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**Political Considerations Upon Refin'd Politicks**

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**London, 1711**

Chap. II. What are properly refin'd Politicks, and how many Sorts there are of them.

**urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-1842**

## C H A P. II.

*What are properly refin'd Politicks, and how many Sorts there are of them.*

**B**UT that we may not still continue in these Preambles, let us come to the Subject which they are to introduce. That great Person *Justus Lipsius* treating of Prudence in his Book of Politicks, describes it in these few Words, *to be a Choice and Trial of such things as are to be avoided or desired*; and after having discoursed of it in the ordinary Method of the Schools, that is to say, as a Moral Virtue which has the Consideration of Good for its object, he afterwards comes to another Prudence which he calls mix't, because it is not so pure, so sound and consummate as the former, but partakes a little of those Arts and Stratagems which are commonly made use of in the Courts of Princes, and the Management of the most important Affairs of Government: and then he endeavours, by his Eloquence, to make it appear that this sort of Prudence, may be esteemed honest, and may be practis'd as being allowable and lawful. After which he describes it judiciously enough to be *Argutum Consilium a Virtute, aut Legibus devium, Regni Regisque bono*: A quick or sharp Advice deviating





from Virtue and the Laws for the Good of the State or Prince. And then passing on to its several Kinds and differences, he constitutes three Principal ones, The first of which one may call a Trick or Deceit, that is, but slight and of small Consideration, which comprehends under it Distrust and Dissimulation: The second retains something of Virtue but yet less of it than the former, and has for its Parts Conciliation and Deception, that is to say, the Method of gaining the Friendship and Service of some particular Persons, and the deluding, deceiving and drawing in of others, by false Promises, Flatteries, Presents, and other Baits, which may be said to be rather necessary than honest. As to the last, he says it is wholly estranged from Law and Virtue, and plunges deeper into Wickedness, and that its two Foundations or Bases are Treachery and Injustice.

However it seems to me, that to search particularly into the nature of these Secrets of State, and strike immediately upon the main Point of our Discourse, as to that which is proper and essential to them, we must consider *Prudence* as a Moral and Political Vertue, which has no other end than to find out the different Turns, the best and easiest Contrivances of managing and accomplishing that Design which a Man proposes; from whence it likewise follows that as these Affairs and Methods can be but of two sorts, one easie and ordinary, the other troublesome, difficult



cult and extraordinary; so there are but two sorts of Prudence, the first ordinary and easie, which keeps the beaten Path, without exceeding the Laws and Customs of the Country: the second extraordinary, being rigorous and severe.

The first takes in all the Parts of Prudence, of which the Philosophers us'd to speak in their Moral Treatises, together with those three first above mentioned, which *Justus Lipsius* only assigns to the Prudence mixt with Fraud. For to say the Truth, if one considers well the Necessity that Politicians have of them, to serve their own Purposes, we ought never to suppose them to be unjust or dishonest. For the better Understanding of this, we ought to know, as *Charon* says, (*Book 3. Ch. 2.*) that the Justice, Virtue and Probity of a Sovereign moves in a different Sphere from that of particular Persons, and takes a larger and freer Compass from the Grandeur, Weightiness and Danger of his Burthen; and for this reason it is fitting that he take such steps as seem irregular and unpractis'd, yet to him are requisite and lawful; sometimes it is necessary to use Shifts and Evasions, and to mix Prudence with Justice, and as they say, *Cum Vulpe junctum Vulpinariet*; To play the Fox with the Fox: and in this consists the Art of Government.

