and, besides, to assist her in
bounding out the imperial merces of all princes by that
ancient procession of right and power?

Lastly, did she not purchase the like reputation 15
even among the heathen, and by it destroy a nest which
this aspiring monarch began to build in the seraglio of
Constantinople; for she, thinking it no wisdom to look on
and see his Spanish pistoles pierce into so huge a moun-
tain of forces and dispose of them at his pleasure, pro- 20
vidently opened the stronger monarch's eyes to discover
how craftily the weaker wrought his ends at the cost of
all defective or sleepy princes about her? Yet did not
this sovereign lady intercept his designs from under any
goddess' shield (whom Homer makes the Grecian worthies 25
shoot and hit), but displanted him by a gallant factor

1 those T: such 1652. Alexanders] Alexander[s in a later
hand] S. 2 of] of them J,S. 3 long] om. S. discovered]
providently discovered J,S. and discredited] om. S.
4 practices] practice J,S. those] their S. 4-5 of...
agents] and ministers J,S. 7 unnatural T,J,S: natural
1652. 8 princes' rights] men's J; men's [followed by a
caret] S. 9 bounds] [bounds del.] bounds S. her] their
T. 10 kings or states] princes J,S. 11 interests] rights
J,S. 13 out] om. J,S. that T,J,S: the 1652. 14 proces-
sion T,J,S: precession 1652. 16 among T,J,S: amongst 1652.
destroy T,J,S: destroyed 1652. 17 began] om. T. 19 huge
T,J,S: high 1652. 20 dispose...them] to dispose them J,S.
21 discover] discern J,S. 22 weaker] weaker [yet del.] T.
22-23 at...her] at other men's costs J,S. 23-24 not...
lady] she not J,S. 25 whom] whence T; as J,S. 26 shoot
...hit] to do J,S. gallant factor] petty agent J,S.

of her merchants in a league of traffic, and prevailed to
make his ambassador landed at Ragusa, housed in Constanti-
nople, and all under protection of Ferhād, Chief Vizier--
yea, and upon a contract of thirty thousand zecchins al-
ready paid him--glad to return, and ship himself away with 5
more expedition than he landed.

Besides which reputation given to her name by
the Grand Signior in this particular, she generally got
power to keep this fearful standard of the half-moon
waving in such manner over all the King of Spain's de- 10
signs as he durst move nowhere against his neighbour
Christian princes for fear of being encompassed within the
horns of that heathen crescent.

But these things swell, and require a more
authenticall history to continue the memory of that wonder 15
of queens and women in honour of whose sacred name I have
presumed thus to digress and admonish all estates by her
example how they may draw use and honour both from the
dead and living, the change of times having no power over
real wisdoms, but infinite over the shadows of craft and 20
humours of petty states which commonly follow the greater
bodies as they are unequally extended or contracted about
them.

Wherefore now to conclude these heroical enter-
prises abroad, together with the reformations of her state 25
at home: the refining of the English standard embased by
her sister; the preservation of her crown revenue entire;
her wisdom in the change of laws without change of dangers;
the timely and princely help she gave to Henry the Fourth

2 his] him S. landed] already landed J,S. 3 under]
under the T. Chief] then Chief J,S. 4 yea, and J,S:
yet, and 1652; yea T. zecchins] chickeens T; chea-
queens J,S. 6 than] than when S. 9 this] the J,S.
10 the] this J,S. 13 that T,J,S: the 1652. 14-21 But
...humours] See note for a description of the state
of J and S. 16 women] miracle of women J,S. 18 both]
om. T. 19 living T,J,S: the living 1652. the] J,S
start new par. 21-23 of...them] om. J,S; the end of
J,S Chap. XI. 24-p.136,21 Wherefore...woman] The
equivalent material in J,S Chap. XVI follows from
p.129,13. 24-25 Wherefore...reformations] Lastly,
among all these reformations J,S. 25 reformations]
reformation T. state] government J,S. 27 her] the
J,S. 28 the] om. T. dangers] [blank space] J,S.
29 Fourth] 4th T.

when he had nothing but the town of Dieppe left him, his credit and means being utterly exhausted, and so that brave king ready either to take sea and escape, or fly for succour into England; her constant establishment of religion in Ireland, driving the Spanish forces divers 5 times from thence who were maliciously sent as well to stir up her subjects to rebel as to maintain and support them in it--together with the former recited particulars, howsoever improperly dispersed or bundled up together, yet are in their natures of so rare a wisdom as I believe 10 they will still be more and more admired, and justly, in that excellent princess, even many ages after her death.

Thus have I by the reader's patience given that Egyptian and Roman tragedy a much more honourable sepulture than it could ever have deserved, especially in 15 making their memory to attend upon my sovereign's hearse without any other hope of being than to wait upon her life and death as their maker did, who hath ever since been dying to all those glories of life which he formerly enjoyed under the blessed and blessing presence of this 20 unmatchable queen and woman.

Now if any man shall demand why I did not rather leave unto the world a complete history of her life than this short memorial in such scattered and undigested minutes, let him receive this answer from a dead 25 man, because I am confident no flesh breathing--by seeing what is done--shall have occasion of asking that question whilst I am living. Presently after the death of my most gracious queen and mistress the false spirits and apparitions of idle grief haunted me exceedingly, and made all 30 things seem either greater or less than they were, so that

3 ready] being ready T. sea...or] the sea, or J; the [] the sea, or S. 4 her] her wise and J,S. 5 driving] her driving of the J,S. 6 maliciously] ambitiously J,S. 10 of...wisdom] so rare J,S. 11 still be] be still T. and justly] om. J,S. 12 many ages] om. J,S. 16 memory T,J,S: memories 1652. 19 all] om. J,S. 20 enjoyed] enjoyed and joyed in J,S. 21 woman] the end of J,S Chap. XVI. 22-p.139,18 Now...fortune] om. J,S. 23 rather] om. T. 24-25 undigested T: undisgested 1652. 26 no] that no T. 27 of asking] to ask T.

the farther I went the more uncomfortable I found those
 new revolutions of time to my decayed and disproportioned
 abilities; yet fearing to be cursed with the fig-tree if
 I bore no fruit, I roused up my thoughts upon an ancient
 axiom of wise men: si quicquid offendit, relinquimus cito: 5
inerti otio torpebit vita, and, upon a second review of
 the world, called to mind the many duties I ought to that
 matchless sovereign of mine with a resolution to write
 her life in this manner.

First, curiously to have begun with the uniting 10
 of the red and white roses in the marriage of Henry the
 Seventh; in the like manner to have run over Henry the Eighth's
 time until his several rents in the Church, with a pur-
 pose to have demurred more seriously upon the sudden
 change in his son Edward the Sixth from superstition to 15
 the establishment of God's ancient, catholic and primitive
 Church; those cobwebs of reconversion in Queen Mary's days
 I had no intent to meddle with, but only by preoccupation
 to show that princes captived in nature can seldom keep
 anything free in their governments, but, as soils manured 20
 to bring forth ill weeds apace, must live to see schism
 arise in the Church (wearing out the real branches of
 immortal truth to weave in the thin leaves of mortal
 superstition), and to behold in the state all their fair-
 est industries spring and fade together like fern-seed; 25
 lastly, I intended, with such spirits as age had left me,
 to revive myself in her memory under whom I was bred.

Now in this course, because I knew that as the
 liberality of kings did help to cover many errors so truth
 in a story would make good many other defects in the 30
 writer, I adventured to move the Secretary that I might
 have his favour to peruse all obsolete records of the
 Council-chest from those times down as near to these as
 he in his wisdom should think fit. He first friendly

2 revolutions T: resolutions 1652. 4 bore] bare T.
 9 in] on T. 10 curiously T: seriously 1652. 11 roses]
 rose T. 12 the like] like T. Eighth's] 8th's T.
 15 in] of T. 18 no] not T. 23 leaves] [branches del.]
 leaves T. 28 the] om. T. 29 of] in T. 30 other]
 /other/ T. 33 Council-chest] Council-[Chamber as catch-
word] || Chest T.

required my end in it, which I as freely delivered him as I have now done to you.

Against her memory he, of all men, had no reason to keep a strict hand, and where to bestow a Queen Elizabeth's servant with less disadvantage to himself, it seems, readily appeared not, so that my abrupt motion took hold of his present counsel; for he liberally granted my request, and appointed me that day three weeks to come for his warrant, which I did, and then found in show a more familiar and graceful aspect than before, he descending to question me why I would dream out my time in writing a story, being as like to rise in this time as any man he knew: then, in a more serious and friendly manner, examining me how I could clearly deliver many things done in that time which might perchance be construed to the prejudice of this. 5 10 15

I shortly made answer that I conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth, but to tell all truths were both justly to wrong and offend not only princes and states, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness not only of particular men, but of many families, with the spirit of an Athenian Timon; and therefore showed myself so far from being discouraged with that objection as I took upon me freely to adventure all my own goods in this ship which was to be of my own building. Immediately, this noble Secretary, as it seems moved, but not removed, with these selfnesses of my opinion, seriously assured me that upon second thoughts he durst not presume to let the Council-chest lie open to any man living without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation. 20 25 30

With this supersedeas I humbly took my leave, at the first sight assuring myself this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed, which I had no confidence in my own powers to 35

8 request] requests T. 11 my] any T. 12 like] likely T. 17 an] a T. 23 so] to be so T. 26 my] mine T. 27 these T: those 1652. 35 my] mine T.

abide the hazard of; and herein it may please the reader to believe me the rather by these pamphlets which, having slept out my own time, if they happen to be seen hereafter, shall at their own peril rise upon the stage when I am not.

Besides, in the same proposition I further saw that the many judgements which those embryos of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as in the end the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing with my name only put to it, and so a worship of time, not a voluntary homage of duty. 5 10

Farther I cannot justify these little sparks, unworthy of her and unfit for me; so that I must conclude with this ingenuous confession that it grieves me to know I shall (as far as this abrupt apology extends) live and die upon equal terms with a queen and creature so many ways unequal, nay, infinitely superior, to me both in nature and fortune. 15

10 put T: to put 1652. not] and not T. 12 Farther]
Further T. these] those T. 17 me] one T.

CHAPTER XVIII

Now to return to the tragedies remaining, my purpose in them was not (with the ancient) to exemplify the disastrous miseries of man's life, where order, laws, doctrine and authority are unable to protect innocency from the exorbitant wickedness of power, and so, out of that melancholy vision, stir horror or murmur against divine providence, nor yet (with the modern) to point out God's revenging aspect upon every particular sin, to the despair or confusion of mortality; but rather to trace out the highways of ambitious governors, and to show in the practice of life that the more audacity, advantage and good success such sovereignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruin. 5 10

So that to this abstract end, finding all little instruments in discovery of great bodies to be seldom without errors, I presumed, or it rather escaped me, to make my images beyond the ordinary stature of excess; wherein, again, that women are predominant is not for malice or ill talent to their sex, but as poets figured the virtues to be women, and all nations call them by feminine names, so have I described malice, craft and such like vices in the person of shrews to show that many of them are of that nature, even as we are--I mean strong in weakness--and consequently, in these orbs of passion, the weaker sex commonly the most predominant. Yet as I have not made all women good with Euripides, so have I not made them all evil with Sophocles, but mixed of such 15 20 25

Chap. XVIII is equivalent to J,S Chap. XVII. 2 exemplify] amplify T. 3 the] the [dista del.] S. order] orders T. 6 melancholy T,J,S: melancholic 1652. stir] stir up T. 11 of life T,J,S: om. 1652. 14 So that] Now J,S. 16 errors] gross errors J,S. 17 ordinary] om. S. 19 poets] the poets T. 20 and T,J,S: om. 1652. 21-22 such like] all such S. 22 person T,J,S: persons 1652. 27 them] om. S. such] both J,S.

sorts as we find both them and ourselves.

Again, for the arguments of these tragedies, they be not
naked and casual like the Greek and Latin, nor (I confess)
contrived with the variety and unexpected encounters of
the Italians, but nearer levelled to those humours, coun- 5
sels and practices wherein I thought fitter to hold the
attention of the reader than in the strangeness or per-
plexedness of witty fictions, in which the affections or
imagination may perchance find exercise and entertainment,
but the memory and judgement no enriching at all; besides, 10
I conceived those delicate images to be over-abundantly
furnished in all languages already.

And though my noble friend had that dexterity--
even with the dashes of his pen--to make the Arcadian
antiques beautify the margents of his works, yet the 15
honour which (I bear him record) he never affected I
freely leave unto him with this addition, that his end in
them was not vanishing pleasure alone, but moral images
and examples, as directing threads, to guide every man
through the confused labyrinth of his own desires and 20
life; so that howsoever I liked them too well--even in
that unperfected shape they were--to condescend that such
delicate, though inferior, pictures of himself should be
suppressed, yet do I wish that work may be the last in
this kind, presuming no man that follows can ever reach, 25
much less go beyond, that excellent intended pattern of
his.

For my own part, I found my creeping genius
more fixed upon the images of life than the images of wit,
and therefore chose not to write to them on whose feet 30
the black ox had not already trod (as the proverb is), but

4 the] om. T. 5 Italians] [tragedians ~~del.~~] Italians S.
humours] om. J,S. 6 fitter] rather fit J,S. 7 or] [of
~~del.~~] /or/ S. 8 or] and J,S. 11 those T,J,S: these
1652. over-abundantly] abundantly J,S. 12 furnished]
furnished and set forth J,S. 13 though T,J,S: om. 1652.
16 honour... (I ! honour (which I J,S. 17 freely T,J,S:
om. 1652. 19 threads] [~~<.>~~ ~~del.~~] threads T. 21 too T,
J,S: not too 1652. 22 unperfected] unperfect S. 24 do
I T,J,S: I do 1652. 25 that] which J,S. 26-27 that...
his] that excellent intended pattern J; om. S. 30 feet
T,J,S: foot 1652.

to those only that are weather-beaten in the sea of this world, such as, having lost the sight of their gardens and groves, study to sail on a right course among rocks and quicksands; and if, in this ordaining and ordering matter and form together for the use of life, I have made .5 these tragedies no plays for the stage, be it known it was no part of my purpose to write for them against whom so many good and great spirits have already written.

But he that will behold these acts upon their true stage, let him look on that stage whereon himself is 10 an actor, even the state he lives in, and for every part he may perchance find a player, and for every line (it may be) an instance of life beyond the author's intention or application, the vices of former ages being so like to these of this age as it will be easy to find out some 15 affinity or resemblance between them; which whosoever readeth with this apprehension will not perchance think the scenes too long, at least the matter not to be exceeded in account of words.

Lastly, for the style: as it is rich or poor, 20 according to the estate and ability of the writer, so the value of it shall be enhanced or cried down according to the grace and capacity of the reader, from which common fortune of books I look for no exemption.

But to conclude: as I began this work to enter- 25 tain and instruct myself, so if any other find entertainment or profit by it, let him use it freely, judge honourably of my friend and moderately of me, which is all the return that out of this barren stock can be desired or expected.

1 that] who J,S. are] are [wh ~~del.~~] S. 2 sight] sights S. 4 quicksands] See note for the state of J,S. this] thus T. 5 matter] the matter S. 6 these T,J,S: those 1652. 10 whereon T,J,S: wherein 1652. 11 he...in] wherein he lives J,S. 15 age...will] wherein we live as will J,S. it] om. J,S. 16 them] See note for the state of J,S. 17 perchance] it may be J,S. 18 long T,J,S: large 1652. 19 account] accout J,S. 23 and T,J,S: and the 1652. 24 fortune] fate J,S. 27-28 honourably] honourable T.

NOTES

In the following notes I have collected two-thirds of the material necessary for an adequate commentary on the text. I have therefore not drawn attention to those parts of the text which obviously require commentary, but for which I have not supplied notes. Mr. John Buxton was kind enough to translate the Latin tags in the text for me, but the present translations are not his responsibility

1,9. ingenuously. The forms 'ingenuous' and 'ingenious' and their cognates were frequently confused at this period; see OED. Here and elsewhere I have taken 'ingenuous' to mean 'of honourable birth', 'noble in nature or disposition; generous, high-minded', 'befitting one of honourable station, liberal', or 'honourably straightforward, open, frank', as the case may be; and 'ingenious' to mean 'of high intellectual capacity' or 'intelligent, discerning, sensible' as the case may be.

1,14-15. many...magistrates yet living. Possibly a reference to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who died in May 1612. Cecil, as Secretary of State, refused to support Greville's unsuccessful attempts in 1604 to retain the Treasurership of the Navy. Only after Cecil's death could Greville begin to hope for a return to public office. See Rebholz, pp.145-46, 155-59 and 232.

1,19. been brought up. Greville and Sidney were enrolled at Shrewsbury School on the same day, 17 October 1564; see Shrewsbury School Regestum Scholarium 1562-1635, transcribed E. Calvert (Shrewsbury, [1892]), p.15. By 1568 Greville was at Jesus College, Cambridge, and Sidney was at Christ Church; see Rebholz, pp.9-11 and Wallace, pp.35 and 88. It is not known whether Greville and Sidney knew each other before entering Shrewsbury school, though it is quite likely, since they were related; see Rebholz, Appendix II. The close friendship is attested by the early, schoolboy scribbles on the inside cover of a copy of Bandello's Histoires Tragiques (1561): 'Je suis apatenant a monsr' Sidnaye qui me troue cy me rende a qui Je suis' and 'foulke griuell is a good boye witnes <...>'; see Jean Robertson, 'Sidney and Bandello', The Library, Fifth Series, XXI (1966), 324-28). s/ r/

1,25. characteristical. serving to indicate the essential quality or nature of things or persons (OED, adj. 1, citing Of Humane Learning, 25,1-2 as the first instance:

Who those characteristical Ideas
Conceiues, which Science of the Godhead be?)

1,25-26. poesy...written. Sidney's Defence of Poetry was probably written in the winter of 1579-80 (see Misc. Prose, pp.59-62), but was not published until 1595 as The Defence of Poesie by William Ponsonby, and as An Apologie for Poetrie by Henry Olney.

1,27-30. For...states. Greville's phrasing recalls Sidney's own words in the Defence of Poetry: 'It is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by' (Misc. Prose, p.81,36-p.82,1).

2,6. challenge. lay claim to.

2,7-8. Socrates...Nestor. Socrates' method was to feign ignorance of any subject about which he cross-questioned those he came into contact with. Nestor is a mythological character who, in the Iliad, 'is very fond of long narratives of his early successes in war (as 11.670ff.) or sport (23.626ff.); see OCD, 'Nestor'.

2,24-25. Sir Henry Sidney...conversation. For similar encomiums of Sir Henry Sidney, see Edmund Molyneux (his secretary) in Holinshed, III,1552, and Edmund Campion (his one-time protégé) in his History of Ireland in Two Histories of Ireland (Dublin, 1633), p.138.

2,26-28. such...country. Molyneux (Holinshed III,1549) writes: 'He was (as best became him) very advised, circumspect and careful in the service of the state, not only setting apart, but in sort neglecting all business of his own in respect of his charge'. One of the complaints of the dissidents of the Pale was that Sir Henry 'had farmed all the whole realm' (Holinshed, II.[Ireland] 147). See also the following note and Sidney's Discourse on Irish Affairs, Misc. Prose, 10,35; in the Discourse Sidney defends his father as 'an honest servant, full of zeal in his prince's service' (Misc. Prose, 11,36).

2,28-3,2. witness...them. Sir Henry Sidney saw service in Ireland a number of times. He went there for the first time in 1556, as Vice-treasurer. In 1559 he took up the office of Lord President of the Council of Wales, a position he held until his death in 1586. While retaining his Welsh office, he served in Ireland as Lord Deputy three times: 1565-1567, 1568-1571 and 1575-1578. Greville's judgement of Sir Henry Sidney is confirmed by Edmund Campion, History of Ireland in Two Histories of Ireland (Dublin, 1633), p.138; by Edmund Molyneux in Holinshed, III,1548-49; and by David Powel in his continuation of

Caradoc of Llancarfan's The History of Cambria, tr. H. Lhoyd (1584), p.401 [sig. 2F1]. Sir Henry's principal detractor in Ireland was Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, who was much favoured by the Queen; see Mona Wilson, pp.290-300 and Misc. Prose, 3-5. Sir Philip Sidney's Discourse on Irish Affairs (Misc. Prose, pp.8-12) is a fragment of a defence of his father against complaints from lords of the Pale.

3,17-19. which...their shadows. 1652's reading is clearly a revision of J/S's 'whose shadows...them'. T, by reading 'whose shadows...their shadows', appears to have derived from a manuscript in which both the earlier and revised readings were present. This could possibly indicate that T derives from an earlier state of the text than 1652.

place after
note 3,9-12

2,30. grateful. agreeable.

3,3-4. his mother...nobility. Lady Mary Sidney was the sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (who was executed in 1553 after his unsuccessful attempt to place Lady Jane Grey, the wife of his son, Lord Guilford Dudley, on the throne), and the grand-daughter of Edmund Dudley, Esq., Henry VII's ill-reputed minister who married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount L'Isle; see George Adlard, The Sutton-Dudleys (London, 1862), annexes A and B after p.16, for the genealogy of the Dudleys. Through Elizabeth Grey the Dudleys could not only claim descent (however indirectly) from Ralph de L'Isle, one of the barons who rebelled against King John, but also relationship with the great families of Grey, Talbot, Beauchamp and Berkeley. Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of the Earl of Leicester (Misc. Prose, pp.129-41) is a vindication of his uncle's, and therefore his own, Dudley ancestry of which both he and his father were extremely conscious; see Misc. Prose, p.134 and Sidney Papers, I, 9, but cf. Holinshed, III,1550. Sir Philip Sidney's pedigree, drawn up for him by Robert Cook, Clarenceux king-of-arms, is reprinted in Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 2 vols. (London, 1876), II,160-65.

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3,4-5. was she...of a large ingenuous spirit. Lady Mary Sidney's contemporaries 'knew her to exceed most of her sex in singularity of virtue and quality, as good speech, apt and ready conceit, excellency of wit, and notable, eloquent delivery (for none could match her, and few or none came near her, either in the good conceit and frame of orderly writing, inditing and speedy despatching, or facility of gallant, sweet, delectable and courtly speaking, at least that in this time I myself have known, heard or read of' (Holinshed, III, 1553). Thomas Moffet also bears testimony of Lady Mary Sidney's accomplishments: Sir Philip Sidney 'had a mother...surpassing her sex and generation in excellence of wit and of skill in arts...' (Nobilis, p.86).

3,9-12. the mischance...spirits. Cf. Sir Henry Sidney's letter of 1 March 1583 to Sir Francis Walsingham, PRO SP 12/159/1:

When I went to Newhaven I left her a full fair [?] lady, in mine eye at least the fairest, and when I returned I found her as foul a lady as the small-pox could make her. Which she did take by continual attendance of her Majesty's most precious person (sick of the same disease) the scars of which (to her resolute discomfort) ever since hath done and do remain in her face, so as she liveth solitarily sicut nicticorax in domicilio. (f. 39^v)

The events referred to in the letter took place in October 1562; see Wallace, pp.21-2.

3,17-19 see p.146

3,18. statuminate. support. The first citation in OED.