Agents, Nuncios, Embassadors and Legats are sent not only to pry into the Actions of Foreign Princes, but to dissemble,

cover



cover and disguise those of their own Masters. *Louis* the Eleventh, the best advis'd and wisest of our Kings, held this for a principal Maxim of his Government, That, *qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*, He who does not know how to dissemble, knows not how to reign. The Emperor *Tiberius*, *Nullam ex Virtutibus suis magis quam dissimulationem deligebat*, prefer'd his Dissimulation to all his other Accomplishments. And is it not apparent that the greatest Virtue reigning now at Court is to distrust all the World and dissemble with every body; seeing they who are plain and open are no ways fit for the Mystery of Government, and often bring themselves and the State into danger. But not only these two Parts of Distrust and Dissimulation which consist in Omission, when properly applied are necessary to Princées; but is often requisite to pass farther, and to come to Action: As for example, to gain some Advantage or to accomplish some secret Design by Equivocation and Subtilty, to sooth with soft Words, fine Letters, specious Embassies, obtaining by those Artifices such things as the Difficulty of their Circumstances might otherwise have made them despair of, *Et si recte portum tenere nequeas id ipsum mutata velificatione assequi*; (*Cicero Book 2. to Lentulus*) So that if you cannot arrive at the Port by direct sailing, by veering about you may accomplish it. It is likewise necessary to have Intrigues and secret Correspondences, so as to win the  
Hearts



Hearts and Affections of the Officers, Servants and Confidents of other Princes, foreign Persons of Quality and even of their own Subjects, this is what *Cicero* calls in the first of his Offices, *Conciliare sibi animos hominum & ad suos usus adjungere*. What Necessity therefore is there of setting up a particular Prudence by the Name of mixt, on which such Actions should depend, as *Justus Lipsius* does; since they all come under the Head of *Ordinary Prudence*: and such Artifices are every Day taught by the Politicians, urg'd in their Arguments, enforc'd by their Ministers, and practis'd without any Suspicion of Injustice as being the principal Rules and Maxims for the well governing of States and Empires. These deserve not so much to be call'd the *Secrets of Government*, the *Fine-spun Politicks*, and the *Arcana Imperiorum*, as those others which are comprehended under the last sort of *Extraordinary Prudence*, which gives a turn to the most intricate and difficult Affairs; which more particularly and with Exclusion to all others should have the Name of *Arcana Imperiorum*, and this Title they have not only from me, but from all other preceding Authors.

And here we may take notice of a Fault in a great many of them who have treated of Politicks, and particularly of *Clapmarius*, who making a large Book, *De Arcanis Imperiorum*, and reducing them under some gene-



ral Precepts, says in the first place, that *Secrets of State* are nothing else but the various Methods, Reasons and Counsels which Princes make use of to maintain their Authority and the State of the Publick, without transgressing common Right, or giving any suspicion of Fraud and Injustice. This being pre-suppos'd as true and certain, he divides them into two sorts, and says, the first ought to be call'd the *Secrets of Empire or of Republicks*, and these by reason of the three sorts of Government he subdivides into six others: So that for Example, A Monarchy ought to have its Schemes and peculiar Reasons of State to preserve it from being commanded by such as would reduce it to an *Aristocracy*, and others likewise to hinder it from falling into the hands of the People, and becoming a *Democracy*. And so the two others ought to take care least they become Monarchies, or be chang'd into that other Form of Government that is opposite to them. The second sort are those to which he gives the Title of *Secrets of Dominion*, which they who Rule are oblig'd to practise for the Preservation of their Authority, whether it be Monarchical, Popular or Aristocratical; which he illustrates by a curious enumeration of all those instances he has gather'd from *Livy*, *Salust*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and several other Authors, who seem all to agree as to the signification of these *Terms*, in the same manner as he himself has us'd them. I



I might incur the Displeasure of such great Men, if I did not first ask Pardon for my Freedom, in telling them that the usage of the words *Secrets of State*, according to the before-mention'd Exposition, is to deviate from their true Signification, and not to comprehend the nature of the Thing; it being certain that these Latin words *Secretum* and *Arcanum*, which they have made use of, cannot be appropriated to the Precepts and Maxims of a Science, which is commonly understood and practis'd by every one: But only to that, which for some Reasons ought neither to be known or divulg'd, because according to that Remark of the Poet *Marcus* (Book of Gems).

*Non secreta manent quorum fit conscia turba.*

They are no *Secrets* which the Vulgar know.