3,23-30. For another account of Sidney's youthful precocity see Nobilis, pp.70-72.

3,26. staidness of mind. sobriety. Cf. Lodowick Bryskett, A Discovrse of Civill Life (London, 1606), p.160: 'There are to be seen oftentimes...some that beyond all expectation...show themselves staid in behaviour, and discreet in their actions when they are very young, to the shame of many elder men. Of which company, I may well of mine own knowledge...name one as a rare example and a wonder of nature, and that is Sir Philip Sidney'.

3,31-4,1. made...suae. A further tribute of Sir Henry to his eldest son may be found in a letter of his to Robert Sidney: 'He is a rare ornament of this age, the very formular that all well disposed young gentlemen of ouer [our] court do form also their manners and life by. In troth, I speak it without flattery of him or myself, he hath the most rare virtues that ever I found in any man' (Sidney Papers, I,246-47).

4,1. lumen familiae suae. the light of his family.

4,4-5. arts and languages. 'When barely ten years old, to whom did he yield in reputation for knowledge and grammar? A little later, whom did he fear in the matter of rhetorical principles? And, going on, was he surpassed by any of his schoolmates in mathematical exercises (which often tease, or indeed harass, adult minds)? Also, did he not put other boys of his age to blush and shame because of his reputation for a knowledge of many languages?' (Nobilis, p.73). Sidney's years at Shrewsbury under Thomas Ashton gave him a thorough education in Latin, and at least some acquaintance with Greek--he was to write to Languet in 1574: 'There are some things... which I wish to learn of the Greeks, which hitherto I have but skimmed on the surface' (Pears, pp.23-24; see also pp.26 and 28). If, like his sister Mary, Sidney had a private French tutor from an early age it is likely that at fourteen he was quite fluent in the language; six years later Languet was to compliment him on his faultless pronunciation of French (Pears, p.38). Lodowick Bryskett (op. cit., pp.161-62), reports how the French courtiers were amazed by Sidney's command of their language when he visited Paris in 1572, at the age of seventeen. For brief accounts of the schooling available at Shrewsbury see Wallace, pp.42-44, and Rebholz, pp.10-11.

4,⁵~~4~~. enabled him to travel at fourteen years old. There is no evidence to substantiate this. During his fourteenth year (December 1568-November 1569) Sidney was at Oxford, having entered Christ Church some time before 2 August 1568 (Wallace, p.88). Richard Carew recalled how, at the age of fourteen (in 1569) he was 'called to dispute extempore...with the matchless Sir Philip Sidney in the presence of the Earls Leicester, Warwick and divers other great personages' (The Survey of Cornwall (1602), sig. 2D2^v).

4,9-10. mentioned...Arcadia. Sidney's tribute to his mentor occurs in the Ister Bank poem, OA 66 (Ringler, pp.99-103; Languet's name occurs in lines 22 and 23. The poem appears in the Third Eclogues of the Old Arcadia (ed. Jean Robertson), pp.254-59; in the 1590 edition of the text it is placed in the First Eclogues (Prose Works, I,132-37), but assigned to a 'young shepherd' instead of Philisides (Sidney himself); in the 1593 edition it is returned to the Third Eclogues and to Philisides.

4,10-13. a Frenchman born...books. Hubert Languet, the supposed author of the Vindiciae contra Tyrannos, and the co-preparer of William of Orange's Apology, was born at Vitteaux in Burgundy in 1518. After a formal education in France and at Padua, he came under the influence of Melancthon's writings, and was converted to the reformed faith some time between 1547 and 1549. He subsequently lived with Melancthon for a number of years at Wittenberg. A skilled and learned diplomatist devoted to the Protestant cause, he acted as the representative of the Elector of Saxony in Paris from 1560 to 1572. He died in Antwerp in 1581. See Bayle, 'Languet'.

4,11. usque ad miraculum. miraculously.

4,13-18. much...disparagement. Greville's turn of phrase is very obscure. Languet fled from Paris after the St. Bartholomew massacre in August 1572.

4,18-19. agent for the Duke of Saxony. Languet did not leave the service of Augustus, Elector of Saxony until 1577 (See Bayle, VI,629n.)

4,20. lodged...Frankfurt. Andreas Wechel, the equally famous son of the renowned Paris printer, Christian, fled Paris at the same time as Languet. In the preface to his edition of Albert Krantz's Wandalia sive Historia de Wandalarum vera origine (1575), Wechel gratefully acknowledged how, at the time of the St. Bartholomew massacre, he had been saved by Languet who was then staying at his house. On 23 December of the same year he purchased a house in Frankfurt, and a few days later became a citizen. He died in 1581. See Joseph Benzing, Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts (Deutsches Sprachgebiet), (Frankfurt am Main, 1952), p.57; Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 56 vols. (Leipzig, 1875-1912), XLI,364-66; and Bayle, X,107-9.

4,21-22. Sir Philip...chancing...to become a guest. Greville is the only source of this information. It is uncertain when Sidney reached Frankfurt: he left Paris some time in September 1572, travelling via Heidelberg; in March 1573 there are three letters from him from Frankfurt (Prose Works, III,77-79). See Wallace, pp.124-125, Osborn, pp.72-77. It is also not known for certain whether Sidney and Languet met for the first time in Paris or Frankfurt. See Wallace, p.125 and Buxton, p.50; van Dorsten (p.30) suggests the first meeting took place in Vienna in the summer of 1573.

4,23. travailed. The reading of all the representatives of the text 'travailing' destroys the syntax of the period. The error was probably introduced--by a process of attraction to the present participle in line 21--very early in the process of scribal transmission.

4,30. orderly. in due course.

5,4-5. accompanied him in...his three years travel. This is not true; Languet did not, for example accompany Sidney during his time in Italy from November 1573 to August 1574 (Wallace, pp.128 and 140). Sidney was on the continent from June 1572 to June 1574 (Wallace, pp. 34 and 124-125).

5,20-21. letters...(if they be lost). A collection of ninety-six letters of Languet to Sidney was published in Frankfurt in 1633; subsequently, there was an edition published in Leiden in 1646, and another in Edinburgh in 1747. Sidney's letters to Languet were not so systematically preserved: sixteen are collected in Prose Works, vol. II, a seventeenth is noticed by Charles S. Levy in 'A Supplementary Inventory of Sir Philip Sidney's Correspondence', Modern Philology 67 (1969), 177. For a translation of sixteen of Sidney's letters and a selection of Languet's, see Steuart A. Pears The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, (London: William Pickering, 1845). Levy (*ibid.*, pp.177-81) has information on all but one of the items of Sidney's known correspondence; for a description and transcription of Sidney's letter to Edward Denny, 22 May 1580 (now in the Bodleian), see John Buxton, TLS, 24 March 1972, pp.343-44. Osborn, passim, provides translations for letters which Levy was only allowed to mention.

5,23. complexions. couplings or combinations [of friendship]. See OED, 'complexion' sb. 8,9,10.

5,24. salves. Greville is possibly using this word with deliberate ambiguity to mean both 'sophistical evasions' and 'salutations, greetings' (see OED sb⁴ and sb⁵; sb⁴ cites this instance as the first usage).

5,26. greatest businesses of estate. On the title-page of the 1633 edition, Languet's letters were recommended as 'very useful and necessary to all who study politics and history, also to the councillors of Princes, and those who are entrusted with the keys of the State' (tr. Buxton, p.51).

5,27. remissions. ? returns, exchanges [from remise, OED sb¹., return, recompense]. Cf. p.18,21 and p.86,12.

6,1. sixty-six years of age. Born in 1518, Languet died in Antwerp in September 1581 at the age of 63. At the time of this journey he must have been just over 50 years old.

6,2-3. fashioning...Casimir. John Casimir (1543-1592), Count Palatine, a younger son of the Elector, Frederick III, undertook the journey in order to persuade Elizabeth to give him open, instead of covert, support for his military activities against the Spaniards in the Low Countries. Languet took advantage of this unexpected opportunity to accompany him. See Wallace, pp.204-206.

6,4. unexpected meeting. Prince Casimir's party arrived in London on 22 January 1579. In a letter dated 13 January (i.e. ³10 January) from Ghent, Languet gives no indication of his joining the Prince Casimir's party; see Huberti Langueti...epistolae politicae et historicae (Frankfurt, 1633), pp.263-4.

6,5-6. At the sea...tears. Sidney and Languet had no opportunity of taking leave of each other, though Languet did put his tears on record: 'I cannot think by what ill luck it fell out that I had no opportunity of taking leave of yourself and Master Dyer, though in truth I had nothing for you but tears and sighs. Yet I am sorry that I could not let you see even tears and sighs, as pledges of my great regard for you; but it is not my fault, for our party was hastening away as if they were taking leave of enemies, not of friends...' (Pears, p.157; Flushing, 27 February 1579). Greville had ample opportunity to be aware of the true circumstances, since he himself escorted Casimir's party out of England; Languet wrote to Sidney: 'We had not a very prosperous voyage, as good Master Greville will tell you' (Pears, p.158).

6,17-19. kings...adventure. According to one tradition Pandora's box contained all human ills; when the box was opened these were let loose in the world. Another tradition maintains that the box contained all the blessings of the gods, and that when the box was opened they all escaped and were lost, except for hope, which remained at the bottom. Greville seems to imply that kings choose their favourites out of hope rather than out of certainty. Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy, 315.

6,17-18. Pandora's tun. Cf. Tilley, P40; ODEP, p.608.

6,18. tun. tub or vat, chest (OED sb. 2b). Cf. Ben Jonson, The Alchemist II.i.92, 'Pandora's tub'.

6,19. at adventure. at random.

6,20-22. Jacobs...wombs. Cf. Gen. 26: 22-26, and 27: 30-45.

6,27. sour-eyed critics. Greville possibly has Gabriel Harvey in mind. For Harvey's commendation of the Arcadia, see the note to p.10,18-19.

7,4-8. sovereign princes...deputies. In both versions of the Arcadia Basilius, the ruler of Arcadia, retires into rural solitude, leaving the government in the hands of Philanax.

7,10-11. encourage...ends. In the New Arcadia Amphialus, Basilius' nephew, leads a revolt against the authority of Philanax, pleading the safety of the commonwealth as the excuse for his actions. His true motives are a little different. He has fallen in love with Philoclea, the younger daughter of Basilius; Cecropia, his mother, partly to please her son, and partly to spite Basilius, takes Philoclea, her sister Pamela and her friend Zelmane captive and delivers them to Amphialus; when Philoclea fails to respond to his advances--her heart is already given to Zelmane, Pyrocles in disguise--Amphialus chooses to lead a revolt against Philanax rather than return Philoclea to her father.

7,13-22. Again...baseness. When Basilius takes his wife and two daughters into retirement with him, they are subjected to the company, and even the tutelage, of the shepherds Basilius has chosen to form his retinue. The arrival of Pyrocles and Musidorus--disguised as the Amazon, Zelmane, and the shepherd, Dorus, respectively--precipitates a series of potentially compromising amorous complications.

7,23. apparatus. material appendages or arrangements. See OED, sb. 2; the first instance cited.

7,25. current or credit. course of proceeding or reputation; but Greville is also playing on 'current' meaning 'circulation (of money)', OED sb. 4; and on 'credit' meaning 'reputation of solvency and probity in business, enabling a person to be trusted', OED sb. 9b.

7,29-30. home-born discontentments. In the later version of the Arcadia, the particular grievances of the peasants and townspeople provided an opportunity for Cecropia's agent Clinias to foment a rebellion amongst them. Arcadia, Book II, Prose Works, I, 310-324.

7,30. ambitious foreign spirits. The proud and boastful Anaxius, nephew of Euarchus, King of Bithinia, brings aid to Amphialus in his revolt, not because he thinks the cause is just, but because he needs the opportunity to display his prowess. Arcadia, Bk. III, Prose Works, I, 439-440.

8,2. chanceable arrival. fortuitous arrival. In the Old Arcadia, Book V, pp.357-59, Euarchus deliberately journeys to Arcadia to persuade Basilius to abandon his retirement; in the ending provided in the 1593 edition he goes there to seek security after his fleet had been scattered in a storm and his own ship damaged; see Prose Works, II, 152, and Old Arcadia, pp.355, 17-359, 21 var. In either case, his arrival is providential.

8,6-9. against...laws. This summary of the proceedings of the trial in the last book of the Old Arcadia and of the 1593 Arcadia is a little misleading; it may have been influenced by the last words of Philanax's formal accusation, that the two princes would remain as eternal examples of 'disguisers, falsifiers, adulterers, ravishers, murderers and traitors' (Old Arcadia, p.400, 21-22; Prose Works, II, 191). Pamela and Philoclea, Basilius' successors, are not related to Euarchus; it is only Pamela who becomes his niece, after she has married Musidorus, his nephew. In both versions Pyrocles and Musidorus are accused of, and condemned for, rape or 'ravishment', though, in fact, only Pyrocles--and then only in the Old Arcadia--is guilty of any sexual misdemeanour (see Old Arcadia, pp.lxi-lxii). Gynecia, Basilius' wife, who is not mentioned in this summary, is the only person who may genuinely be said to be tried and condemned for adultery and parricide. Pamela, Basilius' heir, is neither tried nor condemned. e/

8,8. parricide. murder of a near relative or ruler.

8,9. their own laws. The laws of Arcadia, as opposed to the laws which Euarchus knows.

8,10-11. innovation. alteration of the established order of things, rebellion.

8,20. occasion. opportunity of attacking, or of giving or taking offence.

8,20. amazedness. confusion, bewilderment.

8,21-23. tempted him...forever. Euarchus ('good ruler') demands that he be known only as the 'protector of Arcadia; for I will not leave any possible colour to any of my natural successors to make claim to this, which by free election you have bestowed upon me' (Prose Works, II,158; Old Arcadia, p.365).

8,27. determining. coming to an end.

8,28. first generation. when first produced or created.

8,30-32. if...commonwealth. Greville's discussion of the Arcadia is confusing because he does not make clear that the (New) Arcadia is an incomplete revision of a complete work, the Old Arcadia. The 1590 edition contains only the material Sidney revised. The edition of 1593 is a composite text, consisting of the revised text and what is substantially the last three books of the Old Arcadia (see Old Arcadia, pp.lx-lxii for the differences between Books III-V of the Old Arcadia and the text of these books as it appears in the 1593 edition). The Old Arcadia remained in manuscript until it was published in this century in Prose Works, volume IV, and as the Old Arcadia, ed. Jean Robertson, in 1973. For the most part Greville refers to the composite 1593 text; he has nothing to say about Sidney's intentions for completing the (1590) Arcadia text.

9,2-7. marriages...disorders. This account does not agree with the hints given at the end of the 1593 Arcadia:

But the solemnities of these marriages, with the Arcadian pastorals full of many comical adventures happening to those rural lovers; the strange stories of Artaxia and Plexirtus, Erona and Plangus; Helen and Amphialus, with the wonderful chances that befell them; the shepherdish loves of Menalcas with Kalodulus' daughter; the poor hopes of the poor Philisides in the pursuit of his affections; the strange continuance of Klaius' and Strephon's desire; lastly, the son of Pyrocles named Pyrophilus, and Melidora, the fair daughter of Pamela by Musidorus, who even at their birth entered into admirable fortunes, may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen in that wherewith mine is already dulled.
[from Prose Works, II,206-7]

9,16. plantations. the establishment of colonies.

10,1-3. when...shadows. On his deathbed Sidney is reported to have said: 'All things in my former life have been vain, vain, vain' (?George Gifford, 'The Manner of Sir Philip Sidney's Death', Misc. Prose, p.171).

10,4-6. seeing...them. Thomas Moffet reports something very similar: 'having come to fear..that his Stella and Arcadia might render the souls of readers more yielding instead of better, and having turned to worthier subjects, he very much wished to sing something which would abide the censure of the most austere Cato' (Nobilis, p.74.)

10,7-9. in that...embryo. Sidney does not mention his literary works in his will, the text of which is reproduced in Misc. Prose, pp.147-52. For his wish to have the Arcadia destroyed see John Owen Epigrammatum Libri Tres (1607) II,67; Nobilis, p.74; and Edward Leigh A Treatise of Religion and Learning (1656), p.324.

John Buxton, in Elizabethan Taste, rev. ed. (London, 1965), p.246, points out that Sidney's wish to have the Arcadia destroyed had a classical precedent in Virgil's request that the incomplete Aeneid be destroyed. In neither case were the poets' friends prepared to accede to these wishes.

10,17. aspersions. intermixtures. Cf. Bacon Advancement, I: 6.9, and II: 21.8.

of
Learning/

10,18-19. scribbled...friends. Greville's words recall Sidney's own disclaimer of seriousness in the dedicatory letter to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke: 'for severer eyes it [the Arcadia] is not, being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled....Read it then at your idle times...!' (Prose Works, I,3-4). To think of the Arcadia as both serious and entertaining is not contradictory; Gabriel Harvey regarded the work as 'a gallant legendary full of pleasurable accidents and profitable discourses; for three things especially very notable: for amorous courting (he was young in years), for sage counselling (he was ripe in judgement), and for valarous fighting (his sovereign profession was arms), and delightful pastime by way of pastoral exercises may pass for the fourth' (Pierces Supererogation (1593), sig. G 3). For a discussion of early attitudes towards the Arcadia see John Buxton's Elizabethan Taste (London: Macmillan, 1965), pp.246-68.

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10,21-24. right...spirit. It is surprising that Greville does not mention Sidney's other literary works here. In his letter to Sir Francis Walsingham in November 1586 (Public Record Office, SP 12/195/33; transcribed by Ringler, p.530) he mentions translations of Duplessis-Mornay's De la verité de la religion Chrestienne, forty of the Psalms, and du Bartas 'semayne'; of these works only the translations of the Psalms (forty-three in number) survived in any recognisable form as Sidney's; see Ringler, pp.500-502 and Wallace, p.323. For the other two works mentioned by Greville see Misc. Prose, pp.155-57 and Wallace, pp. 325-26. Sidney is also said to have translated the first two books of Aristotle's Rhetoric, but this, like the translation of du Bartas, appears to have been lost.

10,23. mechanical. practical (as opposed to speculative).

10,24. tracts. manners of proceeding, ways. See OED, 'tract' sb³ 9 fig. The form 'traits' used by T,J,S has not been adopted, in order to avoid the assumption that Greville meant 'characteristics', a meaning of the word for which OED does not cite a use before 1752; cf. 'trait' 6.

10,26-27. seven...sept. Traditionally there were seven cities which claimed to be Homer's birthplace; see Cicero, Pro Archia Poeta VIII, and the traditional couplet:

Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodos, Argos, Athenae,
Orbis de patria certat, Homere, tua.

Cf. Sidney's Defence of Poetry, Misc. Prose, p.107,17-8.

10,32-33. architectonical art. directive or controlling art; 'mistress-knowledge, by the Greeks called [architectonike], which stands (as I think) in the knowledge of a man's self, in the ethic and politic consideration, with the end of well-doing and not of well-knowing only' ('A Defence of Poetry', Misc. Prose, pp.82-83). Cf. Aristotle's Ethica Nicomachia, I,i-iii.

11,8-9. look how...weather. Cf. William Fulke, A goodly gallery (London, 1571), sig. C2V: 'The east wind, following the nature of the fire, is hot and dry'. A wind that follows the sun blows from east to west. I have been unable to find a more exact source for this allusion.

12,4. selfness. self-centredness, selfishness.

12,6. ancient...enemies. Cf. Mat. 5:44 and Luke 6:27, 35.

12,7. discipline. education, schooling. See p.22,23.

12,9. Prince of Orange, William of Nassau. William 'the Silent' (1533-1584), the leader of the Protestant cause in the Low Countries. Sidney met him in May 1577, when he was ordered by Elizabeth I to attend the christening of William's daughter Elizabeth instead of returning straight home to England after his embassy to Rudolph II. See Wallace, p.181.

12,11. letters. No correspondence between Sidney and William of Orange has survived.

12,15-17. imprinted...prince. William of Orange appears to have been so impressed by Sidney that he proposed a marriage between Sidney and one of his daughters. See Wallace, pp.184-87, and Osborn, p.491. In a letter of 20 July 1577 to Sir Francis Walsingham, Daniel Rogers reports that William of Orange asked after 'Mr. Sidney (of whom he had conceived a great opinion)' (CSPF 1577-1578, no. 38; p.24).

12,17. passing...into England. Early in 1579 Greville escorted Casimir and Languet back to Germany; he met William of Orange on the return journey. See Rebholz, p.29.

12,21. reservedness. reserve, reticence. Cf. Daniel, The Civile Wares (London, 1609), VIII. liii. 1-2.

12,24-13,3. His...in. C.V. Wedgwood, in William the Silent (1944; London: Methuen, 1960), pp. 130 and 209-210, points out that the informality of William of Orange's dress and manner was appropriate for the relaxed atmosphere of a little town in Holland; had Greville met him in Antwerp both his dress and manner would have been far more formal.

13,4. beer-brewing town. Fynes Moryson, recording his visit there in 1593, states that 'at Delft are about three hundred brewers, and their beer, for the goodness, is called Delphs-English' (An Itinerary, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1907), I, 99).

13,4-15. he...pleasure. Thomas Fuller records of William of Orange: 'In people's eyes his light shined bright, yet dazzled none, all having free access unto him: every one was as well pleased as if he had been Prince himself, because he might be so familiar with the Prince' (The Holy State and The Profane State (Cambridge, 1642), v. 19; sig. 3K2). It was William of Orange's accessibility that made him such an easy task for assassination in Delft in July 1584 (See C.V. Wedgwood, ibid., pp. 248-51).

14,22. Austrian...family. the Hapsburg family, of which Philip of Spain was also a member.

15,6-7. an agent...Turkey. William Harborne first went to Constantinople as a factor for (Sir) Edward Osborne and Richard Staper. He was well received on his arrival there in late October 1578, and soon obtained a licence to trade; he also prepared for contacts between Elizabeth I and Murad (Amurath) III, the Sultan. The first letters from the Sultan are dated March 1579 and Elizabeth's replies are dated October of the same year. For William of Orange to have been aware, as early as March 1579, of Harborne's presence in Constantinople is just possible, though he must have had extraordinarily efficient sources of information.

15,19-20. monarchy...West. In a letter of 11 November 1623 to the Duke of Buckingham, Greville refers to the King of Spain and his allies as having an 'inveterate ambition of a western monarchy' (Bodleian MS Tanner lxxiii/2 f. 283). Cf. p. 67, 17.

15,25. chaplain tenure. condition of subservient clerical service. OED cites this as the first instance of 'chaplain' used attributively.

17,6-11. princes...them. Elizabeth I was strongly opposed to her subjects accepting foreign honours. Camden, p.528 (1596), reports her as saying, 'Between princes and their subjects there is a very strict tie of affections. As chaste women ought not to cast their eyes upon any other than their own husbands, so neither ought subjects to cast their eyes upon any other prince than him whom God hath set over them. I would not have my sheep branded with another man's mark; I would not have them follow the whistle of a strange shepherd'.

17,30. not...death. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, died in September 1588.

18,6-9. acknowledged...death. Eight days after Sidney's death Leicester wrote to Walsingham: 'I have lost, beside the comfort of my life, a most princip^{le} stay and help in my service here...' (Leicester Correspondence, p.445). al/

18,7. casual. frail, uncertain; OED a. 5.

18,10-11. Sir Francis Walsingham...Secretary. Sir Francis Walsingham held the office of secretary of state from 1573 until his death. It was he who unravelled the Babington conspiracy, and so provided the evidence for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. A radical Protestant, Walsingham continually urged Elizabeth I to pursue an active anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish policy. Camden, p.444, writes of him: 'He was a person exceeding wise and industrious, and had performed several honourable embassies, a strong and resolute maintainer of the purer religion, a diligent searcher out of hidden secrets, and one who knew excellently well how to win men's affections to him, and to make use of them for his own purposes'. Sir Philip Sidney married his daughter, Frances, in September 1583.

18,16-17. overshot...bow. See pp.45,5-6 and 113,8-9. Cf. Tilley, B563.

18,17. those friends. One of these friends was probably Hubert Languet. Walsingham and Languet came to know each other while both of them were diplomats in Paris; see the Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, ed. Charles Trice Martin, Camden Society Miscellany, vol. 6 (London, 1870), pp.3,8 and 10.

19,5-8. his...favour. In 1575 Sidney sent a message to the nine-year-old James expressing a 'great desire ...to be of service to him and to kiss his hand' (Osborn, pp.355-56). In 1585 he was busily engaged in attempts to persuade Elizabeth to grant James a pension of £5,000 in order to keep Scotland a quiet and Protestant neighbour (see Wallace, p.321). In a letter to the Master of Grey, Sidney asked him to 'hold me, I beseech you, in the gracious remembrance of your king whom indeed I love' (17 May 1586; Prose Works, III,175). Of James' regard for Sidney during his lifetime there is no evidence; the first elegy in Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis D. Philippi Sidnaei (1587) is by James.

19,14. Don John of Austria. Don John, a bastard son of Charles V's, arrived as Governor of the Netherlands in 1576; he died of typhoid in October 1578. In 1571 he had virtually driven the Turks out of the western Mediterranean at the resounding victory of Lepanto.

19,9-10. late...Navarre. Henry IV (b. 1553) was assassinated in May 1610. He did not succeed to the French throne until the death of Henry III in 1589, and only managed to secure his position after being converted to Roman Catholicism in 1593. Sidney met him in the summer of 1572 when Henry, the young king of Navarre, was in Paris to marry Henry III's youngest sister, Margaret (See Wallace, p.116, and Osborn, p.55). Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy 430, l.2.

19,16. in his embassy to the Emperor. Sidney's embassy took place in 1577 (see Wallace, p.173ff.). Since Greville accompanied Sidney, it is most likely that he was present at the interview between Sidney and Don John. See p.25, 21-24.

19,16-17. came...hand. On 6 March 1577 Sidney rode the seventeen miles from Brussels to Louvain where Don John was settled. The visit was more than complimentary, as Dr. Thomas Wilson, the English ambassador at Brussels hoped that Sidney's presence would give authority to his complaints that English and Scots exiles were being given encouragement and support by Don John. See Osborn, pp.453-55, where Osborn appears to imply that Greville's exaggerations in this account of the meeting of the glamorous hero of Catholic Europe and the much-promising young Protestant are invalid. To treat the Dedication merely as a source for historical information is mistaken.

19,17. hauteur. haughtiness. The first instance cited by OED.

19,18. as...youth. Don John (b. 1546?) was probably only eight years older than Sidney.

19,19. competition. rivalry. Cf. The Advancement of Learning I.viii.4.

20,10. plantation. For Sidney's involvement in colonising ventures see Wallace, pp.283-87.

20,14-15. like Zephyrus...blew. Cf. Pliny, Natural History, 16.39, and George Sandys, Ovids Metamorphosis Englished... (Oxford, 1632), p.2 [marginal gloss e]: 'The west wind, importing a nourisher of life; for all vegetables by the temperature thereof more luxuriously prosper'.

20,16. a general Maecenas of learning. The best, and only thorough, account of Sidney as a patron may be found in John Buxton's chapter that takes this phrase of Greville's as its title; see Buxton, pp.133-172.

20,16-17. dedicated...to him. English printed works dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney are listed by Franklin B. Williams, Jr., Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641 (London, 1962); manuscript works and ones printed on the Continent are listed in The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 600-1660, ed. George Watson (Cambridge, 1974), column 1050.

20,25. a cunning painter. In his Treatise concerning the arte of limning [Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.174, printed in full in the Walpole Society Annual, I (1912), 15-50] Nicholas Hilliard records a conversation he had with Sidney about perspective. The record of the conversation is reprinted by Buxton, p.151 (Walpole Society Annual, p.27).

21,2. current. authentic, genuine.

21,7. camp. Cf. Dudley Digges in Thomas Digges and Dudley Digges, Foure paradoxes, or politique discourses (London, 1604), p.74: '[Sir Philip Sidney] was a man of arms by nature,...of Pallas' bringing up, one that sucked milk from both her breasts, a learned soldier'.

21,14-15. Hercules...dwarfs. While he was sleeping after his battle with Antaeus, Hercules was attacked by pygmies; see Philostratus, Imagines II,22.

22,8. reaches. designs or aims (OED, 'reach' sb¹ 2), capacity to perform or achieve (OED, sb¹ 6). Greville adds to the ambiguity by playing on the metaphorical sense of 'fathoming' that it ~~is~~ latent in the word.

s/

22,9. traverses. adversities.

22,10-13. it pleased...before death. Cf. William Camden, Britain, tr. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), p.329:

This is that Sidney, whom, as God's will was he should be therefore born into the world even to show unto our age a sample of ancient virtues, so his good pleasure was before any man looked for it to call for him again, and take him out of the world as being more worthy of heaven than earth. Thus we may see, 'Perfect virtue suddenly vanisheth out of sight, and the best men continue not long'.

22,12-13. as...death. Cf. Tilley, L277 'A Lightning (lightning) before death'.

22,12 var. The interlined 'a' in S is possibly in Blakeway's hand.

22,17. ostracism. exclusion from society. Cf. Donne's 'To the Countesse of Bedford (T'Have written then...)', l.22.

22,22-27. experience...oppressions. experience has led us to believe that great men are concerned only with their own greatness, so that they set store only by those outward manifestations of honour which can serve as embellishments of, and tributes to, their own desires and ambitions; as a consequence these men become either public idols [and so achieve their aim], or victims of their desires and ambitions when they are treated as rebels.

22,23. discipline. mode of conduct; cf. OED sb. 5b, citing no instances earlier than 1659. See p.12,7.

22,26. her. i.e. desire.

22,27-23,2. Notwithstanding...grave. Cf. Prov. 10:7.

24,1. magistrate. officer of government.

24,8-11. mixed...Rome. Plutarch, in his parallel of the lives of Lysander and Sulla, contrasts Lysander's upright private life and Sulla's refusal to live according to his own laws against licentious behaviour; see Lysander and Sulla, III.1-3.

24,8-9. mixed Lysander...citizens. See Plutarch, Lysander II.4. North translates the relevant material as follows: He had...this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he always kept that honest modesty with him, as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with gold nor silver: and yet he filled his country with riches and covetousness, which lost him the reputation he had won, because himself made none account of riches nor getting' (Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans Englished by Sir Thomas North, Anno 1579, 6 vols. (London: David Nutt, 1895-1896), III,226).

24,⁹~~10~~-11. that...Rome. See the ^{note to p.24,8-11} ~~previous~~ note.

24,12-14. Themistocles...strangers. Cf. Plutarch, Aristides, II; but see also Themistocles, V.

24,14-15. the abstract...current. Cf. Old Arcadia, p.22, 20-1, p.91,31-2 and p.322,10; and Misc. Prose, p.93,6-7.

25,3. ingenuity. nobility, generosity.

25,21-24. first employment...Empire. Sidney was dispatched on 7 February 1577; see the Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, ed. Charles Trice Martin for the Camden Society (London, 1870), p.30. He was accompanied by Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer. For accounts of the whole journey, see Wallace, pp.173-82, and Osborn, pp.447-95.

25,23. Maximilian. Maximilian II (1527-1576).

25,24. Rudolph. Rudolph II (1552-1612).

25,26-31. did...liberty. A copy of Sidney's instructions may be found in Harley MS 36, ff.295-98, the full text of which is reprinted in Osborn, pp.525-28. From the instructions it is clear that Sidney's main task was to observe the political and religious situation in the Empire. The first items of the instructions specifically mention that Sidney should visit Prince Casimir, Count Palatine, and his brother Ludwig, the new Elector Palatine, to 'condole the death' of their father, the Elector Frederick III; he is to ascertain whether the two brothers are living in amity, and if they are not, he is to make some attempts to reconcile them (Ludwig had been converted to Lutheranism, and was behaving unsympathetically towards Calvinists; see Prose Works, III, 105-6). The instructions understandably do not mention that Sidney should broach the subject of a Protestant league, though he clearly understood this to be part of his task; see Sidney to Walsingham, 22 March 1577, Prose Works, III, 108, and Sidney to William, Landgrave of Hesse, 13 May 1577, Prose Works, III, 114-15 (translated Osborn, p.476-78).

25,32-27,9. ^{And}Although...could do. The only example of the kinds of argument used by Sidney is preserved in his letter of 13 May 1577 to William, Landgrave of Hesse. Sidney wrote the letter when his sudden recall by Elizabeth I forced him to abandon his projected visit to the Landgrave at Kaiserlautern; see Wallace, p.178. Most of the letter (Prose Works III, 114-5) is translated by Osborn, pp.476-8. Sidney makes no mention of the undermining practices of the Spaniards and their papal allies, but he does draw attention to the repressive wars in France and the Netherlands. s/

26,22. they...gotten. The range of readings betrays a confusion in the sources from which the texts derive. I take 1652's omission of 'once' as an error, on the grounds that the word occurs in the readings of all three of the manuscripts. T's reading appears to me to be supported by J.

26,26. Socii. allies. Certain city-states, confederations and kingdoms outside Italy became allies of Rome on nominally equal grounds, but in time their status deteriorated to that of privileged provincial communities; see OCD, p.997.

26,31. Simeon and Levi. Cf. Gen. 49: 5.

27,6. symbolize. combine, unite.

27,10-12. To...day. It is difficult to understand exactly what Greville means. Soon after Sidney's return Daniel Rogers was sent to negotiate with the German princes, as well as with William of Orange. Rogers made little progress, and by the end of October Walsingham ordered him to abandon further negotiations concerning the proposed league; see Walsingham to Rogers, 31 October 1577 (CSPD 1577-78, no.392).

27,26. swarm...instruments. Cf. p.36,8 and p.97,14.

27,30. master-spirit. Cf. Julius Caesar III.i.163.

28,1. doubtful stage. Cf. Languet's 'You want another stage for your character...' (Languet to Sidney, 14 December 1579; Pears, p.165).

28,3. specious. devoid of the attractive qualities apparently possessed.

28,3-4. proposition...Anjou. Negotiations for a marriage between Elizabeth and François, Duke of Anjou (1554-1584), the eldest surviving brother of Henry III, began seriously in early 1579 (see Read, Walsingham, I,3-8).

28,5-7. the great...in it. By October 1579 only William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, appeared to be strongly in favour of the match; other members of the Council such as the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham were strongly opposed to it. Because Elizabeth herself appeared to be so much in favour of the marriage, the Council attempted to avoid giving offence by saying they would not commit themselves until she had stated her own opinion. Elizabeth's anger at this evasion was so great that the Council immediately offered to do her pleasure in seeking to further the match. See Read, Walsingham, II,21-22.

28,7-14. when he...sovereign. Greville appears, or purports, to be recalling conversations with Sidney at the time of the negotiations for the proposed Anjou marriage. Greville's discussion of the question has more in common with John Stubbs' The Discovery of a gaping gulf, which was published in mid-August 1579 (see Stubbs, p.xxvi), and with the radical religious views of Sir Francis Walsingham, than with Sidney's

own Letter to Queen Elizabeth, but this may be accounted for by the consideration that Sidney would adopt the most conciliatory pose, and use what he thought would be the most effective arguments, in writing to the Queen. A number of the arguments used by Greville were current at the time, and they are reflected in various memoranda prepared by Lord Burghley who was himself in favour of the match.

28,7-9. difference...them. Cf. A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Misc. Prose, p.49,21-5

28,7-8. difference of years. In 1579 Elizabeth would have been forty-six, and Anjou twenty-five, years old.

28,11. prove poetical. Sir Francis Walsingham also appears to have had doubts about the sincerity of the French in the negotiations for the match; see Read, Walsingham, II,15.

28,11. poetical. imaginary, fictitious.

28,14-15. the Duke's...possibility. Anjou was the heir to the childless Henry III, though it was by no means certain that Henry III would not have children.

28,26-29,3. though both...faith. Cf. Sidney's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Misc. Prose, p.50,10-16; and Stubbs, p.50.

29,2. tumult. disturbance.

29,2. imputation. ?

29,3-5. yet was...universally. Cf. Stubbs, pp.47-48.

29,3. the winning of St. Quentin. Spanish troops, supported by a small English contingent, captured St. Quentin from the French in August 1557; see A.F. Pollard, The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (1547-1603) (London, 1910), p.165.

29,3-4. the loss of Calais. Calais capitulated to 5 French troops under the Duke of Guise on 7 January 1578; see Pollard, op. cit., pp. 168-69.

29,5-6. incompatible. intolerable.

29,11-13. transform...conquest. Cf. The apologie or defence, of the most noble Prince William, ...Prince of Orange (Delft, 1581), sig. F2^v:

[Philip II of Spain] hath always fostered in his heart a mind to make you [the Estates] subject to a certain simple and absolute bondage,...and handle you as his officers have done the poor Indians, or at least as they do the people of Calabria, Sicily, Naples and Milan, whilst they remember not that these countries are not countries achieved by conquest, but come for the most part by the way of patrimony....

30,19-20. poetical...Dolman. Robert Parson's Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of England (1594) was written in favour of the Infanta's claim to the throne. The pseudonym 'Dolman' did not hide Parson's identity for very long; cf. A Discoverye of a covnterfecte conference...invented, printed, and published by one (Person) that dare not avowe his name ('Printed at Colleen 1600'), as well as An Apologie of the Earle of Essex (1603, but written in 1598), sig. D3. It is strange that Greville did not refer to the eminent Jesuit by name.

30,30. give...both. Cf. Sidney's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Misc. Prose, pp.55,13-56,5.

30,31-32. the weaker...home. Cf. Sidney's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Misc. Prose, pp.48,14-49,7. Sir Francis Walsingham was of the same opinion; see Read, Walsingham, II,17.

30,32-31,5. must...wife. Cf. Sidney's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, Misc. Prose, pp.50,33-51,2.

31,2. covert baron. under the authority of a husband.

31,3-5. lose...wife. Cf. Stubbs, p.49.

31,8-9. endeavoured...kingdom. Cf. Lord Burghley's memorandum of 27 March 1579, Read, Burghley, p.209; and Stubbs, p.19.

31,22-23. a snare...power. Cf. Tilley, L116: 'Laws catch flies (little flies) but let the hornets (great flies) go free'; and A Treatise of Monarchy 10.5-6.

31,29-32. the French...list. Cf. the Latin tag 'cuius regio eius religio'. This was not particularly the French solution to the religious problems of the sixteenth century; Henry IV had to be converted to Catholicism before he could enter Paris as king. It was however the solution adopted for the Empire in the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

32,11-18. By employing...inundations. Cf. Stubbs, pp. 90-91.

32,13. bondage. arbitrary or tyrannical impost; OED 1 b cites no instances earlier than 1650.

32,14. Empsons and Dudleys. Sir Richard Empson (d. 1510) and Edmund Dudley, Esq. (1462?-1510) were Henry VII's two notorious fiscal ministers; both were executed early in the reign of Henry VIII. Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England... First printed in 1662, 2 vols., ed. John Nichols (London, 1811), II,307, wrote of them:

Judge Dudley knew well how to turn a land into the greatest profit of his prince, which made him employed by King Henry the Seventh to put his penal statutes in execution; which he did, with severity, cruelty and extortion; so that, with Sir Richard Empson...they advanced a mighty mass of money to the king, and no mean one to themselves'.

Sir Philip Sidney was a great-grandson of Edmund Dudley; see the note to p.3,3-4.

32,16. Danaus' sieve. According to one tradition the daughters of Danaus were punished for murdering their husbands on their wedding night by being set the task of filling a leaky jar; see OCD, p.312. Cf. Seneca, Medea 748-9.

32,23. Duke of Guise. Henry de Lorraine, Duke of Guise (1550-1588).

32,25-26⁷. become...sovereign. See the note to pp.131,28-132,3.

32,29. precipitate. exalted, lofty. Cf. pp.35,5, 112,31-32; as well as 'sharp-pointed pyramis of power' (p.71,13-4), 'sharp-pointed tyrannies' (p.110,24-5), and 'transcendant power' (p.111,3).

33,19-22. the rending...inconveniency. For marrying strange women who turned his heart away from God, Solomon was to be punished by having the kingdom 'rent' away from his successors; see 1 Kings 11:1-13. Cf. Stubbs, pp.10, 17 and 33.

33,30-34,7. either...posterity. Cf. Lord Burghley's memorandum of 17 October 1575 (Lettenhove, VII,597-9), where he discusses the possible consequences of Dutch failure to resist the Spaniards: 'First...they must either suffer conquest or submit themselves to the King [of Spain] and receive such graces as by treaty they can get. Or else they must seek and obtain aid of the Queen of England or of the French King' (p.587). There is no mention of the idea that the Netherlands may turn to piracy.

33,30-1. fly...incontinent. This appears inconsistent; it is unlikely that the Netherlands would seek protection from the very people who are attacking them.

33,31. incontinent. immediately.

34,1-2. yoking citadels of Spain. Greville probably has in mind the great citadel of Antwerp; he possibly also playing on the name 'Castile', as well as alluding to the castles or citadels on the Castilian and Spanish coats of arms. is/

35,1-26. On...inferiors. Cf. Lettenhove, VII, 597.

35,4. desperate. dangerous, leaving no hope.

35,4. appearances. the general aspect of events, OED, 'appearance' sb. 11 b. The first instance cited is dated 1677.

35,5. precipitate. sudden, abrupt, hurried. Cf. OED, a. 4,5. See the note to p.32,29.

35,9. after-games. OED cites Dr. Johnson's definition: 'The expedients which are practised after the original game has miscarried; methods taken after the first turn of affairs'; the first instance cited is dated 1631. Cf. p.110,15, and Greville's letter of 11 November 1623 to the Duke of Buckingham, Bodleian MS Tanner lxxiii/2, f.283.

35,30. Scirpalus. Nowell Smith points out that Scirpalus was the pirate who captured Diogenes the Cynic and sold him in Crete; see Diogenes Laertius, VI.74.

35,30. Sextus Pompeius. Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, on being outlawed by the Roman Senate, occupied Sicily and blockaded Italy during the period of the Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus; see OCD, pp.858-9.

36,8. the swarm...subjects. Cf. pp.27,26 and 97,14.

36,11. specious. illusory.

36,17. real. royal.

36,19-20. France...province. Cf. Stubbs, p.52, and Lord Burghley's memorandum of 27 March 1579, Read, Burghley, p.209.

36,23-6. the French...chamber. Early in July 1579 the Earl of Leicester feigned illness and retired from the Court when Simier, Anjou's envoy to Elizabeth, revealed to the Queen that the Earl, one of the chief opponents of the Anjou match, had secretly married Lettice Knollys, the widow of Walter, Earl of Essex. See Wallace, p.212.

37,12-13. a due address...herself. The text of Sidney's Letter to Queen Elizabeth is reprinted in Misc. Prose, pp.46-57. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Misc. Prose, p.34) suggests that the letter was probably composed in November or December 1579; that is, two months after

the Duke of Anjou's secret visit to the Queen. Sidney most likely wrote the Letter at the prompting of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, and of Sir Francis Walsingham; see Languet's 'you were ordered to write as you did by those whom you were bound to obey' (Pears, p.187), as well as Wallace, p.213.

37,13-14. to whom...proper. Cf. Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby [1561?] (1928; London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1974), p.261.

37,17. selfness. due regard to self.

37,27. grandeess. persons of high rank, OED, sb. 1 b. The first instance cited is from Bacon's The Advancement of Learning, II.xvi.3.

38,1. no other...Lamia's. Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 515.2: [from 'On being a busybody']:

But as it is, like the Lamia in the fable, who, they say, when at home sleeps in blindness with her eyes stored away in a jar, but when she goes abroad puts in her eyes, and can see, so each of us, in our dealings with others abroad, puts his meddlesomeness, like an eye, into his maliciousness; but we are often tripped up by our own faults and vices by reason of our ignorance of them, since we provide ourselves with no sight or light by which to inspect them.

38,2. stained. obscured, eclipsed; OED, 'stain' v. 1 b. Nowell Smith (p.237) draws attention to Shakespeare, Sonnet XXXIII, line 3

38,13. trophy. token of worth.

38,14-15. kept...before. There is no evidence to show that Sidney was disgraced in any way. About a year later Languet was to write to Sidney: 'I learn from [your letter] that you have come forth from that hiding place of yours into open day' (Pears, p.187). He is probably referring to the period of six or seven months Sidney spent at Wilton from about February 1580; see Wallace, pp.222-4.

38,24-41,25. being...maker. Greville's is the only account of these events which probably took place in August 1579. See Wallace, pp. 213-6.

38,25. ⁻²⁶ a peer...favour. Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), was the wayward and quarrelsome son-in-law of Lord Burghley.

38,26. superlative. extremely high.

38,27. tennis-court. Of the four tennis-courts at the palace of Whitehall, the one most likely to have been the scene of the quarrel between Sidney and the Earl of Oxford was the 'little open tennis-court' which was next to the Tiltyard Gallery. It is probable that the 'private galleries' mentioned at p.39,18 were the Privy Gallery which was a continuation of the Tiltyard Gallery; see Survey of London, 38 vols. so far (1900-1975), XIV,38 and XIII,97.

38,30. unrespectiveness. lack of respect.

39,2. faction then reigning. those in favour of the Anjou marriage. The leaders of the party in favour of the marriage were Lord Burghley and Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain; see Read, Burghley, p.206. Of the leaders of the opposing party, the Earl of Leicester was already in disgrace (see the note to p.36,23-6), and Sir Francis Walsingham suffered royal displeasure; in early October he retired from Court after being censured by the Queen (see Read, Walsingham, II,22).

39,2-3. provoke in yielding. challenge [him] to submit or give way.

39,17. French commissioners. The Duke of Anjou's party was in England at least from 17 to 29 August 1579; see Read, Burghley, p.215.

39,28-²⁹~~30~~. gave...retorted. The rules for giving and returning lies were set out in such treatises as Sir William Segar's The Book of Honor and Armes (London, 1590): 'In every injury of words the injurer ought be [sic.] the challenger; as for example, Simon saith to Austen, thou art a traitor. Austen answereth, thou liest: then doth it behove Simon to maintain his words, and consequently to challenge Austen to combat' (pp.2-3); 'The true and proper nature of the lie is to repulse an injury, and whensoever it worketh not that effect it becometh injury, and by another lie may be returned' (pp.14-5). t/

40,7. accident. incident.