We likewise learn from the Grammarians, that this Word *Arcanum* may be deriv'd from *Arce*, a strong Tower, either because as *Festus Pompeius* asserts, the *Augurs* had a Custom to offer a certain Sacrifice there, which they would hide from the Knowledge of the People, or because all things Secret and of Consequence are better secur'd in *Arce*, such a *Fortress*, than in any other Place. Those who derive it from *Arca*, a *Coffer*, seem likewise not to differ in Opinion; and all good Authors never use these two Words but in a like signification.

D 2

*Longius*





*Longius & Volvens Fatorum Arcana movebo,*  
(Virg. Æn. 1.

——— From far  
I'll fetch the Secrets of revolving Fates.  
And in another place,

*Te colere, Arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus.*

Adore and trust thee with my secret Soul.

And Horace has

*Secretumq; teges & Vino tortus & ira.*

And keep a Secret tho' much Wine and Rage  
Should put thee on the Rack.

And to conclude with that of *Lucan*, speaking  
of the Source of *Nile*, which was wholly  
unknown to the *Egyptians* themselves,

*Arcanum Natura caput non protulit ulli  
Nec licuit populis parvum te Nile videre  
Amovitq; sinus, & Gentes maluit ortus  
Mirari quam nosse tuos.*

Nature, oh *Nile*, thy secret Head to none,  
Nor infant Streams has to the vulgar  
shown,  
But far remov'd the Beds from which you  
flow,  
Whilst Men admire that Birth they ne'er  
shall know.

I can-



I cannot but Remark that a beautiful Parallel may be drawn between the River Nile and the *Secrets of State*; for as the Nations that bordered upon that Current receiv'd a thousand Advantages from it, without knowing whence it took its rise; so the People ought to admire the happy effects of these master strokes of Policy, though wholly ignorant of those Causes from whence they result.

Now having shewn that these Writers have corrupted the Word, we may likewise say they have in like manner deprav'd the Nature of the thing, seeing they propose to us general Precepts and universal Maxims, founded upon the Justice and Right of Sovereignty, and consequently not only permitted, but every Day practis'd in the sight of all the World, which they however look upon as *Secrets of State*. Nor do they consider that there is a great difference between these and those others we speak of, since every one is capable of knowing the first by a slight Study of the Authors that treat of them; whereas on the contrary, the latter, concerning which the Question now arises, have their birth in the most retir'd Cabinets of Princes, and are not handled or deliberated in a full Senate, but between two or three of the most able and finish'd Ministers that a Prince has about him.

Of this we have an Example in *Augustus*, who, when he had a design after his Victo-





ry at *Actium*, and the conclusion of all his Wars both at home and abroad, to quit the Title of Emperor, and give Liberty to his Country, did not communicate it to the Senate, though he had increas'd their Number by six hundred Senators, nor to his particular Council which was compos'd of Twenty Persons the most accomplish'd and Judicious that he could chuse; but he propos'd and committed this whole Affair to the Judgment of his two principal Friends, Ministers and Confidents, *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*; *Quibus cum Imperii Arcana communicare solebat*; to whom he us'd to communicate the Secrets of his Empire, as *Dion* tells us *Book 53*.

And if we look upwards to the great Man that was his Predecessor, we shall find that *Julius Caesar*, as *Suetonius* delivers it in his Life, had only *Quintus Pedius* and *Cornelius Balbus*, to whom he communicated τα μυστικώτατα, that is, the very Secrets of his Soul. The *Lacedæmonians*, whose State was much enlarg'd after the Victory gain'd by *Lysander*, did thereupon with great Prudence establish a Council of Thirty Persons to preside over the Affairs of the Commonwealth; but not content with that they chose Twelve of the most judicious and experienc'd of their Citizens to be, as it were, their Oracle; whose Answers were to be to them conclusive in their *finest strokes* of Policy. The *Venetians* do the same at this Day with their *Procurators* of *St. Mark*; and there is no Sovereign  
how