40,10. standard of humours. principles of fashionable (whimsical) behaviour (?); see OED, 'humour' sb. 6 c. Nowell Smith, p.238, suggests that the text could be emended to read 'standard of honour'.

40,13. hearing...lord. Sending a letter of challenge was part of the formal code of: 'He who challengeth doth send some letter to that effect which ought to be framed in brief terms, and thereby express in short and proper words the effect of the quarrel and injury' (Sir William Segar, op. cit., p.17). honour/

40,16-17. This...challenge. The Earl of Oxford's challenge may have been delivered by either Charles Arundel or Walter Raleigh; see PRO, SP 12/151/45, f. 178^v.

40,20. lords...Council. See the note to lines 26-7.

40,26-27. Sir Philip...right. One of the Councillors who was aware of Sidney's attitude was the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton; see Sidney's letter of 28 August 1579 to him (Prose Works III,128).

40,30-41,6. The Queen...both. According to the code of honour a subject should never 'either upon commandment or upon any pennance whatsoever refuse the combat. Neither ...ought any prince to look for anything at his subjects' hands that may impair their reputation or work their dishonour' (Vicentio Saviola his practise, London, 1595, sig. Y3^v).

43,1-3. an expedition...himself. There is at present not enough evidence either to support or disprove Greville's statements about Sidney's involvement in Drake's expedition of 1585 to the West Indies. When Greville mentions the expedition at p.107,9-21, he gives no indication of Sidney's possible involvement. Mona Wilson, p.227, accepts Greville's view that Sidney had been involved in planning the expedition, with a secret intention of joining it, since October 1584. Wallace (pp.330-31) and Howell (pp.231-32) believe that Sidney decided on impulse to join Drake when it seemed that his hopes of gaining the governorship of the cautionary town of Flushing would be disappointed.

43,4-5. last...West Indies. Sir Francis Drake died on the expedition of 1595 to the West Indies. Before this final voyage, he took part in two other expeditions: one to the Azores in 1587 (see p.107,11-24), and one to Portugal (see p.131,4-13).

43,12-13. by the credit...supplied. Sidney had been appointed joint Master of the Ordnance on 21 July 1585; see CSPD 1581-1590, p.254.

43,26. richesse. opulence; cf. Faerie Queene II.ii.41.

44,13. propounding. purposing.

44,13-18. To...them. In a postscript of a letter from Paris to Sir Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt reported that 'the rumour of Raleigh's fleet, and especially the preparation of Sir Francis Drake, so vexes the Spaniard that I wish, if Drake's voyage be stayed, the rumour of it may be continued' (CSPD Addenda 1580-1625, 7 April 1585).

44,29. misprision. concealment; OED, sb. 1 b.

45,1. Don Antonio. Don Antonio (1531-1595), the Prior of Crato, a bastard nephew of King Sebastian of Portugal (d. 1578), was the principal native pretender to the Portuguese throne. He relied heavily on English aid to support his claims against those of Philip II of Spain.

45,5~~6~~. overshoots...bow. See the note to p.18,16-17.

Greville presumably means that Sidney was able to keep his activities secret from Sir Francis Walsingham, a recognised master of secret dealing.

45,11. Achates. He was the faithful companion of Aeneas.

45,17-18. that ingenuous spirit of Sir Philip's. A further instance of Sidney's own generosity of spirit failing to detect baseness in others may be found in his response to the Master of Grey; see Wallace, pp.320-3.

45,27. Don Antonio landed not. Don Antonio landed on 7 September 1585; see the marginal annotations to the Record of the mayors of Plymouth, HMC IX,278. On hearing of the plans for the expedition, Don Antonio expressed a desire to accompany Sidney and Drake; see CSPS 1580-1586, Mendoza to King Philip, 8 October 1585.

45,30-31. leaden...thoughts. Drake was understandably unwilling to take Sidney with him. When he eventually sailed on 14 September, the preparations for the expedition were incomplete; see Julian S Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, 2nd ed., 2 vols (London, 1899), I,19.

45,31-32. wrought...night. Cf. Penelope's device for fobbing off suitors while she waited for the return of Odysseus, Odyssey 2.93ff.; 19.134ff.; and 24.128ff.

46,2-6. this...read. In a letter to the Earl of Rutland, John Stanhope reports that the messenger carried three letters: one to Sidney commanding his return, one to Drake forbidding him to take Sidney with him, and a third to the Mayor of Plymouth ordering him to ensure that the queen's instructions were carried out. The messenger is said to have been surprised by four mariners within four miles of Plymouth, his letters taken from him and, after being read, returned to him. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV: The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle, 3 vols. (London, 1888-94), I,78 (12 September 1585).

46,25. blastings. withering (reprimands), ruin; cf. 'blasting' vbl. sb. 1,3. OED, vbl. sb. 4, cites this as the first instance of 'blasting' used to mean 'calumnious whisper', 'scandal'.

47,1-3. the limbs...finish. Cf. Pliny, Natural History, XXXV.92.

47,5. minute. detail. Cf. Alaham Act II, Chorus ii, line 47.

47,10 var. Yet to...armies. When this material was inserted into the state of the text represented by T, the J/S reading 'Yet' at p.47,1 was altered to 'Nevertheless' for obvious stylistic reasons. The omission of this passage by 1652 cannot, therefore, be attributed to the fact that T could possibly be the final state of revision of the text, since 1652 also reads 'Nevertheless' at p.47,1. One could invent a fanciful theory of inserted revision slips subsequently going astray in order to save this tribute to the worth of Sir Francis Drake from the underworld of the critical apparatus, but it is much more likely that Greville thought better of his generosity.

47,16 var. abroad...buried. For a brief account of the Earl of Leicester's assumption of the Governor-Generalship of the provinces of Holland and Zeeland against Elizabeth I's express orders, and of the Queen's response to his actions, see R.C. Strong and J.A. van Dorsten, Leicester's Triumph (Leiden and London, 1964), pp.50-59.

48,6-7. laid the...him. There appears to have been a convention for discourses of this kind; see, for example, the survey of the 'general affairs of Christendom' in Michel Hurault, A discourse upon the present estate of France (London, 1538), pp.27-45.

49,3-6. the stirring...not. Cf. p.54,15-17. It may be that Greville has in mind the advancement of Lord Burghley's sickly second son, Robert Cecil, during the 1590s. He was appointed a Councillor in 1591, Principal Secretary in 1596, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1597; see Read, Burghley, pp.466, 513 and 530.

49,7-8. The people..valiant. Cf. Pierre d'Avity, The Estates, Empires, & Principalities of the World, tr. Edward Grimestone (London, 1615), p.5:

'Some think that the greatest part of that nation [the English] run into danger, rather by a furious motion of nature, than by any full resolution of the knowledge of the danger, which proceeds from true valour; whatsoever it be, they seem to be ignorant of fear and flight, and to have no other design but to vanquish'.

49,16. complexions. temperaments, dispositions; OED, 'complexion' sb. 1,2 and 3.

49,22. creation. nature.

49,24-25. she resolved...sex. Cf. Michel Hurault, op. cit., p.39:

England...[is] ruled by a woman, who following the nature of her kind, hath wisely contented herself with maintaining her subjects in peace, and defending her state from neighbours' attempts, not enterprising any attempts against them.

50,7-8. the keeping...fleet. Cf. p.58,9-11 and p.131, 15-22. See the note to p.58,9-11.

50,9-10. another...navy. Greville failed to notice the anachronism of having Sidney refer to a further Armada.

50,16-18. Henry the Third...pleasures. A brief account of the dissolute behaviour of Henry III (1551-1589) that so scandalised his contemporaries may be found in J.E. Neale, The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History (1943; London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), pp.75-7. For a contemporary description see Pierre de l'Estoile, Memoires-Journeaux, tr. and ed. by N.L. Roelker as The Paris of Henry of Navarre (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp.52 ff.

50,20. light. unthinking, frivolous, easily swayed.

50,20. move. be stirred up; OED a. 8 and 21.

50,22-23. become...self-division. At this period there were two governments in France other than the king's. In the south-west Henry of Navarre controlled the organisation of the Huguenots and the Politiques, and in the north and in Paris the League, under the leadership of the Duke of Guise, established their independence of the monarchy.

50,27-29. the vast...self-greatness. Since the early sixteenth century the Empire--under the Habsburgs--had been organised into ten 'circles' for administrative purposes; see CMH I,320-21 and CMH Atlas, map 5.

51,20. commanding. controlling.

51,20. intelligence. a relation of intercourse between parties, OED, sb. 6.

52,2-8. Báthory...theirs. Cf. Pierre d'Avity, The Estates ...of the World, tr. Edward Grimestone (1615), p.5:

Rightly considering the government of Poland at this day, it may rather seem a commonwealth than a royalty: for the king's regal power is so limited as he doth not challenge much right or power over his subjects of the military order, that is to say, of the nobility, nor over their Estates; neither hath he any over the clergy.

Cf. Shakespeare's Europe, p.77:

In the age past Stephen Báthory, Prince of Transylvania, being chosen King of Poland, was said upon pretence of public occasions to have raised an army and, still keeping himself armed and strengthened, therewith to have abated the pride of the Palatines and gentlemen.

Stephen Báthory (1553-1586) was elected to the throne of Poland in 1576.

52,4. poised. balanced, or held in check; counterpoised.

52,9-10. Denmark...sound. The king of Denmark controlled the narrow straits between Denmark and Norway, the Sound, and was able to impose substantial levies on the valuable Baltic trade. For details of these levies see Shakespeare's Europe, pp.177-8.

52,17-20. the Polack...charge. The king of Sweden at the time of Sidney's purported survey was John III (d. 1592). He was succeeded by his son Sigismund Augustus, an ardent Catholic who had been elected to the throne of Poland in 1587. The king of Sweden referred

to in the text is, however, Sigismund Augustus' uncle who was wholly committed to the Protestant cause; he assumed the throne as Charles IX in 1604, though he had in fact ruled the country for some years before that. Charles' defensive wars against his nephew were fought for the most part in Swedish Livonia; see Michael Roberts, The Early Vasas (Cambridge, 1968), pp.403-4.

52,20-21. the King...princes. Christian IV of Denmark (1577-1648) succeeded his father, Frederick II, in 1588, but during his minority Denmark was governed by a regency council (until 1596). Christian IV had hopes of restoring the old Scandanavian union of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and so was definitely an unsafe neighbour; see Michael Roberts, The Early Vasas (Cambridge, 1968), pp.397-98.

52,22-23. the barbarous...elsewhere. Cf. p.53,12-13.

52,25-26. among...terror. maintain a significant position among other princes as a source of help or terror.

52,27. The Switzers...equality. Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy, 102.1-2.

52,32-53,2. The princes...them. Cf. Shakespeare's Europe, p.102:

'[The Duke of Florence]...might with ease subdue that city [Lucca] were it not that he forbears to disturb the peace of Italy which war would soon bring in confusion, Italy consisting of many petty principalities governed by many heads. All which the beginner of any war should make his enemies, and so the Duke instead of gaining a city might lose or disturb his own dominion'.

53,3-4. keeping...them. Cf. Shakespeare's Europe, p.132:

'The princes of Italy [place] all the hope of preserving their states in the greatness of their treasure, not in the love of their subjects which they lose by...cruel exactions (under which they groan as under the bondage of Egypt) and so hold their faithfulness suspected'.

53,4-5. as...him. Cf. Shakespeare's Europe, p.119:

'The princes of Italy above all others in the world impose not only upon their subjects, but upon all strangers passing through their territories, great and many tolls, customs and like exactions'.

53,8. challenging. laying claim to; OED, 'challenge' v. 5 a.

53,8-9. in aspects to. with regard to, in respect of; OED, 'aspect' sb. 2.

53,9. conjured. constrained by oath; bewitched, charmed. See OED, 'conjure' v. 3 and 7.

53,16-20. The Grand Signior...bashaws. Murad (Amurath) III (1546-1595), succeeded as Sultan in 1574. Richard Knolles, The generall historie of the Turkes (London, 1603), reports that he took advice from his mother, his wife and his sister rather than from his officials (p.919); he also makes a special point of mentioning the unusual precedent of the sultan not taking personal charge in the series of inconclusive wars against his fellow Moslems, the Persians (p.926).

53,28-29. those...world. the West Indies and America.

53,30. yo el rey. I the king. This was the normal royal subscript to formal Spanish documents; see, for example, Jesús Muñoz y Rivero, Manual de Paleografía Diplomática Española de los Siglos XII al XVII (Madrid, 1917), pp.362 and 443.

54,6. almanac. Cf. OED, 'calendar' sb. 3: 'guide, directory, example, model'.

54,9. aspect. appearance.

54,15-17. perceiving...abroad. Cf. p.49,3-6.

54,27. bent. directed.

55,7-10. And for...discipline. Greville may have in mind Prince Casimir's disastrous expedition of September-October 1587, when bad leadership and poor discipline put the mercenaries sent to aid Henry of Navarre at the mercy of the French royal army; see Read, Walsingham, III, 206.

55,10-11 and var. discipline...And so. This series of variants clearly demonstrates the direction of revision of the texts. The earliest reading, J/S, was: 'discipline ...Out of which he'. When the new passage in T was added, it was changed to: 'discipline, and so...Whereupon he'. The bulk of the T addition was then deleted, except for the 'and so' which is retained by 1652.

55,16-17. as Caesar saith...do. 'In the towns the common folk surround traders, compelling them to declare from what districts they come and what they have learnt there. Such stories and hearsay often induce them to form plans upon vital questions of which they must forthwith repent' Gallic War IV.5.

55,23-27. the one...affected. The plans attributed to Sir Philip Sidney here, and outlined in the next two chapters, are very similar to those proposed by Sir Roger Williams to the Council in April 1591: 'Believe me, unless we can give great blows either on the Indian navy, or in those countries where his treasure comes, or on the disciplined army, I mean on the Duke of Parma, or in the main of Spain or Portingale, be assured the rest is but consuming of by little fires. Do what you can, without putting the Spanish king in hazard of one of the three, your Lordships shall never bring him to any reason' (PRO, SP 18/24/43, f. 78v).

55, 23. diverted Hannibal. During the second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) the Romans sent an army to Spain, and this prevented reinforcements from Africa reaching Hannibal. Although it had been planned, they did not, as Greville's statement may be taken to imply, send forces against Carthage itself.

55,25-26. Jason...fleece. Jason was set the task of fetching the Golden Fleece from Colchis. As companions on this exploit he gathered round him the noblest heroes in Greece; see OCD 'Argonauts'. Cf. p.73,10-16.

56,19-20. the Portugal...them. Spain had ruled Portugal since 1580, when Philip II succeeded to the Portuguese throne. According to Peter Pierson 'a Castilian regime... implied a supine Cortes, a dependent nobility and clergy, a crown-directed Inquisition unhindered by ordinary legal procedures, a compliant judiciary and towns governed by royally appointed corregidores--in other words, absolute monarchy, run by Castilians appointed from Madrid to the chief offices in each of Philip's dominions without regard for local privileges' (Philip II of Spain, London, 1975, p.86). V.H.H. Green, Renaissance and Reformation, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p.76, points out that Philip II ruled Portugal with understanding, and respected the liberties and rights of the country.

56,25. this real inquisition. this severe (self-) examination, referring back to 'scourge itself' in line 24; but cf. Nowell Smith, p.242. Cf. p.58,15.

56,26. audacity. boldness.

57,1. Seville. Seville, lying seventy miles from the coast on the Guadalquivir, had the legal as well as the effective monopoly of trade with the Indies; see J.H. Parry, The Spanish Seaborne Empire (London,1966), pp.54 and 124-28.

57,14. conjured. See p.53,9 n.

57,15-16 var. But...them. This material is omitted in later versions because it has no place in a discussion dealing with attacks on the Spanish mainland.

57,15-16 var. bait. halt for refreshment in the course of a journey; OED, sb. 5.

58,3-4. commodious. Nowell Smith, p.242, reports 1652 as reading 'commodius'. I have found no copies of the editio princeps with this variant.

58,8. cloudy humours. obscure, incomprehensible attitudes.

58,9-11. to keep...hers. A plan very similar to this was outlined by John Hawkins in December 1587 in 'A discourse for the obtaining of a good peace' (PRO SP 12/206/61). The practical details were as follows: 'In the continuance of this war I wish it to be ordered in this sort, that...there be always six principal good ships of her Majesty's upon the coast of Spain victualled for four months, and accompanied with six small vessels which shall haunt the coast of Spain and the Islands. Which be a sufficient company t^o distress any thing that goeth through that seas. And when those must return, <...> there would be other six good ships likewise accompanied to keep the place. So should that seas be never unfurnished, but as one company at the four months end doth return, th'other company should be always in the place' (f. 1).

Hawkins' plan was not put into effect until 1602; see Sir William Monson's 'The Advantages of keeping a fleet on the coast of Spain in the time of war', Monson Tracts II, 232-4.

58,11. sleeve. the English Channel, from the French la Manche.

58,20-23. Leviathan...nature. Cf. Tilley, F311, 'The great fish eat the small'.

58,25. audit. searching examination, referring back to 'surveyors' in line 12.

58,30-33. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton...there. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton (1515-1571), an ardent Protestant, served as ambassador in Paris from 1559 until 1564. In 1562 Throgmorton managed to persuade Elizabeth to support the Huguenots by sending troops for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, and for holding Le Havre (Newhaven) as a cautionary town; see Black, pp. 39-40, 45-6 and 49-51.

59,9-10. humble...souls. the Huguenots.

59,18 var. discorder. This error in 1652, along with an instance from c. 1400, is cited by OED as a usage of the word to mean 'a quarreller; a maker of discord'.

59,19-20. Bouillon and Rohan. Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon (1555-1623) was a prominent Huguenot leader. He visited England in 1596 as an ambassador for Henry IV. Henri, Duc de Rohan (1579-1638) distinguished himself at the siege of Amiens in 1596. After the death of Henry IV he led the Huguenot opposition to the policies of Marie de Médicis.

59,20. royalets. petty kings or princelets. The earliest instance cited by OED is dated 1650.

59,24. waving. capriciously changing, wavering; cf. p.71,13, p.88,20 and p.128,26.

60,3. climax. ascending scale, progression. The first instance of this usage is dated 1781 by OED. Cf. p.71, 15-16 var.

60,8. chargeable. burdensome.

60,9. mountebank. spurious, false.

60,15. factious and ambitious assistances. advantageous circumstances produced by the partisanship and powerful independence [of the French cities].

60,29. undertaking. being bold or prepared to undertake a dangerous enterprise.

61,16. captivated. made captive, enthralled.

61,18-19. lulling...matches. The Austrian Habsburgs were well known for their advantageous diplomatic marriages; cf. the common tag: Bella gerant alii, Tu, felix Austria, nube (Let others wage wars, you, happy Austria, marry!) of

61,21. citadelize. reduce to subjection by means of a citadel; the only instance cited by OED. Cf. p.34,1-2.

61,22. tenure. conditions of service of a tenant.

62,4-6. first...undertakers. Cf. Tilley, B472 'The first blow is as much as two'.

62,15. her...Naples. Ferdinand of Aragon invaded Navarre in 1512, expelling its rulers, Catherine de Foix and Jean d'Albert, Henry IV's great-grandparents. Except for a few square miles which lay north of the Pyrenees, Navarre was incorporated with Castile in 1515. See CMH I,366-67. Francis I had abandoned the old Angevin claim to Naples in 1553; see NCMH II,353.

62,28-29. this new...league. See the note to p.105,10-29.

63,2-4. Polyphemus...devour. Cf. Camden, (1588) p.419: 'At which time [after the defeat of the Armada] the King [James VI of Scotland]...said merrily "That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniard than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, that after all the rest were devoured he should be swallowed the last" '.

63,6. chargeable. expensive, costly, burdensome.

63,7. passages. courses of action.

63,9. this active prince. Charles Emmanuel I (1562-1630) succeeded his father as Duke of Savoy in 1580. An unusually active and ambitious ruler, Charles Emmanuel alternated alliances between France and Spain, hoping to extend his territories and establish the duchy more securely; see CMH, III,413-421.

63,11. cobwebs. subtly entangling snares, intrigues; see OED, 'cobweb' 3 c, which cites a first instance dated 1649.

63,14. shift his outward garments. Cf. Tilley, C20 'He has turned his cloak on the other shoulder'; and T353 'He has turned his tippet (coat)'.

63,17-18. pregnant. of great consequence; OED a² 5.

63,19. the Grand Signior. the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. 18/-

63,20. Suleiman. Suleiman (1494?-1566), 'the Magnificent', 'the Lawgiver', was the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520-1566. He undertook bold campaigns that enlarged his realm and threatened the security of Christian Europe. It was during his reign that the Ottomans became the dominant power in the Mediterranean.

63,25. stet pro ratione voluntas. let my will stand for my reason. Cf. Juvenal, VI.223 and Julius Caesar II.ii.71.

63,27. selfly. of its own accord.

64,2-3. seven...kingdoms. Greville may have in mind the fact that, on one count at least, Spain was made up of seven kingdoms. The number seven appears to be associated in Greville's mind with the Lernaean Hydra (see p.66,29-30), and the seven-headed beast in Rev. 12:3, 13:1, 17:3 and 7. For associations of the seven-headed beast with the Roman Church, see, for example, Faerie Queene, Book I, Canto VIII. 87-

64,23. our old...Sicily. In 1255 Edmund, Duke of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III, was invested as the King of Sicily (see Holinshed, III,252), but the papal grant was subsequently cancelled; see Cambridge Medieval History, ed. H.M. Gwatkin et. al., 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1911-1936), VI,177 and 183.

65,11-14. dares...might. This rather curious statement may perhaps be related to a passage in Camden, (1594) p.482:

'In this book [Robert Parsons' A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England (n.p., 1594)], without any regard had to right by birth, they declare "that the ancient laws of the land concerning hereditary succession to the crown of England are to be altered; that new laws are to be introduced concerning electing the king; that no man but a Roman Catholic, how near of blood soever he be, is to be admitted king" '.

65,14. he. the Pope.

65,17. mediate. serve to bring about; OED v. 5, citing a first instance dated 1630.

65,23. supererogation. in Roman Catholic theology, 'the performance of good works beyond what God commands or requires, which are held to constitute a store of merit which the Church may dispense to others to make up for their deficiencies'; OED 1a.

65,26. under...their own' vines. Cf. Mic. 4:4; also p.102,12-13.

65,29. undertaking. attending to, or looking after.

65,29. this Antony single. Like Antony, Henry III of France had a reputation for military leadership as well as dissipation. Greville's turn of phrase is probably intended to disallow possible parallels between Elizabeth I and Cleopatra.

65,31. Octavian. T's reading, 'Augustus', is probably what Greville wrote initially. Later, he realised that the use of this name was anachronistic and changed it to Octavian. 'Ottoman', which makes no sense in the present context, could very easily be a misreading of 'Octavian' in a Secretary hand. I need to thank Mr. John Pitcher for his contribution to the solution of this problem.

66,4. equilibrium. state of equal balance. OED does not cite an instance of the word used to mean this before 1677.

66,13. noun-adjective natured. Cf. p.88,18-19, p.103, 28 and Greville's letter of 30 August 1597 to Robert Cecil (HMC Cecil VII,370) 'God favours those weak noun-adjective natures that rest in the strengths without them, as I do in my ship'.

66,21. redelivered Amiens. Greville's memory failed him on this point. Amiens, one of the last cities to submit to Henry IV, was captured by the Spanish in March 1597; Henry IV did not manage to retake it until ^{septem} September. Henry III was assassinated in 1589.

66,23. Paris. T's variant reading 'Rouen' is not the result of transmissional error. In 1590 Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma raised Henry IV's siege of Paris, and in 1592 he succeeded in bringing relief to Rouen; see Camden, p.442 and pp.463-4. Because English forces were involved in the siege of Rouen, it is natural to think that Greville's initial thoughts would be of the way Parma deceived Henry IV into abandoning the siege. It is highly improbable that Greville would first have thought of the siege of Paris, and then later have considered that the siege of Rouen was more worthy of mention. This hypothesis may be supported by Camden's qualified praise of Parma's skill as a commander:

'The prince overruneth Picardy, victualleth Paris, then in rebellion,...and then marcheth back with his forces, with greater commendations for his military skill in casting up trenches by his soldiers hands..., and in wisely forbearing to fight, than for his good discipline in restraining his soldiers' licentiousness' (p.442).

66,25-26. Augustus-like...successor. Nowell Smith, p.248, suggests that Greville is referring to Augustus' injunctions not to extend the boundaries of the empire after his death; see Cassius Dio's Roman History LVI.33. For Augustus' wish to outshine his successor, see Tacitus, Annals I.10.

66,29-30. seven-headed Hydra. See the note to p.64,2-3.

66,34. a true cutter of cumin seeds. i.e. a patient person, one capable of paying attention to small and commonplace matters, and of making exact distinctions. Cf. Cassius Dio's Roman History LXX.3, and Bacon's The Advancement of Learning I.vii.7.

67,4. perplexed. involved, intricate.

67,4. pedigrees. lines of descent (referring back to 'succeeding princes' at p.66,27, and 'some new child' at p.66,31).

67,7-8. fortune...misfortunes. Cf. Tilley, F610 'Great fortune brings with it great misfortune'.

67,8. wind-blown. inconstant. Cf. Tilley, W412 'As wavering (changeable, fickle, inconstant) as the wind'.

67,12-13. mean-born subject. Cf. Camden, p.248.

68,10. credible. deserving credit, OED a. 4. The first instance of this usage is dated 1631.

68,14. no man...country. Cf. Matt. 13:57 and ODEP, p650.

69,2. Cimaroons. escaped negroes from the Spanish settlements between Nombre de Dios and Panama; see Monson Tracts I,334 n., and V,123. Drake hoped that Cimaroons would join him; see his 'plan of campaign' [printed from British Library MS Lansdowne 100 f.98], Papers Relating to the Navy During the Spanish War, 1585-1587, ed. Julian S. Corbett (London, 1898), p.72.

69,15. warrant. promise.

69,24. emulation. 'ambitious rivalry for honours; contention or ill-will between rivals', OED 2.

69,30. intelligence. a relation of intercourse or correspondence; cf. Bacon, The Advancement of Learning I.iv.11: 'The sciences themselves, which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man than with his reason...'.

69,33. Rubicon. Cf. Tilley, R197.

70,5. unwarranted from enriching. not kept safe from [the danger of] enriching.

70,8. over-racked unity. over-strained or forced unity [of many realms under one ruler].

70,9-12. had interdicted...excepted. For a discussion of the Castilian monopoly of trade with the Americas and the West Indies, see John Lynch, Spain Under the Habsburgs, 2 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964-1969), I,151-9. Lynch suggests that the monopoly developed out of a desire to organise the trade as efficiently as possible.

70,10. vent. outlet.

70,24-27. the heavy...centre. According to the Aristotelian theory of dynamics, heavy bodies have a natural motion towards the centre of the universe and light ones to the circumference; see, for example, Aristotle, Physica IV.4.

71,4. preposterous. unnatural, irrational.

71,5. commotion. public disorder.

71,6. free-denizened. established as free inhabitants.

71,13. waving. capriciously changing; cf. p.59,24.

71,13-14. sharp-pointed...power. See the note to p.32,29.

71,15-16 var. See p.60,3 and note.

71,16. unbelieved Cassandra. There is no evidence for Cassandra, Priam's daughter, as a prophetess in the Iliad. Later sources (as, for example, Aeneid 2.246) present her as a prophetess whose dire warnings are disregarded; see OCD, pp.210-11.

72,3. uses. practices.

72,3. audits. solemn reckonings, searching examinations.

72,5-6. not...step-fathers. Cf. Isaiah 49:23 'And kings shall be thy nursing fathers...'; and A Treatise of Religion, 31, line 3.

72,8. discreation. undoing of creation.

72,18. lively characts. vivid signs or representations.

72,19-20. this justice...slow. Cf. Tilley, G270 and V25.

72,21-74,9. under the...have not. Of Sidney's more recent biographers, only Mona Wilson, pp.234-35, realises that this material refers to Sidney's proposals for an expedition to the West Indies after the Low Country campaign.

72,24. ill executed. Sir William Monson claims that if the expedition had been as well planned as it was executed it would have been the most successful of all the undertakings against the king of Spain; see Monson Tracts I,23. Drake brought home plunder to the value of £67,000. The main criticism against him was that he abandoned Cartageña. For a defence of Drake's actions, see Julian S Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1899), II,53-54.

73,5-6. disreputation. discredit.

73,20. bellum piraticum. war by pirates.

73,21. banditti. marauders, brigands.

73,21. ramass. gathering, collection, heap; cf. OED v1.

73,22. emporium. a centre of commerce.

74,3. richesses. wealth, abundant resources.

75,5. General of the Horse. The General of the Horse was the Earl of Essex; see Eva Mabel Tenison, Elizabethan England, 12 vols. [in 13] (Royal Leamington Spa, 1932-1961), VI,16.

75,9-10. first...Axel. The various accounts of the capture of Axel on 7 July 1586 differ a great deal as to the details of the action. It would seem, however, that the idea of taking the town was first suggested by Count Maurice of Nassau, but that Sidney was in charge of the actual operation; see Wallace, pp.369-70. Edmund Molyneux (Holinshed, III,1554) gives all the credit to Sidney.

75,10-11. he revived...march. The attack on the town came as a complete surprise to the defenders, the guards having been overpowered by some thirty to forty soldiers who had swum across the moat and scaled the walls; see Leicester Correspondence, pp.337-38, the Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, 8 July 1586.

I have not been able to find a Classical precedent for Sidney's strategy. Gyles Clayton, The approued order of martiall discipline (London, 1591), mentions not only the standard military requirements of maintaining silence, but stipulates, under the heading 'Keeping of array in the dark', that at times of surprising the enemy 'every soldier shall carry the end of his lead man's weapon for making any noise, and by that means they shall keep their array in dark nights, or marching through straits or woods or suchlike'.

75,12-15. placed...commanders. Cf. Prose Works, I,41.

75,18-19. How providently...lives. Cf. Sir John Smythe, Certain discourses...concerning the forms and effects of diuers sorts of weapons (London, 1590), f. * * * 2:

All great captains, chieftains and men of charge have holden for a maxim to preserve by all means possible the liues of their soldiers, and not to employ and hazard them upon every light occasion.... The new discipline of some of our men of war in the Low Countries hath been to send and employ their soldiers into many dangerous and vain exploits and services without any reason military, having sure regard to their own safeties, as though they desired and hoped to have more gain and profit by the dead pays of their soldiers slain, than increase of reputation by the achieving and preuailing in any such enterprises.

75,19-20. that enterprise of Gravelines. The only other substantial account of these events is 'The discourse of the enterprise of Graveling' (PRO, SP 84/9/46, ff.104-5). It would appear that three Walloon officers claimed to have won over--with promises of preferment--a sergeant, a corporal and three friends and adherents of the garrison to betray the town and castle. On 16 July 1586 Sidney cast anchor before the town; after a prearranged signal of four cannonshot, he waited for the lieutenant of the garrison and other hostages to be brought on board by Nicholas Marchaunt, one of the Walloon captains. Instead, only a corporal and a servant of Marchaunt arrived;

they informed Sidney that the lieutenant had left the day before for Dunkirk, but they assured him that the town and castle 'were wholly at his honour's devotion'. Unconvinced by these assurances, Sidney sent a Captain Smith to search the town, talk to Marchaunt and urge him to send hostages. Captain Smith returned with the assurance that the town could be taken with three hundred men.

Notwithstanding...Sir Philip would not hazard one man on land; yet as it should not be said he came thither to no end, or would not adventure any men for a matter of such moment as that was, he determined to send 26 soldiers into the town to make search and to understand how all things stood...; whereof two returning brought word that the town was ours.... Sir Philip...(not without great mistrust) sent thither Lieutenant Browne with 70 men to demand the assurance of the castle, who seeing him so resolute, & that they could draw him no further, thought good to take as much as they could, & on the sudden issued out at the gate upon our men (attending there Lieutenant Browne's return) with the match in the lock [of their guns], and at the first salvo slew divers of those 70, pursuing them to the river. The great ordnance also coming from the castle and town in our retreat, so fast as could be charged and discharged; and on the sea sand certain horsemen laid by them in ambush...charged us, being near our ships, but they, being annoyed by our shot from the ships, did us no great harm, so that of 70 at the gate there returned to the ships 47. For the 26, it is uncertain whether they be put to death or not, but we heard 5 or 6 small shot in the town not long before they issued out upon us at the gates.

Thomas Digges, A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services Done in the Low Countries, by the Erle of Leicester (London, 1587), sig. B4^v, reports that about thirty common soldiers were lost at Gravelines.

75,23. La Motte. Sidney was justifiably suspicious of this man. Valentin de Pardieu, Seigneur de la Motte (d. 1595), had not only been branded as a traitor by the States General, but in 1579 had been involved in a plot to have Brill betrayed to him from within; see A.J. van der Aa et. al., Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden (Haarlem, 1852-1877).

75,24-25. Sinon-like. Sinon was a pretended deserter from the Greek forces at Troy who told the Trojans a long and false tale of the building of the Trojan Horse (Virgil, Aeneid II.57-194), and after it had been taken within the walls of the city released the Greek soldiers within it.

76,5. flattering. full of promise.

76,22. Sir William Browne. This appears to be the same William Browne who served as a captain under Robert Sidney, and who later became Lieutenant-governor of Flushing; see Sidney Papers, ^{II} 2,3. He was knighted by the Earl of Essex on the Islands' Voyage of 1597; see Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place, 6 vols. (London, 1925-1966), II,300.

77,22. Count Hollock. Count Philip of Hohenlohe Langenburg (1550-1606), an habitually quarrelsome man, was opposed to English involvement in the Netherlands. He and the Earl of Leicester were never finally reconciled; see A.J. van der Aa, et. al., Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, 21 parts (Haarlem, 1852-1878).

77,22-23. made...uncle. Cf. Leicester Correspondence, p.386; Leicester to Walsingham, 7 August 1586.

78,17. the disadvantage...uncle. Although the Earl of Leicester antagonised the Dutch leaders by his overbearing behaviour, and so lost all hope of success in the Low Countries, the antipathy of the Dutch was not directed against the English in general; see John Lothrop Motley, History of the United Netherlands, 4 vols. (London, 1874), II,331-34.

78,21. pretence. purposed end; OED sb. 3.

79,1 var. Now...shall. This passage became redundant when J/S Chapter XI was removed to 1652/T Chapter XVII.

79,2. Briton Scipio. Cf. Lodowick Bryskett, A Discovrse of Civill Life (London, 1606), p.160: 'Whereby may well be said of him [Sir Philip Sidney] the same that Cicero said of Scipio Africanus, to wit, that virtue was come faster upon him than years'.

79,3. scantling. standard or measure (of worth), epitome, pattern, sketch or outline; see OED sb. 1,5 and 6.

79,9. alloyed. debased.

79,19-20. to stop...strait. The Earl of Leicester's forces had besieged Zutphen since 13 September 1586.

Upon the 21 of September in the evening his Excellency [the Earl of Leicester] having intelligence that the Prince [Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma] would the next morning send a convoy of victuals into Zutphen, sent out good scout that night, and gave order to Sir John Norris to draw out Sir William Stanley's and other bands of footmen, and appointed some horsemen withal to encounter the convoy in the way between the enemy's camp and Zutphen. In the morning the 22 of September fell a great and thick mist that you might hardly discern a man ten paces off; at the breaking up whereof the enemies appeared so near our companies, having planted all their muskets and arquebuses being 2,000 and their pikes being a thousand very strongly in the high way, as our men, especially the noblemen and gentlemen...in number seven or eight score, who were in troop together in the face of the enemy before our footmen, received the whole volley of the enemy's shot, and, passing the fury of it, gave charge upon the two foremost troops of the enemy's horsemen, and drave them back over their own trenches, and within their pikes at two several times....

(Thomas Digges, A Briefe Report..., London, 1587, sig. D1).

Digges' report is the most substantial of the eye-witness accounts of the battle. For an account based on a collation of most of the sources, see Wallace, pp.376-79.

79,24. the marshall of the camp. Sir William Pelham (d. 1587).

80,1. Themistocles. Themistocles was so envious of the renown won by Miltiades at Marathon that it caused him sleepless nights, and brought about changes in his everyday habits; see Plutarch, Themistocles III.3-4.

80,3. cast off his cuisses. Katherine Duncan-Jones, Misc. Prose, p.223, draws attention to Sir John Smythe's complaint that English military men were abandoning heavy armour and following Continental fashions, 'utterly ignorant of all our ancient discipline and proceedings in actions of arms' (Certain Discourses... (1590), sig. B2; from Bodleian Douce S227, annotated and corrected by Smythe).

'The imitating of which...unsoldierlike and fond arming cost that noble and worthy gentleman Sir Philip Sidney his life, by not wearing his cuisses. For in the opinion of divers gentlemen that saw him hurt with a musket shot,

if he had that day worn his cuisses the bullet had not broken his thighbone, by reason that the chief force of the bullet (before the blow) was in a manner past' (op. cit., sig. B3).

80,3. cuisses. thigh armour.

80,4-5. by the...him. Cf. ?George Gifford, The Manner of Sir Philip Sidney's Death, Misc. Prose, p.166,15-17:

[Sir Philip Sidney] lift up his eyes to heaven, not imputing it to chance: but with full resolution affirmed that God did send the bullet, and commanded it to strike him.

80,15. misprision. omission, a failure of duty.

80,16. audacity. boldness, recklessness.

80,19. enamel. adornment.

80,26-81,3. In which...than mine. Greville's is the only account of this incident.

80,26-28. passing...was. Cf. Sidney Papers, I,105 (Earl of Leicester to Sir Thomas Heneage, 23 September 1586): 'I was abroad that time in the field giving some order to supply that business which did endure almost two hours in continual fight, and meeting Philip coming upon his horse-back not a little to my grief'.

81,4-5. And when...Arnhem. This structure forms the last part of the previous paragraph, and as such it is rounded off by means of an adapted form of the cursus planus (5-2). I have altered the original paragraphing in order to improve the syntactic structure of the subsequent material.

81,5. carried to Arnhem. Sidney was taken to Arnhem in the Earl of Leicester's own barge; see Sidney Papers, I, 105.

81,5. Arnhem. The owner of the house where Sidney was lodged was 'Juffrouw Gruitthuisens'; see G.F. Beltz, 'Memorials of the last Achievement, Illness and Death of Sir Philip Sidney', Archaeologia, XXVIII (1840), 35.

81,27-29. made them...England. The Earl of Leicester, for instance, wrote frequent and optimistic reports to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham; see Wallace, pp.381-82.

82,1-2. himself...musket-shot. 'The fourth of October they of the sconce at Zutphen called for a parley, which was granted, and County Hollock for that he spoke Dutch stepped out of our sconce and parleyed with them; and after long talk one of the soldiers shot a musket, which as County Hollock was speaking shot into his mouth and out by his ear, so that it smote away the jewel hanging at his ear' (John Stow, The Annales of England, London, 1592, p.1254).

82,19-20. this Florentine...enemies. Cf. Giovanni Torriano, Piazza Universale di Proverbi Italiani (London, 1666), p.8: 'Amicizia riconciliata piaga mal saldata: Reconciled friendship is a wound not well salved up'.

82,28-31. sixteenth day...art. The sixteenth day after the battle was 8 October. On 6 October the Earl of Leicester wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'Your son and mine is well amending as any man hath done for so short time. He feeleth no grief now but his long lying, which he must suffer' (Leicester Correspondence, p.429). ?George Gifford (Misc. Prose, p.166) reports that Sidney grew concerned for the care of his soul eight days after he was wounded.

84,6-7. the secret...himself. Cf. ?George Gifford (Misc. Prose, p.171,4-5): 'He wholly condemned his former life'.
84,18. See p.191.

85,1-8. to deliver...work by. In the *Arcadia*, Pyrocles and Musidorus, expecting to die the following day, have a debate on the very same subject of whether the soul retains its memory of the present in the afterlife; see Prose Works II,165-6, and Old Arcadia, p.372-16-p373,21 and note). In a matter of a few sentences Greville rehearses the debate between Ficino (a Platonist) and Pomponazzi (an Aristotelian); Pomponazzi denied Ficino's assumption that the immortality of the soul could be established by rational means, and asserted that it must be accepted as an article of faith; see P.O. Kristeller, 'Ficino and Pomponazzi on the Place of Man in

the Universe', Journal of the History of Ideas, V (1944), 220-26.

Both this and the Arcadia passage recall the fact that in Plato's Phaedo Socrates debated the question of the immortality of the soul before his death.

84,13. many. I have preferred the J/S reading which makes more sense. 1652/T's 'any' appears to me to be a scribal corruption.

place after
the note
to p. 84, 6-7

85,21-26. which will...death. Cf. Edmund Molyneux (Holinshed, III,1555):

He had that great care and regard to the conservation of his fame and honour entire when he was gone, that he made a most bountiful and liberal will; which if the same be performed according to his simple, sincere and good meaning, it will appear that he died not indebted to any, neither to those that were near his person, familiars or domestics, nor to any other he was indebted unto by bond or borrowing, nor otherwise in credit for wares or merchandise, or in other degree whatsoever he had to treat or deal with him in, yea not so much as for common courtesy and good will, but he ordered and appointed him satisfaction and honourable contentment.

The text of Sidney's will is printed in Misc. Prose, pp.147-52. Sidney's generosity was in fact not matched by an awareness of the state of his affairs; in meeting the terms of the will, Sir Francis Walsingham, his father-in-law, was brought to financial ruin. The question of whether Sidney was deliberately careless in promising more than could be performed is discussed by Katherine Duncan-Jones in Misc. Prose, pp.144-46.

85,28-29. calls for music. Thomas Moffet, Nobilis, p.92, records that Sidney 'made known the thankfulness of his soul in hymns'.

85,30. La cuisse rompue. The song is not known. Ringler, p.351, points out that Greville's words imply only that Sidney gave a song he knew this name because it applied to his own case, not that he actually wrote a song with that name.

85,32-86,1. by the music...echo. Cf. Merchant of Venice V.i.60-65. For a discussion of the Renaissance notion that music is a 'reminder' or 'echo' of the angelic music of the spheres, see James Hutton, 'Some English Poems in Praise of Music', English Miscellany, II (1951), 1-63.

86,2. supreme...contemplation. Greville here appears to be combining two Neoplatonic notions: the first, that the contemplation of God is the highest form of activity for the soul; the second, that in the hierarchy of being the rational soul has an intermediate position between the angelic intelligences and the lower sensitive and vegetable orders.

86,3-4. circular motion...flesh. Cf. the last paragraph of Izaak Walton's Life of Sir Henry Wotton.

86,5-6. the parting...brothers. Greville probably follows George Whetstone in implying that only one of Sir Philip Sidney's brothers--presumably Robert--was present at the deathbed, but ?George Gifford suggests that both Robert and Thomas Sidney received their brother's final admonition; see the note to p.86,20-24.

86,13. ejulation. wailing, lamentation. The earliest usage in OED is dated 1619.

86,20-24. Love...vanities. Cf. George Whetstone, Sir Philip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues (London, 1587?) [STC 25349], sig. Cl^v

Brother (quoth he) to you I must imparte.
Three thinges of waight, impresse them in your Harte,
Feare God, and liue: loue well my frendes: and knowe,
That worldly hopes, from vanitie doe flowe.

The marginal gloss to these lines is: 'Three waightie preceptes vnto Sir Robert Sidney his Brother'.

Cf. ?George Gifford (Misc. Prose, p.171,11-15):

He did...exhort his two brothers in an affectionate manner, giving them instruction in some points, and namely to learn by him that all things here are vanity.

87,21-22. monarchies...contracting. monarchies grow ready for change through weakness and lack of authority or through a tyrannical exercise of authority. Cf.

A Treatise of Monarchy, stanza 88:

...changling weakness, made to serve, not raigne,

 ...slacks those engines which o're wound before,
 And so gives people back their owne, and more.

88,6-15. they...them. Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy, 414-416.

88,8-10. we...commodities. Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy, 395,1-3.

88,9. superfluous mass of trifles. Among the items imported from the Low Countries were crossbow thread, featherbeds, shoe buckles and woad; see T.S. Willan, Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade (Manchester, 1959) p.343.

89,2. Prometheus. literally 'the forethinker'; see OCD, p.883. Greville is not only playing on the literal meaning of the name, but he is alluding to the notion of Prometheus as a protector of humans--when Zeus deprived men of fire, Prometheus stole it and returned it to earth again.

89,5-8. the States...government. Cf. Edmund Molyneux (Holinshed, III,1555):

Those under his late charge and government so greatly loved, esteemed, honoured and, in a sort, adored him, as they made earnest means and entreaty to have his body remain there still with them for memory when he was dead, and promised (that if they might obtain it) to erect for him as fair a monument as any prince had in Christendom, yea though the same should cost half a ton of gold the building.

89,15-16. than the...friend. Sir Philip Sidney was buried in the old St. Paul's Cathedral. Since the Great Fire the exact location of the grave has been forgotten. As late as 1615 Greville planned to erect a monumental tomb over his friend's grave, but it appears that he subsequently abandoned the scheme; see Rebholz, p.229.

90,18-21. First...assigned. The historical background to these events is supplied by Camden, (1578) pp.225-6:

Queen Elizabeth, seriously pitying the Netherlanders, whose provinces by the great commodiousness of their situation and natural friendship had adhered unto England for many ages as if they had been conjoined with it in a matrimonial knot, and therefore not enduring that the French by undertaking their protection should get them into his possession, sent ...[an ambassador] to Don John of Austria to give him secret notice that the Duke of Anjou ...was invited by the Estates with an army of French, and therefore it was his safest course to yield a truce lest he exposed the provinces to present hazard. But he, being a man of a fiery and martial spirit, and puffed up with pride at his success in a battle fought against the Estates at Gembloux [31 January 1578], answered in one word, 'That he neither intended a truce, nor feared the French'.... Out of England had now transported themselves John North, the Lord North's eldest son, John Norris, the Lord Norris his second son...to learn the rudiments of military discipline. Casimir also, the Elector Palatine's son, brought down an army of German horse and foot into the Netherlands, at the great charge of Queen Elizabeth.