how weak soever, and inconsiderate he may be, that can be so ill advis'd as to remit that to the Judgment of the Publick, which can scarce remain secret enough in the Ear of a Minister or Favourite. Which made *Cassiodorus* say, *Arduum nimis est Principis meruisse secretum*, (Book 8. Ep. 10.) It is too sublime a thing to deserve a Prince's Secret. And in another place, where he speaks of a Favourite of *Theodoric's*, *Tecum pacis certa tecum Belli dubia conferebat*, & *quod apud sapientes Reges singulare munus est ille sollicitus ad omnia, Tecum pectoris pandebat Arcana*, (Book 8. Ep. 9.) With you he conferr'd in the doubtful Cases both of Peace and War, and gave you that Favour which is very signal amongst wise Princes; for after all his Care for Publick Affairs, he disburthen'd his Secrets in your Breast. It would have look'd very well if *Charles* the Ninth had consulted all the Counsellors of his Parliament concerning what was to be done upon the Feast of *St. Bartholomew*, or *Henry* the Third had determin'd the Death of the *Guises* at the Council Board. They would have succeeded as well as if they would have taken Hares by Beat of Drum, and Birds by the Sound of Trumpets.

Besides, I would willingly ask these Gentlemen if they call the common Rules of governing Kingdoms, the *Arcana Imperiorum*, what Name would they give to those Secrets which are mixt with some Severity, and have occasion for extraordinary Prudence,





which we are going now to mention. For to call them as *Clapmarius* does after *Tacitus*, the *Flagitia Imperiorum*, is rather to take notice of those that are done in consideration of some private Advantage by some Tyrant, than of many others which are transacted for the publick Interest, and with all the Equity that can be applied to Enterprizes of such Importance, which nevertheless cannot be so well circumstantiated as not to be accompanied by some piece of Injustice, and consequently may be subject to Blame and Calumny.

These words being so explain'd, let us pass to the Nature of the thing signified by them: Now the better to comprehend this, it is necessary to search farther back, and to shew how in a retir'd Life and the government of a Man's self, and in the OEconomy or Conduct of a Family, which are two diminutive sorts of Politicks, there are several Subtilties, Feints and Stratagems which many make daily use of to come at the height of their Pretensions. *Charon* in his Book of Wisdom, *Cardan* in his Works, entituled, *Proxeneta*, *de Utilitate capienda ex adversis*, and *de Sapientia*, *Machiavel* in his Discourses upon *Livy*, and in his *Prince*, have laid down Precepts at large concerning those matters. As for my self, it will be sufficient to bring some Examples from them, after having observ'd, that although *Justus Lipsius* (*Civ. Doctr.* Book 4. c. 14.) has said of the last,



last, *Ab illo facile obtinebimus, nec Maculonem Italum tam districte dammandum* (qui misera qua non manu hodie vapulat) & esse quandam ut vir sanctus ait (Basil in Proverb.) καλῶ καὶ ἐπαινεῖται πανουργία, *Honestam atque laudabilem calliditatem.* We shall easily bring him to grant, that the *Italian* Disturber, who at present is lash'd by every body, is not to be so severely blam'd, seeing as *St. Basil* says, there is a Craft that is honest and commendable. And tho' *Gaspar Schioppius* has wrote a little Tract in his Defence, yet I cannot but be something offended at him, because

— *Floribus Austrum*  
*Perditus, & liquidis immisit fontibus Apros.*  
 (Virg. Bucol. Ecl. 2.)

The Boar amidst the chrystal Streams I  
 bring,  
 And Southern Winds to blast my flow'ry  
 Spring,

as *Mr. Dryden* has express'd it in the first Person, by being the first that was so bold to advance his Steps, break the Ice, and as I may so say, profan'd that by his Writings which the most judicious made use of as the hidden and prevailing Means to accomplish their Designs. I might make some scruple of adding any thing to what he had said, if the Persons above nam'd, and others that treat  
 of



of Politicks had not done the same before me,  
and now and then given occasion to say in this  
matter, what *Juvenal* said of Poetry.

—*Stulta est Clementia, cum tot ubique  
Vatibus occurras, peritura parcere chartæ.*  
Sat. 1.

But since the World with writing is possess'd,  
I'll versifie in spite, and do my best  
To make as much waste Paper as the rest.