It would seem as if Greville had intended to accompany John North and John Norris. In early June 1578 Elizabeth I appears to have had plans of sending a small expedition to the Netherlands; Philip Sidney was to be Vice-Admiral of the fleet of six ships (see the Acts of the Privy Council 1577-1578, p.240, 5 June 1578; and CSPS 1568-1579 p.595, Mendoza to Zayas 13 June 1578). These plans were abandoned, but the Queen did send Sir Francis Walsingham to assure the Netherlanders of her support.

90,23. Sir Edward Dyer. Edward Dyer (1543-1607), ten years their senior, was associated with Sidney and Greville in their earliest experiments in English verse. Sidney refers to Dyer and Gréville as 'mates in mirth' (Ringler, p.260). The three poets were companions on Sidney's embassy of condolence and congratulation in 1577. Dyer was not knighted until 1596.

91,2-3. Master Secretary...ambassador. Sir Francis Walsingham was in the Low Countries from June to September 1578; see the note to p.90,18-21.

p.91,3. those two princes. Don John of Austria and Prince Casimir; see the note to p.90,18-21.

91,12-13. when...Low Countries. The expedition to the Low Countries was mounted in late autumn 1585. Sidney departed in November to take up his appointment as Governor of Flushing. The Earl of Leicester did not leave until December.

91,24-29. battle...expeditions. Greville's journey enabled him to witness, if not take part in, the battle of Coutras on 20 October 1587, when Henry of Navarre's forces inflicted a severe defeat on a French royal army almost twice their size under the command of one of Henry III's favourites, the Duke de Joyeuse. Joyeuse was himself killed in the battle. See Rebholz, p.79.

92,4-5. avers...hers. Victor Skretkiewicz, Jr., Notes and Queries, CCXIX (1974), 409-10, draws attention to a letter of 31 October 1587 from Sir Francis Walsingham to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, in which Walsingham states that 'Master Foulke Greville, being himself gone into parts beyond the seas about some special service of her Majesty, hath taken with him as an assistant by my direction one [Matthew] Gwinne' (Register of St. John's College, Oxford, no. 1, 1557-1591, f. 256). One has to accept either that this letter was one of the ways that Elizabeth I used to give an official appearance to Greville's departure, or that his statement that he departed without permission is disingenuous.

92,16-17. honour...one. Cf. Caelica LX, line 5.

93,19. perspective into. close examination of.

94,28. metaphysical. fitted to the use of metaphysics. This is the first instance cited by OED a. 4.

94,28. Phormios. Phormio was the Peripatetic philosopher who presumed to lecture to Hannibal on the art of war. The great general afterwards remarked that he had seen many old madmen, but never one madder than Phormio; see Cicero, De Oratore II.18. Cf. Bacon's The Advancement of Learning II.21.7.

95,5-6. take...lick it. The notion that 'a bear brings forth her young informous and unshaped, which she fashioneth after by licking them over' is discussed by Sir Thomas Browne, Pseudodoxia Epidemica, III.6. See also Tilley, S284, and ODEP, 'Lick (a person or thing) into shape, To', p.458.

96,20-21. while...pit. For the anecdote of Thales stumbling into a pit while gazing up at the stars, see Plato, Theatetus 174A. Cf. Misc. Prose, p.82,28-9, and Astrophil and Stella 19, line 11.

97,14. swarm of sect-animals. Cf. p.27,26 and p.36,8.

97,13-14. flattered...stung. Because the Queen refused to renew the grant of the farm of sweet wines 'Essex hearkened now unto Cuffe [Henry Cuffe (1563-1601), the Earl's secretary] and other kindle-coals and make-bates who suggested to him...that the Queen, the Council and his adversaries were resolved to thrust him down into... poverty' (Camden, p.603).

97,14. sect-animals. Henry Cuffe reported that the Earl of Essex 'endeavoured to allure unto him puritans and their ministers, whom the Queen did not at all like of; and withal the papists, by seeming to pity their afflicted condition' (Camden, p.606). A number of the Catholics, or Catholic sympathisers--such as, for example, Lord Monteagle, Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham--who surrounded the Earl at the time of his rebellion were later involved in the Gunpowder Plot; see Robert Lacey, Robert Earl of Essex, an Elizabethan Icarus (London, 1971), pp.270-74.

97,21. laesa majestas. any offence against the sovereign authority; see OED, 'lese-majesty'.

97,21-22. inferior ministers of justice. Greville may have in mind Francis Bacon, who, despite having been a friend and protégé of the Earl, was one of those who accused Essex at his trial in 1601. At the time Bacon held no official position in the legal hierarchy. See Camden, pp.616-7.

97,24-25. cast...state. Cf. Camden, (1599) p.576:

In the mean time [after Essex's return from Ireland] some ill-disposed persons in England extolled the Earl of Essex everywhere in their meetings with immoderate praises, as did also some ministers in their pulpits. The same men, or others, likewise spread abroad defamatory libels against the Council--and through their sides wounded the Queen herself--as if they neglected the commonwealth and had no regard of Ireland.

97,28-98,2. his letters...writer. Cf. Camden, (1600) p.598:

The Queen's learned counsel [at Essex's arraignment at York House]...produc[ed] out of his own letters written above two years before (whereof several copies were lately dispersed by his friends and favourers) these short abrupt sentences: 'No storm is more violent or outrageous than the anger of a passionate prince. The Queen's heart is hardened. Cannot princes err? Can they not wrong their subjects? What I owe as a subject I know well, and what as an Earl Marshal of England'. From hence they argued as if he took the Queen for an impotent and passionate princess, and void of reason; compared her to Pharaoh, whose heart was hardened; that she cared no longer for either truth or justice; and that he, besides his fidelity, thought he ought her neither obedience nor thankfulness. Some points also of lesser moment they objected to him out of a book concerning the deposing of Richard the Second [Sir John Hayward's The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie IIII (London, 1599)] which was dedicated to him.

98,3. his kinsman. Greville and the Earl of Essex were distantly related; see Rebholz, Appendix II.

98,3-4. while...remora. Greville managed to prevent the execution of summary justice on some of Essex's followers by persuading the Queen that most of them had unwittingly been drawn into the uprising; see Camden, p.620.

98,6. his enemies. At his trial Essex identified his enemies as Lord Cobham, Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Raleigh; see Camden, p.616.

98,9. Rochester. The principal anchorage for royal ships was on the Medway between Upnor and Rochester; see Oppenheim, p.151.

98,18-19. let...crime. Cf. Camden, (1601) p.612: 'To this day there are few that ever thought it [the Essex rising] a capital crime'.

98,19-20. these unreturning steps. According to the fable, the fox(es) refused to enter the den of the lion feigning illness because they noticed that although there were tracks of animals going into the den, there were no tracks to show that they had come out again; see Caxton's Aesop, Book 4, Fable 12.

98,24-25. being no...admirals. Much to the Earl of Essex's chagrin, the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard, had been created the Earl of Nottingham in 1597 (see the note to p.99,7). The Earl of Nottingham's elevation had been engineered while the Earl of Essex was away on the Islands' Voyage. At the time of the Essex uprising the Earl of Nottingham sided with Robert Cecil, who, with his father, Lord Burghley, had probably been the principal mover of the Earl's advancement. The Howards and the Cecils between them ensured that on the Islands' Voyage the Earl of Essex was given command of a third of the fleet; the two other squadrons went to Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard.

98,27-28. he freely...time. The Earl of Essex secretly joined the expedition of 1589 in support of Don Antonio; see the note to p.131,5-7. In 1596 he was in command of the land forces on the expedition to Cadiz; see the note to p.132,10-13, and in 1597 he was in command of the fleet on the Islands' or Azores voyage; see the note to p.132,16-19.

99,7. before he was Marshal. The Earl of Essex was created Earl Marshal in December 1597, in order to re-establish his precedence over the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard, who had just been created Earl of Nottingham; see Camden, p.536.

99,7-8. first...commission. See the note to p.98,27-28.

99,21-100,2. And though...well. Cf. André Hurault, Sieur de Maisse, A Journal of all that was accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse...Anno Domini 1597, tr. G.B. Harrison and R.A. Jones (London, 1931), pp.6-7:

'The Lord Treasurer, the Admiral and Master Cecil are well content to see the Earl of Essex on a distant and hazardous voyage...; partly to see him removed from Court, and meanwhile to manage their own affairs; also because he hazards his life in such voyages. If he comes back victorious they take occasion thereby to make him suspected by the Queen; and if nothing is accomplished then to ruin him. And besides he has indebted himself and risked his own fortune and friends', and will ruin himself. The Queen being avaricious will never give him means to re-establish himself, so that they deem his departure will be happy for them, in which matter the character of the Earl of Essex is accordant, for he is courageous and ambitious, and a man of great designs, hoping to obtain glory by arms, and to win renown more and more'.

99,22. predicaments. positions. Cf. p.113,20.

100,12. alloy. debasement, moderation. I have adopted the modern form in order to make Greville's meaning immediately apparent.

101,2-4. qualifying...dark. mitigating or excusing those errors which had been brought about by being surrounded by secretly provocative followers (see p.97,13-14 and notes). Nowell Smith, p.261, takes Greville to mean that the Earl of Essex's fall was brought about by 'the dark machinations of courtiers'.

101,8-9. the fall...in Israel. Cf. 2 Sam. 38. Abner, 'the great man in Israel', was treacherously killed by Joab without King David's knowledge.

102,11-15. Bedingfield...charge. In May 1554 Sir Henry Bedingfield (1511-1583) was appointed Constable of the Tower, and given charge of the Princess Elizabeth who had been committed to the Tower in March of that year for possible complicity in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion. Bedingfield conducted Elizabeth to Woodstock later in May 1554, and was not released from his duties as her gaoler until June 1555. In all that time he treated his royal prisoner with great harshness. On her accession she made no attempt to exact revenge. Cf. Holinshed, III,1117: 'She never touched him either with danger of life or loss of lands or goods, nor never proceeded further than to discharge him of the court.... At whose departing from her presence, she used only these words, or the like in sense: God forgive you that is past, and we do; and if we have any prisoner whom we would have hardly handled and straitly kept, then we will send for you'.

A very similar story may be found in John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, ed. Josiah Pratt, 8 vols., 4th ed. (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), VI,554.

102,12-13. under...vine. See the note to p.65,26.

102,20. abridgement of time. cutting short of a life, execution.

102,26. Rex...Dominantium. Cf. Rev. 19:16.

102,27-28. a vow...Old Testament. Cf. Ps. 132:1-5.

I would like to thank Mr. C.F. Williamson for his help in finding this reference.

103,9. tears...jaw. Cf. Judg. 14:6. The Geneva translation reads: 'And the spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he tare him, as one should have rent a kid...'. For the iconographic tradition of Samson tearing the lion's jaws, see Engelbert Kirschbaum et. al., Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie, 4 vols. (Freiburg, 1968-1972), IV,31.

103,10. moderately begins. Cf. Camden, (1558) p.13:

'In the first beginning of her reign she applied her first care (howbeit with but a few of her inwardest counsellors) to the restoring of the Protestant religion...';

and, (1559) p.31:

'Thus was religion in England changed, whilst all Christendom admired that it was wrought so easily, and without commotion. But indeed it was no sudden change (which is never lightly endured), but slow and by degrees. For... the Romish religion stood a full month and more after the death of Queen Mary in the same state as it was before'. [Camden then provides a summary of the changes as they were introduced.]

For a modern account of the moderate and gradual courses taken in establishing the Church of England, see Read, Cecil, pp.128-33. Read points out that Camden probably had access to official sources for his account of the change of religion.

103,11. gives...bounded. Cf. Camden, (1559) pp.28-29:

Thirteen bishops were deprived; 'these men were sent to prison, but most of them were shortly after committed to the custody of their friends or of bishops; save two that were more perverse, namely Lincoln and Winchester, who threatened to excommunicate the Queen. But three, namely Cuthbert Scot of Chester, Richard Pate of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph, voluntarily departed the land'.

103,13-15. revives...proceeding. The Act of Uniformity of 1559 restored the second prayer book of Edward VI--with some slight modifications--as the official liturgy of the Church, while the Royal Injunctions of 1559 were based on those issued by Edward VI in 1547. For an account of the sympathetic and judicious application of these measures, see W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625), p.28 and pp.35-44.

103,17. Prince of Condé. Henry de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1552-1588).

103,19-22. takes...did. Cf. Camden, (1562) p.61:

Yet was her mind wholly attentive to the French war, that it might not blow over out of Normandy to England; and after mature deliberation she took into her protection the French king's subjects in Normandy who craved her aid, making a contract with the Prince of Condé, Rohan, Coligny others "that she should pay them an hundred thousand angels, that she should send them over into France six thousand men..., and that they should deliver into her hands for caution ...Newhaven [Le Havre]"...The very same day that this contract was made she by a public writing declared the reasons of this design: namely, "that she sent an army into Normandy, not to recover that country, though it were the ancient inheritance of the kings of England, and forcibly taken from them against all right and reason, but to preserve it for the French king, and to deliver it from the tyranny of the Guises".

103,22. refuseth marriage. For Elizabeth I's refusal of an offer of marriage from Philip II of Spain, see Camden, (1588) pp.15-16.

103,28. noun-adjective nature. See the note to p.66,13.

104,5. crisis. decision, judgement; OED sb. 4.

104,9. thought-bound. idealistic, not practical, bigoted.

104,14. like...burdens. Palms are said to flourish under an increased burden. Cf. Tilley, P37; ODEP, p.778; Old Arcadia, p.319,3-4.

104,15-23. upon...Spain. Cf. Camden, (1568) pp.107-8: But Man [John Man (1512-1569), Dean of Gloucester], the English ambassador in Spain, was most discourteously dealt withal, who, being accused to have spoken somewhat unreverently of the Bishop of Rome, was excluded from the court, and afterward thrust out of Madrid into a country village, his servants compelled to be present at mass, and the exercise of his own religion forbidden.... This usage towards her ambassador she took in ill part, as done in disgrace to her; and no less the injury done at this time by the Spaniards to Sir John Hawkins. This Hawkins had arrived at San Juan de Ulua in the Bay of Mexico with five ships for commerce laden with merchandises and blackamoor slaves which are now commonly bought in Africa by the Spaniards and, from their example, by the English, and sold again in America, how honestly I know not. The next day [17 September] arrived there also the King of Spain's royal navy; which though he might easily have kept from entering the haven, yet suffered he them to enter, compounding for security to him and his, and upon certain conditions, lest he might seem to have broken the League. The Spaniards, being let in, who scorned to have conditions given them within their own dominions, watched their opportunity, set upon the English, slew many, took three ships and pillaged the goods; yet got they not the victory without blood.

104,18-19. the league...Henry the Eighth. The league between Henry VIII and Charles V was concluded in 1543; see Holinshed, III,959-60.

104,19-20. in omnibus...insulis. in each and every kingdom, lordship and island.

104,20-22. that...lines. For an account of the various Bulls promulgated in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI in an attempt to establish boundaries for Portuguese and Castilian maritime enterprise, see CMH I,23-4.

104,24-27. receives...Southampton. Cf. Camden, (1568) p.119:

'[Elizabeth I] entertained with all kind of courtesy such French people as fled into England; as also Netherlanders, of whom a great multitude had withdrawn themselves into England as to a sanctuary, while the Duke of Alva breathed nothing but slaughter and blood against them. These by the Queen's permission seated themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone and [Sout]hampton'.

104,28-105,7. Yet...Spaniards. Cf. Camden, (1572) p.184: Certainly the Duke of Alva omitted no subtle way of putting in execution the hatred which he bare in his heart towards Queen Elizabeth; and she with no less diligence used all means to disappoint the same, and frustrate his attempts. In the beginning therefore of this year, he complaining by the Spanish ambassador in England that the rebels of the Netherlands furnished themselves with warlike munition out of England, and were harboured everywhere in the English port-towns, she presently, by strict proclamation, commanded the Netherlands who were any way suspected of rebellion to depart the land, and their ships of war to be stayed in the havens. Which turned very much to the damage of the Duke of Alva, for by this means William van der Mark, Lord of Lumey, and other Netherlands, being terrified by this edict, or secretly forewarned, withdrew themselves out of England in a manner forced by despair, and seized upon the Brill at the Maas, and soon after drew Flushing and other towns to revolt. mouth of the

105,5. ostracism. banishment. The first instance cited is John Donne's 'To the Countesse of Bedford ("T'have written then")', line 22.

105,10-29. Wherein...Netherlands. Cf. Camden, (1575)

pp.207-8: 'Henry the Third, being returned out of Poland,... made it his first and chiefest care to confirm by his oath and subscription the Confederacy of Blois entered into in the year 1572 betwixt his brother, Charles [IX], and Queen Elizabeth [see Camden, (1572) pp.185-6].... Howbeit, within a while after he moved this question by a letter, whether or no "the/mutual defence against all men", mentioned in the said league, did comprehend the cause of religion. Whereunto, when she had answered plainly that it did, and that she would be ready for a mutual defence against all men, even in the cause of religion if it were required, according to the condition of the league, he prepared himself to war against the Protestants; and Alençon being engaged to the adverse party, there followed thereupon a deep and long silence concerning his marriage [with Queen Elizabeth]. Nevertheless, for Alençon's sake, Queen Elizabeth furnished a great sum of money to Casimir for the bringing of certain German horsemen into France against the disturbers of the public peace.

While her mind was taken up with these French matters, in the mean time the Netherlandish affairs stood thus. Don Louis Zuniga de Requesens, who succeeded the Duke of Alva, bent himself wholly to recover (if it were possible) the sea-coasts which the Duke of Alva had, by a notable oversight in so great a captain, neglected; whereby the Low Country war was so many years prolonged. But in regard he was unprovided of shipping (for the Spanish ships which by help of the English were brought into Flanders a little before for that purpose had miscarried, being miserably torn and weatherbeaten) he sent Boischot [John de Boischot or Boisot] into England to levy, with the Queen's consent, ships and seamen against the Hollanders and Zeelanders. But he prevailed not, for the Queen would not hazard her ships and seamen in another man's quarrel, and she publicly commanded that no man should set out ships of war without licence first obtained from her, and that no English seaman should serve under other princes'.

[Camden then mentions that Boischot threatened to enlist the English exiles in the Netherlands. This provoked an angry retort from the Queen.]

'Boischot, that he might obtain something reasonable of her, required, in the King of Spain's name, that the Netherland rebels against the Spaniard might be expelled out of England. She denied it, forasmuch as those whom he called rebels were men of no note, poor and silly wretches who had attempted no disturbances, but had fled into England for fear of the war, despoiled of their country and inheritance; whom to deliver into the

tormentor's hands were a piece of inhumanity, and against the laws of hospitality. And she put him in mind how prejudicial it had been to the Spanish affairs in the Netherlands when, at the Duke of Alva's request, she commanded the Netherlands to depart out of England in the year 1572; for the Count van der Mark and others, being commanded to be gone out of England, thereupon took the Brill, and gave beginning to that war. But yet, that she might not seem to forget or neglect the ancient league with the House of Burgundy (which notwithstanding the Spaniard had refused to confirm with her) she commanded by public proclamation that the Netherlands' ships of war should not stir out of the havens of England, and that those Netherlands who had taken up arms against the Spaniard should not be admitted into the havens of England'.

105,27. ancient league with...Burgundy. For details of the league originally concluded between Henry V and the Duke of Burgundy in 1420, see Holinshed, III,575-6.

105,30-106,1. persuades...France. Cf. Camden, (1575) p.208:

The Prince of Orange, finding himself too weak to withstand the force of the Spaniard, and hoping for no good out of England, entered into consultation with his friends, to whose protection they might best betake themselves. And when Queen Elizabeth understood that he cast his eyes and mind upon the French king, she first sent Daniel Rogers to dissuade him; which, when Rogers could not do (for he had dealt before concerning the matter with Coligny, Admiral of France, and the French king), she sent Henry Cobham, the Lord Cobham's brother, to the Spaniard to inform him of how dangerous consequence it would be if Holland and Zeeland should revolt from him to the French king, and to persuade him by the best reasons he could to change war for peace; who seemed to listen to the motion'.

106,7. barbed horse. warhorses protected with coverings of the breast and flanks.

106,8-9. our...retreats. One of the events Greville may have in mind is the ignominious surrender of Newhaven (Le Havre) in 1563, when the Huguenots turned against their English allies and joined with the royal French forces in expelling them from France; see Camden, pp.64-7.

106,11-107,3. she was...Denmark. Cf. Camden, (1585)

p.312: 'Whence the seeds of these mischiefs [the Throckmorton plot] came which were sown in England, Queen Elizabeth was not ignorant, who had understood that the Guises had now openly entered into a dangerous confederacy against the Protestant religion, the French king and herself. She, on the other side, to procure a league amongst the Protestants for defence of their religion sent Sir Thomas Bodley to the King of Denmark, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of Saxony, Wittenberg, Brunswick and Lunenburg, the Marquess of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse; and, amongst other things, gave him instructions to put the King of Denmark in mind by the by that it principally concerned him to prevent the attempts of the Guises, considering that they stuck not to challenge the kingdom of Denmark for their cousin, the Duke of Lorraine....

But into Scotland (lest any danger should break in upon England from thence as it were by the back door) she sent Sir Edward Wotton...to draw [the King] to a league of mutual offence and defence, by showing him the dangers which now threatened the profession of the Gospel; and to offer unto him, as her son, as large a yearly pension as her father had allowed her;...and to recommend unto him a marriage with the King of Denmark's daughter'.

A 'league of stricter amity' was concluded with Scotland in June 1586; see Camden, pp.333-6. King James VI of Scotland married Ann, the daughter of Frederick II of Denmark, in 1589; see Camden, p.437

106,13-29. and though...weaker. The whole of this passage, a later insertion in 1652 and T, may perhaps be related to Camden's discussion of ecclesiastical matters on pp.271-2 (1581-1582): the execution of Edmund Campion and five other papists, the increase of Catholic 'subversion', and the introduction, in January 1582, of new and more severe laws against Catholics. Cf. Camden, (1581) p.271:

'Such now were the times, that the Queen (who never was of opinion that men's consciences were to be forced) complained many times that she was driven of necessity to take these courses, unless she would suffer the ruin of herself and her subjects upon some men's pretence of conscience and the Catholic religion'.

106,28-29. sea...weaker. Cf. Tilley, F311 'The great fish eat the small'.

107,3-6. exileth...them. Cf. Camden, (1585) p.309:

'Laws also were made for preservation of the Queen's person against all Jesuits and popish priests who should ground any villainous plots and designs upon the Bull of Pius Quintus [excommunicating Queen Elizabeth (see Camden, (1570) pp.145-7]: to wit "That they should depart the realm within forty days; that those who should afterward return into the kingdom should be guilty of high treason; that he who should wittingly and willingly harbour, relieve and maintain them should be guilty of felony" (so they call all capital crimes under the degree of treason);..."that he who should send his children or any others to seminaries and colleges of the popish profession should be fined in an hundred pounds of English money; and that those who were so sent thither should not succeed as heirs, nor enjoy any estates which should any way fall to them" '.

107, 8-11. to distract ...Cartageña. Cf. Camden, (1585) pp.322-3:

And withal, that she might not stay to expect the war at her own doors, but give the Spaniard somewhat to do abroad, she sent Sir Francis Drake as Admiral, and Christopher Carlile as General of the land forces, to the West Indies with a fleet of 21 ships.... On the first of January [1586] they arrived at Hispaniola... [took San Domingo], and being now absolute masters of the city, they stayed there a full month....From hence they sailed to the continent of America...[took Cartageña] where they stayed for six weeks'.

This was the expedition which Sidney was supposed to accompany; see pp.43-7. On his return journey Drake brought back Ralph Lane and the colonists who had been settled in Virginia by Raleigh. Camden records that these men were the first men he knew of to bring tobacco into England.

107,10. one-and-twenty ships. Michael Oppenheim (Monson Tracts I,124) provides a list of twenty-two ships on this expedition.

107,11-24. immediately after...America. Cf. Camden, (1587) p.396: 'She sent Drake (to prevent the war which she saw threatened her from Spain) with four of her royal ships and some others to the coast of Spain to surprise and destroy his shipping in the havens, and intercept his provision. Drake, entering into the port of Cadiz, chased six galleys (which made head against him) under the forts, and sunk, took or fired about an hundred vessels wherein was great store of munition and victuals....From thence returning to the sacred promontory called Cape St. Vincent, he assaulted three forts and took them by composition, and firing the fishermen's boats and nets all along the coast, came to Cascaes....From thence, setting sail towards the isles of Azores, he lighted by chance upon a very great merchant-ship called a carrack--richly laden and named the Saint Philip--returning from the East Indies, and easily mastered it.'

107,21-24. The next year...America. Cf. Camden, (1587) p.397:

'At the same time [see the note to lines 11-24] in another part of the world Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk (who two years before set sail from England with three ships) passing the straits of Magellan, fired many petty towns of the Spaniards upon the coasts of Chile, Peru and New Spain, took and pillaged nineteen merchant ships... and returned home this year..., being the second after Magellan who sailed round about the world. The particulars of this voyage if any man desire, let him repair to the English voyages exactly described in three volumes by Richard Hakluyt [Hakluyt, III,803-24]'.
 Cavendish set sail in July 1586 and returned in September 1588. The account of the voyage in Hakluyt is so confused that no amount of counting will yield the information that nineteen ships were taken. The detail comes from a letter from Cavendish to the Lord Chamberlain: 'I burnt and sunk 19 sails of ships small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled' (Hakluyt, III,837).

107,29-108,6. Neither...glory. Cf. Camden, (1590)

pp.440-41: 'The taxing of living creatures by the poll propounded first in Edward the Sixth his reign, she would not suffer to be so much as once named. Besides the people always granted subsidies cheerfully, and though the taxation by that way of assessment seemed greater than in old time, yet was there no rough nor rigid manner of taxing it used. Insomuch as those subsidies were rather voluntary, without demanding or any constraint, and always less than the estates of the realm estimated them'.

108,7-10. any curious...their records. James I's right to levy impositions was defended on the basis of precedent; see, for example, Foster, I,88 and 132. The House of Commons, in response, instituted numerous searches through the records in the Tower of London in order to refute these claims; see Foster, II,365, 372 and 378.

108,14-17. in some...restore. Greville probably has in mind the proscription and restoration of members of the Spencer family by the parliaments of 1321 and 1322 in the reign of Edward II; see Holinshed, III,325-8.

108,16. proscribe. banish.

108,17-18. to call...during the session. Greville probably has in mind the occasion when Sir Thomas Knyvett was summoned to Parliament by writ as Baron Knyvett of Escrick, Yorkshire. On that very same day, 4 July 1607, the third session of James I's first parliament was prorogued; see the Journals of the House of Lords, II,538.

108,19. four hundred. William Harrison, in his Description of England, Holinshed, III,176, gives the number of members of the House of Commons as 439.

109,11. doubtful. giving rise to apprehension.

109,20. cobwebs. fanciful reasoning; but see also p.63,11.

109,23-24. nimble...could do. 'In Scotland James [I] had governed by canny manipulation of rival factions, by sowing dissension among his adversaries, by combining intrigue and sharp practices with a show[force]. In England these methods produced chaos and stalemates at court and mere meddlings in dealings with the commons' (D.H. Willson, The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629, Minneapolis, 1940, p.14). of

110,3. Remus. Romulus, the mythical founder of Rome, slew his twin brother Remus when the latter mockingly leaped over the newly built walls of the city; see Livy 1.7.2.

110,4. genius. natural ability.

110,6-7. appearances. display.

110,13-14. become...errors. The nobility should stand between the sovereign and the people; see p.109,26-27.

110,15. after-games. See p.35,9 and note. 87

110,16. tenor. condition [of mind].

110,24-25. sharp-pointed tyrannies. oppressions imposed from on high, rather than cruel ones. Cf. p.71,13-14 'sharp-pointed pyramis of power', pp. 32,9, 35,5, 53,22, 70,29 and 97,12 'precipitate', and p.111,3 'transcendent power'.

111,3. transcendent power. See the note to p.32,29.

111,16. series. continued course; OED sb. 3. The first instance of this usage is dated 1652.

111,21. var. heteroclite. irregularly inflected word, and so, figuratively, 'abnormal', 'exceptional'.

112,2. miscarriage. misbehaviour; OED 1. The first instance cited is dated 1618.

112,2-3. like lapwings...necks. Cf. Tilley, L69: 'Like a lapwing that runs away with the shell on its head', a proverbial expression for inexperienced and irresponsible boldness or audacity; also Hamlet V.ii.185.

112,10-11. discipline. means of instilling.

112,14. mediocrity. state between two extremes, measured conduct.

112,19. an heir's...brother's. Cf. Rom. 8:16-17.

112,20. Church...gates. Cf. Matt. 7:13.

112,21-22. servant...son. Cf. Gal. 4:7.

112,31-32. no power...steep. See the note to p.32,29.

113,6. Bucephalus. Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's favourite horse, 'would not allow anyone else to sit upon his back, but when the king wished to mount him, he knelt down of its own accord to receive him' (Quintus Curtius 6.5.18); see also Pliny, Natural History 8.154, Diodorus Siculus 17.76.6, and Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri 5.19.5. Cf. p.133,29.

113,8-9. overshot...bow. See the note to p.18,16-17.

113,13. monopolise. have exclusive control.

113,20. predicaments. situations, positions. Cf. p.99,22.

114,1. aristocratical...pillar. In the Old Testament God often appears in the form of a pillar of cloud; see, for example, Gen. 13:21-22 and Gen. 33:9-10. An 'aristocratical' pillar of cloud would thus be a derivative, spurious and improper greatness, since only the monarch, by analogy, may take on the divine aspects of leader and protector; cf. John Speed, The history of Great Britaine (London, 1611), p.835, par. 28: [Queen Elizabeth] 'the only cloud-pillar that stood between God's chosen Israel and the blood-seeking Amalekites in this wilderness of sin'.

115,1. household affairs. There is a brief account of Elizabeth I's household in E.P. Cheyney, A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth, 2 vols. (London, 1914-1926), I, 27-37.

115,3. white-staves. The Lord Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household, like the Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, carried white staves as badges of office; see Cheyney, I, 29-30.

115,4-6. kept...house. Senior members of the royal household, such as the Lord Steward and the Master Treasurer, were granted a substantial daily allowance of food from the royal kitchens; this was known as bouge of court. The Master Treasurer, for instance, was allowed '10 dishes of meat to his first mess, and six dishes to his second, every meal' ('The Book of Household of Queene Elizabeth', A Collection of Ordinances..., p.281). These privileges appear to have been abused during the reign of her successor, and attempts were made to prevent food being carried out of the Court; see A Collection of Ordinances, p.305. On 18 March 1610 Marc' Antonio Correr wrote to the Doge and Senate: 'They [Parliament] let it be understood that if his Majesty will not regulate the numerous tables he keeps at Court the cost will be enormous' (CSPV 1607-1610, p.447).

115,6-7. not...men. The 'Ordinances for the governing and ordering of the King's household' signed by James I on 17 July 1604 were an attempt to put an end to the practice whereby 'divers gentlemen of accompt have and do prefer and place their sons trained up in learning to our officers of Greencloth [the Lord Steward and his subordinates] for their clerks, in hope to rise to preferment in being sworn our clerks in household' (A Collection of Ordinances..., p.302).

115,17-18. having...places. When Lord Burghley was appointed Lord Treasurer in 1572, he had been Principal Secretary of State since the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign. Similarly, when his son, Robert Cecil, then Earl of Salisbury, was appointed Lord Treasurer in 1608, he had also held the office of Principal Secretary for some

time--from 1596 until the end of Elizabeth's reign, and again under James I. After the Earl of Salisbury's death in May 1612, the Treasury was entrusted to a commission whose members, with the exception of Sir Julius Caesar, had little experience of matters of practical finance; see Gardiner, II,145.

116,1. foreign ambassadors. Greville probably means ambassadors to foreign countries; cf. A Treatise of Monarchy, stanza 453.

116,4-6. the answer...herald. Elizabeth I, expecting thanks for the peace she had obtained between the Poles and the Turks, was taken aback at the Polish ambassador's demands for the restitution of Polish goods and for the allowance of free trade between Poland and Spain. 'The Queen extempore [in Latin] checked the man's confidence with a modest and eloquent speech to this effect: "How have I been deceived? I expected an ambassador, and behold an herald..."' (Camden, 1597, p.536).

For the full text of Elizabeth I's speech, see John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (London, 1823), III,417-8.

116,11-13. Moses'...Jethro. Moses was persuaded by his father-in-law, Jethro, that he could not undertake to judge all matters between the people, and that he should delegate or 'distribute' authority in lesser matters to men of virtue and ability, reserving the right for himself only to judge difficult or important matters; see Exodus 18:13-27.

116,14-21. how...own. Cf. Camden, (1590) p.440:

'Many admired whence this wealth came to serve all these turns, seeing she was in no man's debt (as all other princes almost were), and was able to defend herself and hers without any foreign helps, which not one of her neighbour-kings could do.

But the truth is, she was providently frugal, and scarcely spent anything but for the maintainance of her royal state, the defence of her kingdom, or the relieving of her neighbours. And Burghley, Lord Treasurer, looked narrowly unto those who had the charge of customs and imposts, by whose avarice many things were underhand embezzled, and through whose negligence the just dues were not exacted. But a greater improvement was made after such time as the Queen (who had long been informed by one [Richard] Carmarden, an understanding and subtle fellow, of the mysteries of the farmers of her customs) caused Sir Thomas Smith, Customer (as they called him), who had bought or r'armed her customs for 1,400 pounds English money by the year, to pay from that time forward 42,000 pounds, and to advance no small sum of money over and above in recompense for so gainful a bargain so many years, and raised him afterwards to pay 50,000 pounds for the same; although the Lord Treasurer, Leicester and Walsingham laboured to the contrary, opposed Carmarden, commanded the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber not to give him admission, yea, and expostulated with the Queen about it, as if this would tend to the disgrace and disparagement of her and her council if she should hearken to the accusations of so inconsiderable an informer. But she answered, "That it was the duty of a prince to hold an equal hand over the highest and the lowest; that such as accuse magistrates and counsellors rashly without being able to prove it are to be punished, that those which accuse them justly are to be heard; that she was the queen of the meanest subjects as well of the greatest, neither would she stop her ears against them, nor endure the farmers of the customs should like horse-leeches suck themselves fat upon the goods of the commonwealth whilst the poor treasury waxed lean and was exhausted, nor that the treasury should be crammed with the spoils and pollings of the poorer sort" '.

116,18. allay. diminish, qualify.

116,21-24. she watched...alliance. The force of Greville's statement is not clear. In March 1572 William Paulet, first Marquis of Winchester, died owing the crown £34,141 run up while he was Lord Treasurer and Master of the Court of Wards; these debts were stalled at £666 per annum (see Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641, (Oxford, 1965), pp.423-24). His grandson, William Paulet, the fourth Marquis (d. 1628), married Lucy (1567-1614), the second daughter of Thomas Cecil, in February 1586.

116,⁵~~26~~-117,13. never...part. Greville's memory failed him on this point. Sir John Fortescue (1531?-1607), appointed Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1589, received the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in November 1601. His appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy was continued after the accession of James I. Greville may have in mind the fact that Robert Cecil was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from October 1597 to June 1599; both before and after this, the office was in commission (see Sir F. Maurice Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology, 2nd ed., London, 1961, p.140). Robert Cecil's father, the Lord Treasurer, died in August 1598.

117,2. sparing. economising.

117,4. chargeable. troublesome.

117,5-6. as Africa doth monsters. Cf. Tilley, A56: 'Africa is always producing something new (monsters, serpents)'.

117,15-16. she made...rare. Cf. Sir John Hayward, Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. John Bruce for the Camden Society (London, 1840), p.15:

Assuredly, as this Queen was not prodigal in anything, so was she most sparing in distribution of honour, whereby she advanced it to a very high valuation with all men.

For a discussion illustrating Elizabeth I's parsimony, and James I's profligacy, in the distribution of honours, see Lawrence Stone's chapter, 'The Inflation of Honours', in The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), pp.65-128.

117,15. dainty. valuable.

117,24. clergy. members of the legal profession. OED provides no equivalent usage.

118,4. allowed. sanctioned, acknowledged.

118,8-10. she studied...rest. In the first parliament of James I, Robert Cecil, by then the Earl of Salisbury, attempted to create a royal faction in the House of Commons. The bulk of the members of this party of 'king's servants' were to be the many holders of minor offices and the dependants of important Councillors; see David Harris Willson, The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629 (Minneapolis, 1940), pp.104-9.

118,21-29. propounded...execution. Elizabeth I rarely attended meetings of the Privy Council, and so did not participate in its deliberations. For confirmation of Greville's statement of the Queen's relationship with the Council, see Walsingham, Burghley, p.21, and Black, pp.169-72. Cheyney, I,12, suggests that Elizabeth I adopted this policy so that she could blame all failures on the Council and claim all successes for herself.

118,21-22. propounded. put forward for discussion.

119,13. yeomanry. 'Yeomen are those which by our law are called legales homines, free men born English, and may dispend of their own free land in yearly revenue to the sum of forty shillings sterling, or six pounds as money goeth in our times (Harrison's The Description of England, Holinshed, I,163).

119,14. proper to. peculiar to, characteristic of.

119,16-18. with extraordinary...of them. In 1610 members of the House of Commons frequently expressed the fear that the impositions and taxes levied without the consent of parliament would lead to the loss of liberty for all subjects of the king, and to the destruction of the commonwealth; see Notestein, pp.271-2, 322, 326-7 and 370.

119,17. insensibly. by imperceptible degrees.

119,18. boors. peasants.

119,19. champion. champion, champaign, unenclosed or common (land).

119,26. coronation-oaths. Cf. A Treatise of Monarchy 285.1. In 1610 members of the House of Commons on several occasions found it necessary to refer to the fact that at his coronation the King swore to uphold the laws and customs of England; see Foster, II,38, 110, 156, 165 and 190.

120,6. Pythagoras his Y. For the tradition of the Pythagorean interpretation of the Greek letter u psilon as a depiction of human life, with the upright and narrower right-hand stroke showing the way of virtue, and the other stroke the way of vice, see OED, 'Y' 1 b, and [Zedler's] Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexikon, 64 vols. (Leipzig and Halle, 1732-1750), LX,811-2.

120,16. endenize. transform, metamorphose.

120,17-19. ship of...new. Cf. Plutarch, Theseus XXIII.1: The ship in which Theseus sailed with the youth and returned in safety [from Crete]...was preserved by the Athenians.... They took away the old timbers from time to time, and put new and sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became a standing illustration for the philosophers in the mooted question of growth, some declaring that it remained the same, others that it was not the same vessel.

Cf. Caelica, sonnet LXXXIII, lines 69-74.

120,22. factors. deputies, (mercantile) agents.

121,24. register. set down in writing, record.

121,30-31. an invisible...monarch. an overpowerful favourite. Greville invariably connects the use of favourites with disorder and tyranny; see A Treatise of Monarchy, stanzas 96-100.

122,1. sabbaths. periods of rest; OED, 'sabbath' sb. 2.

122,2. jubilee. a time of release. In Jewish law, the year after seven sabbaths of years was known as a jubilee, when the fields were left uncultivated; see Lev. 25:8 and 11.

122,3. they. Nowell Smith prefers T's variant reading 'she'. 'They' refers back to 'all the world' at p.121,9.

122,11. Empsons and Dudleys. See the note to p.32,14. It would appear that in July 1610 Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury was censured as being an Empson or a Dudley; see Foster, I,133.

122,14. caterpillars. parasites. Cf. Bolingbroke's description of Bushy and Bagot, Richard II's favourites, in Richard II II.iii.166: 'The caterpillars of the commonwealth'.

122,25-26. drawing...subjects. Cf. Alaham, 'Chorus Quartus: Of People', lines 33-4:

The Sunne drawes not our browes vp, but our sweat:
Your safest racke to winde vs vp is Loue.

122,26-30. the council-board...kingdoms. When the Parliament of 1614 (5 April to 7 June, the 'Addled Parliament') refused to vote supply to the king, the Council was required to write to the counties and boroughs of England soliciting contributions; see Gardiner, II,261-8.

123,4. magnalia regni. great affairs of the kingdom.

123,15-16. superstructiones...ruunt. ancient institutions are not easily overturned, nor do they collapse of their own accord.

123,17. time-present's children. Cf. Mustapha I.i.84.

124,16-18. she disposed...munitions. Cf. Camden, (1596) p.524: 'To be ready and provided against all accidents [Elizabeth I] strengthened the maritime castles ...with new works and forts, and stored them with munition and provision for defence'.

124,26-27. she double stored...beforehand. Cf. Camden, (1596) p.524: 'To be ready and provided against all accidents [Elizabeth I] strengthened the maritime castles ...with new works and forts, and stored them with munition and provision for defence'.

125,5. maintaining of her navy. In February 1559 Elizabeth I possessed twenty-two ships of one hundred tons or more; in March 1603 there were twenty-nine. Since only two ships were lost in warfare, she did little more than replace those ships which became ineffective through old age; see Oppenheim, p.113.

125,8-9. gave...voyages. Most expeditions of any importance were mounted as ventures by a joint stock company with the queen as a partner. For an example of the terms exacted by the Queen, see Williamson, pp.54-55.

125,12-13. allowance...tons. 'The bounty of five shillings a ton, for vessels of 100 tons and upwards, only paid occasionally during the preceding reigns is now [in the reign of Elizabeth I] a common occurrence' (Oppenheim, p.167).

125,13-15. cherished...seamen. The privileges granted to fishermen consisted of the right to export fish in English bottoms only, free of custom, subsidy or poundage. Internal consumption of fish was encouraged by enforcing the laws for observing 'fish days'. 'For 1596 is a list of fifty-one ships built in the preceding five years and attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the statute ordering abstinence from flesh on Wednesdays' (Oppenheim, p.167).

125,15-16. brought...mariners. 'The English have had more absolute trade to Newfoundland since the year 1585 than ever before. For in that year the war broke out betwixt Spain and us, whereupon the Queen sent certain ships to take such Biscayners and Portuguese as fished there; a service of great consequence, to take away the ships and victuals from our enemy's subjects, and ever since they have abandoned their fishing thereabouts' (Monson Tracts, V,281).

Oppenheim (Monson Tracts IV,399n.) claims that during the reign of Elizabeth I, Newfoundland fishery did far more than privateering to encourage the production of seamen in the West Country. During the reign of James I an estimated profit of £1,000,000 a year from fishing in English waters was going to the Hollanders. Although the English managed to keep Newfoundland and Iceland fisheries in their hands, they had to face stiff competition from the Dutch off Greenland; see Oppenheim, p.200.

125,20-21. principal officers...time. John (later Sir John) Hawkins (1532-1595) succeeded his father-in-law, Benjamin Gonson, as Treasurer of the Navy in 1577. By then he had established a considerable reputation for himself as a naval commander. Hawkins retained the post of Treasurer of the Navy until his death, but from 1579 until 1587 the collective responsibility of the Navy Board was entrusted solely to him in terms of 'bargains' struck with the queen. In terms of these contracts, the regular work of the dockyards was performed by him and the master shipwrights for an agreed sum annually. It was largely as a result of Hawkins' efforts that England had the naval forces to meet the Armada in 1588. See Williamson, pp.336 and 361-2.

125,22-23. Muscovy...provisions. 'The fleet that defeated the Spanish Armada was largely rigged with Russian cordage and cable' (M. Wretts-Smith, 'The English in Russia During the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, III (1920), 95).

125,23. not as a partner with her merchants. In 1587 Hawkins was accused of being associated as a business partner with ship-suppliers and shipwrights, but the charges were not substantiated; see Williamson, pp.372-4. It was largely on the basis of his memorandum on the need to reform the abuses of wastage and speculation amongst the shipkeepers and master shipwrights that Hawkins was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in 1577; see Williamson, pp.331-6.

125,27-28. furnish...advantage. Hawkins was responsible for reducing the over-crowding of ships, as well as for the increase in seamen's wages; see Williamson, pp.367-70. Williamson, pp.340-2, argues that Hawkins was associated with, though not responsible for, the replacement of the large, fortress-like vessels with the middle-sized and more efficient galleon-type ships.

126,3-⁴~~5~~. draught...low. 'There are two manner of built ships: the one with a flush deck, fore and aft, snug and low by the water; the other lofty and high charged, with a half deck, forecastle and cobridge heads. The ship with a flush deck I hold good to fight in, if she be a fast ship by the wind, and keep herself from boarding.... A high built ship is the better for these reasons--majesty and terror to the enemy, more commodious for the harbouring of men' (Monson Tracts, IV, 91-4). See also Oppenheim, p.126.

126,12-20. in all...returned. The necessity for issuing bills of indenture is outlined in 'Thomas Davies' Observations', Monson Tracts IV,232; see also Monson Tracts IV,13-14.

The problem of the embezzlement of naval stores in the first years of King James' reign appears to have caused great concern; see Sir Robert Cotton's report on the navy, PRO SP 14/41/1, ff. 53^v-54, and ff. 60-66^v.

126,16. purser's...cook's. For a summary of the duties of the principal officers of a ship see Monson Tracts, III, 397-402.

126,20-22. myself am witness...youth. Greville was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in December 1598 (Rebholz, p.116), no one having held the office since the death of Sir John Hawkins. Greville surrendered the Treasurership in April 1604 (Rebholz, p.175).

126,23 var. Besides...exchequer. I cannot explain the absence of this passage from 1652, though I have no reason to doubt that it was removed by Greville himself. When this material appeared in the state of the text represented by T, the initial words of this and the following paragraph in J/S were transposed. The retention of 'Lastly' at p.127,1 by 1652 clearly demonstrates that it represents the latest state of revision of the text, unless we are prepared to argue that the whole of the passage at p.126,23 var. was omitted by mistake during the transmissional process.