Mr. *Dryden*,

Now amongst the Secrets which regard parti-  
cular Persons, I cannot think there are any of a  
higher reach, with regard to the End aimed at,  
than those which have been practis'd by certain  
Persons, who would distinguish themselves  
from the rest of Mankind, by establishing a-  
mongst them an Opinion of their Divinity:  
So we see that *Salmoneus* fram'd a Bridge of  
Brass, over which he drew his Chariot with  
high mettled Horses, and darting artificial  
Fires from both his Hands, imagin'd that he  
could imitate the Lightning and Thunder of  
*Jupiter*, from whence the Poet took occasion  
to say

*Vidi & Crudeles dantem Salmoneæ pœnas,  
Dum flammæ Jovis & sonitus imitatur  
Olympi.* Virg. Æn. 6.

*Salmoneus* suffering cruel Pains I found,  
For emulating *Jove*, the ratling Sound

Of



Of Mimick Thunder, and the glitt'ring Blaze.  
Of pointed Lightning, and their forked Rays.

Mr. Dryden.

*Psapho*, who was not less ambitious than the former, bred up a great number of *Fays*, *Sterlings*, *Magpies*, *Parrots*, and other Birds, and having taught them to pronounce these Words, *Psapho* is a God, let them fly abroad at Liberty, that such Persons as heard these extraordinary Witnesses of his Divinity, might the more easily be induced to believe it: So *Heracles Ponticus*, having commanded one of his Servants that he could best confide in, to hide a great Serpent, bred for that Design, under the Coverings that were over him when he went to be buried, that the Creature, disturbed by the Noise they would make, might leap out amongst the Mourners, and give the common People reason to believe that he was deify'd. As for *Empedocles*, he proceeded with that Courage and Generosity which became a Philosopher, for being grown old, and loaded with Glory and Honour, he threw himself into the flaming *Volcano's* of *Aetna*, to make Men believe he was taken up into Heaven, as *Romulus* did by drowning himself in a Marsh.

—*Deus immortalis haberi*

*Dum cupit Empedocles ardentem frigidus  
Aetnam*

*Insluit.*

Hor. Art. Poet.

*Empedocles* for an immortal Name,

Sedately ventures into *Aetna's* Flame.



The Atheists, who make their Glosses upon all the Texts of Holy Scripture, think that of *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 34. ought to be understood after the same manner, and that *Moses* threw himself from some Precipice into an Abyss, that the *Jews* might think he was taken into Heaven, whereas they ought rather to believe and agree with the Christians, that his Body was hid, lest the *Jews* should idolize it after his Death, it being well known that they were inclin'd, not only naturally, but from their Conversation with the *Aegyptians*, to adore all those from whom they had received any Benefit, or whose Virtue they imagin'd to have been singular and extraordinary.

The same Judgment may be made of the Golden Thigh of *Pythagoras*, mention'd by *Diogenes Laertius*, seeing *Plutarch* plainly tells us in the Life of *Numa*, that it was only a Contrivance and Stratagem of the Philosopher, to establish in his Admirers an Opinion of his Divinity; but what *Hercules* did was very much more ingenious, for being conversant in Astrology, as the Story of his Life shews sufficiently, when it says he bore up the Heavens in the room of *Atlas*, he chose exactly the Time and Hour when a great Comet was to appear, to set Fire to that Pile in which he resolv'd to end his Days, that this Celestial Fire might come in as a Witness, and make the same thing be believed concerning him, which the *Romans* would per-



persuade the Pople to think concerning some of their Emperors, by the means of an Engle let fly from the midst of the Flames of their Funeral Pile, that the Soul of the deceas'd was carried into the Arms of *Jupiter*.