127,2-4. work...exorbitant. This may be a reference to the termination in December 1587 of the 'second bargain' between Richard Hawkins and Elizabeth I. From then on

Hawkins was no longer in sole control of naval administration, and his responsibilities were shared by the three other members of the Navy Board. At the time there were complaints that Hawkins had enriched himself greatly at the Queen's expense, but it would seem as if Hawkins himself suggested the termination of the contract, feeling not only that he had achieved what he had set out to do in 1579--the task of reforming the navy--but also that one man's responsibilities in times of peace should be shared by others in times of war; see Williamson, p.361, and pp.371-82.

127,4. exorbitant. excessive; OED a. 4d. The first instance of thus usage is dated 1648.

127,13. sensible. evident.

127,⁶~~17~~-23. she...underballasted. Cf. Camden, (1596) p.522: '[Essex] complained that no more was done [on the Cadiz voyage], and charged some of the council of war with several miscarriages, whereof they easily acquitted themselves.... If there were any error, it seemed to be in this, that matters were not trusted to the management and command of one single man. But the Lord Admiral was with good advisement joined with Essex, to moderate his youthful heat, his swelling affectation of glory, and the fortitude of his invincible courage never sufficiently to be commended, with advised discretion and a prudent expectation of the right season for action, which are taken for prime parts of military discipline'.

For evidence of the Earl of Essex's punctiliousness in military matters, see his general instructions for the navy on the Cadiz expedition printed in full by Walter Bouchier Devereux in Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex...(1540-1646), 2 vols. (London, 1853), II,495-501; and his 'Omissions of Cales Voyage' in Hakluyt's...Voyages, 5 vols. (London, 1812), V,593-5.

128,17. Her universities...mandates. Greville does not seem to regard the imposition, in 1570, of new statutes on Cambridge--ones which changed the whole structure of the university's organisation by transferring authority from the society of masters to the heads of colleges--as an interference in university affairs; see Mark H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1559-1642 (Oxford, 1959), pp.41-2.

123,18. the colleges...elections. Elizabeth I definitely interfered in favour of Dr. Richard Clayton in the election for the mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge in 1595; see Curtis, op. cit., pp.41-2. Greville most likely has in mind the part played by James I in the confused proceedings of the election of William Laud as the President of St. John's College, Oxford in 1611; see Gardiner, II,127-8, and H.R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645, 2nd ed. (London, 1965), p.43.

128,22. Civilians. Civil lawyers. Sir William Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 17 vols. (London, 1903-1972), IV,234, attributes the success of the Civil Law faculties at the universities to the welcoming of foreign Civilians into England, the studying of English Civilians abroad, and the rise of Doctors' Commons. Brian P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641: A Political Study, p.51, shows that the award of doctorates in Civil Law at Oxford and Cambridge reached a peak between 1581 and 1590, and declined from then until 1610. Levack, pp.61-2, 71-3 and 80, attributes the decline to the shortage of lucrative positions, a reduction of fees and the uncertain future of a profession under attack from Common Law lawyers. Thomas Ridley, A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law (London, 1607), p.227, complained that 'it is almost a discredit for any man to be a Civilian in this state, and the profession doth scarce keep beggary from the gate'.

128,26. waving. wavering, capriciously changing. Cf. p59,24.

129,4. nasty. offensive through dirt. OED does not cite the word as meaning 'offensive in some respect' before 1705.

130,1-6 var. Immediately...world. The removal of J/S Chapter XI to 1652/T Chapter XVII made this transition passage redundant. S. Blaine Ewing, 'A New Manuscript of Greville's "Life of Sidney" ', Modern Language Review XLIX (1954), p.427, appears to take this passage to mean that Sidney had a part in forming Elizabeth I's

policy after 1588. Surely Greville ascribes this role to God. It is interesting that Greville removes this providential explanation when he incorporates this material in the 'history' of Elizabeth I.

130,7-18. She...doors. Cf. Camden, (1589) p.429:

'When she had done this at home for a terror to others [the trial of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel] that she might also do as much abroad and prosecute the victory given her by God against the Spaniards, supposing it more safe and honourable to assail the enemy than to be assailed by him, she suffered a fleet to be set forth against Spain... [under the command of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake]. There were reckoned in the fleet about eleven thousand soldiers and fifteen hundred mariners'.

The expedition was also joined by Don Antonio 'with a few Portugueses'; see p.131,2-13.

130,7~~8~~. perfected her virgin triumph. defeated the Armada in 1588. 57

130,19-131,1. sent...did. By inserting at this point an account of George Clifford, the Third Earl of Cumberland's expedition to Puerto Rico, Greville departed substantially from his source, and in doing so he introduced a major error. The Earl of Cumberland did undertake a voyage in 1589, but to the Azores; the voyage to Puerto Rico took place in 1598 (see Camden, p.561). Accounts of the 1598 voyage may be found in Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), Part IV, pp.1155-76, and in Monson Tracts II,204-14. The island was not wealthy, but by taking it Cumberland achieved what Drake and Hawkins failed to do in 1595. Cumberland abandoned the island because of sickness amongst the soldiers: in forty days seven hundred men died of the 'bloody flux and griping in the guts' (Camden, p.651).

131,2-5. to prevent...land. See the note to p.130,7-18.

131,6-7. seconded...Essex. Cf. Camden, (1589) pp.430-1: 'Whilst they steered their course toward Portugal [having just left Coruña], the wind being much against them, Robert, Earl of Essex fell in amongst them, a very young gentleman, who out of his eager thirst after military glory, his hatred against the Spaniards, and a commiseration towards Don Antonio, despising the pleasures of the Court, had put himself to sea without the Queen's knowledge, yea, to the incurring of her displeasure, and had long sought to find the fleet. For he had no hope of obtaining the Queen's leave to go, who was not willing that any of the prime nobility should hazard themselves in this expedition. Yet he hoped to command in chief, in regard his brother had many of the colonels and captains of the horse much obliged to him, as being persons whom he had preferred'.

131,7. the base town. the lower town. The English forces did not manage to take the high town which was situated on a rock, and so could not easily be undermined; see Camden, (1589), p.430.

131,7. the Groyne. Coruña.

131,8. overthrown...succour it. Spanish forces hoping to besiege the English in the lower town, or to cut off their retreat to the ships, were beaten back, 'the English pressing so hotly upon them that they presently fled confusedly, and were slaughtered for the space of three miles' (Camden, p.430).

131,9-13. marched...provision. From Coruña in Spain the expedition sailed to Peniche in Portugal. After landing and taking the town, Sir John Norris led the land forces overland to Lisbon in six marches. Drake promised to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. On the day after their arrival in the suburbs of Lisbon, the Spanish garrison sallied out, but they were eventually driven back into the city, 'Essex chasing them to the very gates'. When, after two days the inhabitants showed no signs of acclaiming Don Antonio and expelling the Spaniards, and Drake did not arrive to turn the ships' artillery against the city walls, Norris retreated to Cascaes at the mouth

s/

of the Tagus. At Cascaes sixty Hanse hulks 'laden with wheat and all manner of provision for shipping, to furnish a new Armada against England' were taken. Neither Camden nor Hakluyt mentions that these ships were burnt; in fact Hakluyt, II.ii.149, states that some of them were sent back to England. Greville's departure from his source on this point, as well as his mention of the English wasting villages and provinces on their way to Lisbon, may have been prompted by the following passage:

'The English setting sail from thence [Cascaes]...fired Vigo, a town upon the coast forsaken by the inhabitants, and, pillaging the country near adjoining, returned into England with 150 pieces of ordnance and a very rich booty' (Camden, p.432).

Until they left Cascaes, the English had had Don Antonio in their company, and they had therefore pursued a policy of not antagonising the Portuguese inhabitants; Hakluyt, II.ii.144, mentions that a man who disobeyed the very strict orders against looting during the march from Peniche to Lisbon was hanged.

131,11-12. entered...Cascaes. This passage in T,J and S reads: 'entered the suburbs of Lisbon even to the gates, took East Cales'. In reading through the manuscript Greville must have noticed the obvious error 'East Cales', a scribal misreading of the unfamiliar name 'Cascaes'; because he no longer had access to Camden's material, he turned to what he knew was Camden's own source for the account of this expedition, Hakluyt, II,ii,134-[155 misnumbered as 143]. Hakluyt, II.ii.145, mentions the arrival of the English troops in the suburbs of Lisbon, and, with a significant difference in phrasing, relates how 'the Earl of Essex had the chase of them [the Spanish garrison] even to the gates of the high town' [my italics]; but it is not until II.ii.148-9 that he mentions the arrival of the English troops at Cascaes, the capture of the castle and the seizure of the Hanse hulks. Greville had turned to Hakluyt in the hope of correcting his facts, not of emending the text, and he would therefore not have found a solution to his problem. As a result, he simply deleted 'took East Cales', and replaced it with a phrase not to be found in Camden: 'of the high town'.

The composite reading of the present text is perhaps an error. One should perhaps merely emend the reading of the manuscripts to: 'entered the suburbs of Lisbon even to the gates, took Cascaes', since Greville would not have added the phrase 'of the high town' if his scribes had been able to reproduce what he originally intended. In adopting this policy one would simply ignore Greville's revision, and treat it as a forced error. 1652's reading is clearly as untenable as that of the three manuscripts.

* 131,17-19. disturb...towns. After the capture of the Hanse hulks at Cascaes, the Hanse towns protested to the Queen, whose only reply was 'that she had forewarned them that they should carry no provision for war to the enemies of England; that carrying such provisions, she had lawfully taken them....' (Camden, p.433).

131,15-16. successively...coasts. See the note to p.58, 9-11.

* 131,17-19. See above

131,22. getting head. gaining force or power; OED cites no instances of this usage before 1625.

131,23-24. set...fleets. Cf. Camden, (1590) p.441:

'Yet did they [English pirates, from the marginal gloss]] grievously trouble the Spaniards, whilst some infested the Atlantic ocean near the Azores, where ships of both Indies must of necessity call, making prize of many of them'.

One of these 'pirates' was apparently the Earl of Cumberland.

131,28-132,3. Henry the Third...protection. When Henry III's only surviving brother François, Duke of Anjou, died without issue, the sole heir to the throne was Henry of Navarre. The Catholic princes under the Duke of Guise banded together to form the Holy League 'aiming to ruin the King by stirring up the public hatred and disaffection towards him through their corrupt counsels, and utterly to extirpate the reformed religion by preventing the succession of the lawful heir to the crown' (Camden, pp.433-4). In the ensuing struggle for power the Duke of Guise was assassinated (December 1588), and soon after so was Henry III (August 1589).

132,3-5. then did...king. Henry IV (Henry of Navarre), holding only Dieppe, sent to Queen Elizabeth for aid, and was supplied with money, arms and '4,000 men under the command of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, who had with high commendations commanded the army in the Low Countries after Leicester's departure' (Camden, (1589) p.436). See the note to pp.135,29-136,4.

132,3-4. providently. with foresight.

132,6. subsist. make a stand; OED v. 7. The first citation is dated 1643.

132,10-13. Neither...itself. Cf. Camden, (1596) p.517: 'The Queen, to scatter this storm that was gathering [the threat of a new Spanish invasion], supposed it the best course to set upon the enemy in his own ports, and to that end rigged a fleet of 150 ships.... In these were 6360 soldiers under pay, volunteer gentlemen 1000, seamen 6772, besides Low Country men. Robert, Earl of Essex and Charles Howard, Lord Admiral of England...were made commanders-in-chief with equal authority, with the title of generals.... To these were joined for a council of war the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew and Sir Conyers Clifford'.

132,23. Tyrone. Hugh O'Neill (1540?-1616), the second Earl of Tyrone, took on the leadership of Irish resistance to English rule when he assumed the title of 'the O'Neill' in 1595. For an assessment of his considerable abilities, see Black, p.400. From at least as early as 1595 he negotiated with Philip II of Spain for aid against the English.

132,24. forces under Don John d'Aquila. In September 1601 Juan d'Aquila landed at Kinsale with 3,000 Spanish troops; see Black, p. 406. Three previous attempts (in 1596, 1597 and 1599) to send troops to aid the Earl of Tyrone had failed because of bad weather; see Black, pp.403-4.

132,24-27. first...rebels. The Earl of Essex was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in March 1599, but within six months he was back in England, in disgrace for having failed to suppress the rebellion and for having negotiated with the Earl of Tyrone. He was succeeded by

Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy [later the Earl of Devonshire] (1563-1606), with the title of Lord Deputy. Mountjoy set about suppressing the rebellion in a workmanlike manner. Through efficiency and luck he forced the Spanish forces under d'Aquila to capitulate in January 1602; in March 1603 the Earl of Tyrone surrendered unconditionally. For accounts of the rebellion and its suppression, see Black, pp.399-407, and Cyril Falls, Elizabeth's Irish Wars (London, 1950), pp.202-334.

133,1. credit. sum of money borrowed; OED sb. 10. The first instance cited is dated 1662.

133,14-15. idle...peace. A peace with Spain was concluded in 1604; see Gardiner, I,207-214.

133,20-21. Judith...Holofernes. Judith saved the Israelites by cutting off the head of Holofernes the Assyrian general while he was lying on his bed in a drunken stupor; see Judith 13:2-8.

133,27. ledger ambassadors. resident or ordinary ambassadors.

134,2-5. Mendoza...agents. Cf. Camden, (1584) p.296: 'Don Bernadino de Mendoza, the Spaniard's ambassador in England, secretly crossed the sea into France in a great rage and fury, as if he had been thrust out of England contrary to the privilege of an ambassador; whereas, indeed, being a man of a violent and turbulent spirit, and abusing the sacred privilege of his embassy by fostering and encouraging of treason, he was commanded to depart the land, whereas, by the ancient rigour and severity in such cases he was to be prosecuted...with fire and sword. For he had his hand in these wicked designs with Throckmorton and others for bringing in of foreigners into England and deposing the Queen'.

134,13. meres. boundaries.

134,14. procession. orderly manner of proceeding. OED cites 1652's reading 'precession' as an instance of the word used to mean 'The act or fact of preceding in time, order or rank; precedence'. The only other instance cited is dated 1898.

134,19. pistoles. the name given from 1600 to a Spanish gold coin worth from about 16s. 6d. to 18s; see OED.

134,24-26. from under...hit. Nowell Smith refers to the story of Aphrodite protecting Aeneas with her robe, not her shield, and being herself wounded by Diomedes; see Iliad, V.311 ff.

134,26-135,6. displanted...landed. Edward Barton (c. 1563- c. 1598) succeeded William Harborne as the English agent at Constantinople in 1588. In March 1593 he managed to persuade the Turks not to renew their truce with the Spaniards. Greville's account is consistent with the information to be gathered from CSPV 1592-1603 nos. 35, 36, 40 and 45. The Spanish ambassador, Count Juan Marigliani, waited at Ragusa while his agent Giovanni Stefano Ferrari undertook the preliminary negotiations in Constantinople. I have not been able to find a source for Greville's information. For biographical information about Barton, see E.S. de Beer's corrections to the Dictionary of National Biography in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research XIX (1941-1943), 158-60.

135,2. Ragusa. the present day Dubrovnik.

135,14-21. But...humours. J presents the preceeding and subsequent material as follows:

glad to returne & ship him selfe away, with more expedition then he landed. [f.24^r]
 Besides w^hi>ch reputation giuen to her name, by the Grand Signior in this particular, she generally got power, to keep <th>e feareful standerd of the half Moon wauinge in such manner ouer all this kinge of Spaines designes, as he durst mooue no where againste his neighbour Christian princes, for feare of beinge encompassed, with in <th>e hornes of th<a>t heathen Crescent But these thinges swell, & require a more authenticall history to continue the memory of that wonder of Queenes, & miracle of women.

In honour of whose sacred name, I haue presumed [f.24^v] thus to digresse, and admonishe all estates by her example, how they may drawe vse, and honour, both from the deade, and liuinge,. The change of times, hauinge no power ouer reall wisdomes, but infinite ouer the shadowes of crafte and humours.

The equivalent material in S (f.28^r) is 'paragraphed' in the same way.

135,26-27. the refining...sister. Cf. Camden, (1560) p.49:

To Queen Elizabeth it is to be ascribed that there hath been better and purer money in England than was seen in two hundred years before, or hath been elsewhere in use throughout all Europe.... Certainly, this was a great and memorable act, which neither King Edward the Sixth could, nor Queen Mary durst, do after that King Henry the Eighth had, first of all kings of England, mixed the money with brass to the great dishonour of the kingdom and the damage of his successors and people....

135,29-136,4. the timely...England. Cf. Camden, (1590), pp.435-6:

The Duke de Mayne...advanced his hostile ensigns against Navarre (who was...justly proclaimed King of France, and lay now at Dieppe, a sea-town of Normandy) confidently believing that either he should take him prisoner, or drive him quite out of France.... The Queen, not to fail a king of the same profession, and renowned for his martial acts, in so dangerous condition,...supplied him presently with 22,000 pounds of English money in gold,... and sent him arms and 4,000 men under the command of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby....

See also the note to p.132,3-5.

136,14-15. sepulture. burial.

136,25-28. let...living. Greville's attitude towards publication in his lifetime is paralleled by William Camden's. The second part of Camden's 'Annals' had to wait until two years after his death in 1625 for publication. He was very much opposed to having an English translation, even of the first part, published while he was alive, for fear of what the unlearned public might do with his work; see E. Maunde Thompson's article in DNB.

137,2. revolutions of time. alteration of conditions in, or with, time.

137,2. disproportioned. ill-suited, inappropriate.

137,3-4. cursed...fruit. Christ cursed the fig-tree for not bearing fruit; see Matt. 21:19, and Mark 11:13-14. Greville may also have the parable of the barren fig-tree in mind; see Luke 13:6-9.

137,5-6. si quicquid...vita. if anything offends us, we quickly abandon it: life will grow sluggish through idle leisure.

*137,18. preoccupation. a rhetorical figure by which objections are anticipated.

137,10-27. First...bred. Hugh N. Maclean, 'Bacon, Greville, History, and Biography', Notes and Queries, CCI (1956), 95-6, draws attention to the parallels between Greville's outline of his projected history and Sir Francis Bacon's suggestions for a history of England in The Advancement of Learning II.ii.8.

137,14. demurred. dwelt upon.

*137,18. See above.

137,25. fern-seed. Ferns were popularly supposed to produce invisible seed that was capable of communicating its invisibility to anyone who possessed it; cf. I Henry IV II.i.87. It may be that Greville has in mind Jas. I:9-10:

'Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted: But the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away'.

138,6. abrupt. unexpected.

138,6. motion. proposal.

138,6-7. took hold of his present counsel. gained, for the moment, his personal assent.

138,10. aspect. appearance, facial expression.

138,23. Athenian Timon. The Elizabethan tradition of Timon of Athens as a railing misanthrope probably had its source in Plutarch, Antony 70.1

138,25. adventure...ship. Cf. Tilley, A209 'Venture not all in one bottom'.

- 138,32. supersedeas. check.
- 138,34-35. would...viewed. The first part of Camden's 'Annals' was subjected to royal scrutiny before being published in 1615.
- 139,15-16. live and die upon equal terms. i.e. without having paid tribute to her worth during my lifetime.
- 140,5. exorbitant. excessive.
- 140,11. advantage. superiority.
- 140,16. or...me. or, rather, I failed.
- 140,19. talent. disposition, inclination.
- 140,22. in the persons of shrews. Greville has in mind the characters of Rossa in Mustapha, and Hala in Alaham. 57
- 140,26-27. not made...Sophocles. Nowell Smith, p.279, points out that the names of Euripides and Sophocles could with greater propriety be transposed. It is Euripides who has traditionally been regarded as hostile to women; see OCD, p.420.
- 141,3. naked and casual. without ornament and artifice.
- 141,13. dexterity. skill.
- 141,15. beautify...works. Cf. p.9,30-p.10,4. Greville regarded the Arcadia as a serious moral work; the four sets of pastoral eclogues intended to be placed between the five books of the Arcadia would therefore not only be literally at the outer limits of parts of the work, but would also be incidental and merely decorative.
- 141,15. antiques. things belonging to ancient times.
- 141,19-21. directing threads...life. Ariadne gave Theseus a clew of thread to guide him out of the Labyrinth after killing the Minotaur; see also Tilley, L14.
- 141,30-31. feet...trod. For references to this proverbial expression for adversity see Tilley, O103, and Archer Taylor, 'The Proverb "The Black Ox has Not Trod on his Foot" in Renaissance Literature', Philological Quarterly XX (1941), 266-78.

142,4. quicksands. J presents the preceeding and subsequent material as follows:

lesse goe beyonde, that excellente entended [f. 43]
 patterne
 ffor my owne parte I found my creepinge Ge-
 nius, more fixed vpon the images of life, then
 the Images of witt, and therefore chose, not
 to write to them on whose feet the blacke oxe
 had not already trod, as the Prouerbe is. But
 to those only who are weather beaten in the
 sea of this worlde.
 Such as hauinge lost the sighte of their
 gardens &, groues study to saile on a righte
 course amonge rockes, and quicksandes ———

And if in this ordaininge, and orderinge [f. 43^v]
 matter, and forme together for the vse of
 life, I haue made these Tragedies, no playes for
 the stage....

The equivalent material in S (f.45-45^v) is 'paragraphed'
 in the same way.

142,16. them. J presents the preceeding and subsequent material as follows:

easy to finde out some affinitie or resem- [f. 43^v]
 blance between them — — —
 — — — which whosoeuer
 readeth with this apprehension, will not, it
 may be thinke the Sceanes too longe, at
 leaste the matter not to be exceeded in ac-
 compte of wordes.
 Lastlie for the stile as it is rich, or poore
 accordinge to the estate, and abilitie of the
 writer, so the value of it shall be enhansed
 or cried downe, accordinge to the grace &
 capacitie of the reader: ffrom which com-
 mon fate of bookes, I looke for no exemp-
 tion.

But to conclude, as I beganne this worke
 to entertaine, and instruct my selfe, so if
 anie other finde entertainemente, or profitt
 by it, let him vse it freelie, iudge hono-
 rable of my frende, and moderately of
 me, which is all the returne, that out of

this barraine stocke, cann be desired or ex [f. 44]
 pected.

The equivalent material in S (f. 45^v) is presented in much the same way, except that the subordinate structure beginning 'which whosoever' is treated as a separate paragraph beginning with a majuscule letter; the preceding material is marked off with an oblique stroke, the normal method in S for indicating the end of a paragraph.

142,22-23. cried...reader. Cf. An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour, 51, lines 4-6:

So what is scorne of Criticall abuse,
Was said of bookes, of Fame will proue the state,
That Readers censures are the Writers fate.

142,29. barren stock. See the note to p.137,3-4. Greville's use of this expression may be a deliberate echo of Elizabeth I's purported description of herself when she heard that Mary Queen of Scots had given birth to a son; see J.E. Neale, The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History (London, 1963), p.181.

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- [S] Shrewsbury Public Library MS 295.
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