Many others who were more modest and reserv'd in their Designs, were content to let us know the Care that the Gods took of their Persons, by the continual Assistance of some Genius or particular Divinity; this was done among the Ancients, by *Socrates*, *Pliny*, *Porphyry*, *Brutus*, *Sylla* and *Apollonius*, not to mention several Legislators; and amongst the Moderns, *Picus Mirandula*, *Cecco d'Ascoli*, *Hermolaus*, *Savonarola*, *Niphus*, *Postellus*, *Cardan* and *Campanella*, who boasted that they had such an Attendant, and that he convers'd with them, and yet they were never accus'd of having practis'd the Theurgick Ceremonies, contain'd in a Book falsely attributed to *Virgil*, *De videndo Genio*, or the *Means how to see a Genius*, or mention'd by *Arbatel*, in an undigested Collection out of such like Books, which is falsely publish'd under the Name of *Agrippa*. As for my self, I should rather endeavour to establish the truth of these Stories, by the wonderful Force of the Contraction of the Spirits, so well explain'd by *Marsilius Ficinus*, and *Jordanus Brunus*, from which *Palingenius* does not seem much to differ in three or four places of his *Zodiaque*; unless we would rather choose to say that these Gentlemen acted the Impostors,

and



and would imitate the Stories of *Numa*, *Zamolxis* and *Minos*, or rather, those which the Rabbies and Cabalists (*Reuchlin Lib. de Cabala*) have pleasantly forg'd concerning the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, and would make us believe that *Adam* was govern'd by his Angel *Razeil*, *Sem* by *Jophiel*, *Abrabam* by *Frza-d-Kiel*, *Isaac* by *Raphael*, *Jacob* by *Piel*, and *Moses* by *Mittaron*, — *Sed credat Judeus Apella, non Ego; Let the Jews believe it, I sha'n't.* However, this may be remark'd of the Historians, that these Contrivances have not always been without their Use, seeing *Scipio* practising them with Judgment amongst the *Romans*, acquir'd the Reputation of a great and good Man, and was sent to conquer *Spain*, though he was not then of the Age of four and twenty: *Livy* speaks thus concerning him; *Fuit Scipio non tantum veris artibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam adinventâ ad ostentationem composita plerâque apud multitudinem aut per nocturnas visas species, aut veluti divinitus mente monita agens;* *Scipio* was not only admirable for his true Politicks, but likewise for his artificial Contrivances, transacting many things with the Populace, as proceeding from Nocturnal Appearances, or the influence of some Divine Admonition: So likewise many other Princes and private Men, that were not capable of arriving at the Fineness of such Inventions, contented themselves with something else, that they thought might contribute



bute to the Lustre of their Actions. 'Tis for this reason *Tacitus* says, that *Vespasian* was, *Omnium quæ diceret aut ageret arte quadam Ostentator*, had a certain Art of setting off all he said or did, with a sort of Ostentation, (*Annals Book 3.*) and *Corbulo* is represented by the same Author, *Super experientiam sapientiamque etiam specie inanium validus*, besides his Wisdom and Experience, he made even trifling Appearances become prevalent; and this was done for a good Reason, since he says in another place, *Principibus omnia ad famam dirigenda*, Princes should direct all their Actions to the obtaining a Reputation, seeing, according to *Cardan's* Remark, *Æstimatio & opinio rerum humanarum Reginae sunt*, (*Book 3. de Util.*) for Esteem and Opinion are the Queens of Human Actions. Several other Observations which relate to the government of particular Persons might here be made, but for those I shall refer to the Treatise of *Cardan* just now cited, and proceed to the Secrets of OEconomy, or the Rule and Administration of Families, in which I content my self with taking notice of some that have been used to counterplot the Intrigues which Women make use of against their Husbands, in their pursuit of unlawful Pleasures; to which purpose I remember to have read a Story in the pleasant Tales of *Boucket*, or *Chaudrier*, which shall here pass for serious, as being much more proper to correct these wanton Humours, than that of *La Mule*, who  
was



was eight Days without drinking, which is mention'd by *Cardan* in his *Book of Wisdom*. A certain Pyſician, ſay they, being inform'd that his Wife went to divert her ſelf,

*Intrabat calidum veteri Centone Lupanar,*  
Juvenal.

would often go to Places of no very good Credit, and that the next Day ſhe was to meet Company, was not in the leaſt concern'd at it nor took any notice, but at midnight, and when his Wife dreamt of nothing leſs, leapt out of Bed feigning that Thieves were in the Houſe, takes his Sword in his Hands, diſcharges two or three Piſtols, cries *Help, Murder*, ſtrikes his Sword upon the Table and Wainſcot, in ſhort, does all he could to frighten and diſturb his Family; In the morning when all was over, he felt his Wife's Pulse, and found it much oppreſ'd by reaſon of the fright ſhe had had, and for that he muſt take away ten or twelve Ounces of Blood. Now this Evacuation having cauſ'd a ſmall Emotion, he began to ſeem concerned as if ſhe had a high Fever, upon which he repeated the bleeding ſeven or eight times afterwards, he proceeded to ſhaving cupping and purging her to the laſt degree, ſo that ſhe kept her Bed ſix Months, without ever having been ſick. In the mean time. he had opportunity to ruin her Intrigues and break off her old Acquaintance, to ſpoil her fine Complexion, cool her warm Blood, al-

lay



lay the Ferment of the Humours, which  
had rais'd in her a Flame more unextin-  
guishable than that of the Stone *Asbestos*,

*Qui nulla moritur, nullaue extinguitur*  
*Arte.* (Trigault.)

That cannot die, nor yet be quench'd  
by Art.

But the Secrets the People of *China* practise  
to cure those Disorders which are crept into  
Families is much neater and more artful.  
For they have made it one of the principal  
Laws of their Nation, That the chief Grace  
and Beauty of their Women should depend  
upon the smallness of their Feet, and that  
they should be esteem'd the most beautiful  
who had the smallest and prettiest. This  
Law was no sooner publish'd, but all the  
Mothers, without considering the conse-  
quence, began to swath and bind up their  
Daughters Feet so tight, that they could not  
go abroad, nor indeed stand upright, but by  
the assistance of two or three Servants; so  
this Figure, tho' at first artificial, passing into  
a natural Shape, like that of the *Macrocephali*  
or People with *long Heads*, mention'd by  
*Hippocrates*, the *Chinese* insensibly fix'd the  
Mercury which their Women had in their  
Feet, making them resemble the *Tortoise* men-  
tion'd by the Poets.

E

—Tar-



*Tardigrada & domiporta*  
*Sub pedibus Veneris Cous quam finxit A-*  
*pelles.*

Of Progress slow, with House upon her  
 Back,

Such as *Apelles* plac'd at *Venus's* Feet.

By this means they hindred them from walking abroad with their Gallants, and to their usual Appointments: In the same manner as the *Venetian* Ladies are oblig'd to stay at home much oftner than they would do, by the use and extraordinary inconvenience of their *Choppins*: But the Story reported by *Mocquet* is much stranger and surprizing, for he says, that he has not only been credibly informed, but has seen it practis'd amongst the *Caribes* a People rude and barbarous, that when a Husband dies, let it be by what accident soever, the Woman is constrain'd under pain of remaining contemptible, infamous and deserted by all her Friends and Relations, to resolve to die with him and to throw herself into a great Pile of Fire, with as much Pomp and rejoycing as if it were upon the day of her Nuptials: upon which *Mocquet* says, that being much surpriz'd, he ask'd the reason of such a Custom, and was answer'd, that this was wisely establish'd as a Remedy for the great Inconstancy and Falseness of the Women of this Country, who before the making of this Law were used to poison their  
 Husbands



Husbands when they were weary of them, or had a mind to marry some other that was more strong and vigorous,

*Quique suo melius nervum tendebat Ulyffe.*

Who than *Ulysses* drew a stronger Bow.

Now if this Remedy was well proportion'd to the Nature of those People for whom it was ordain'd; that which *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Syracuse* put in practice to hinder the Feasts and Assemblies which were kept in the Night, was not less fitted to his Occasions; for without declaring that they any way displeas'd him, or showing that he feared lest they had any design to conspire against him, he was content by degrees to grant Impunity to all Riots and Thefts that were committed in the Night, turning them into a Subject of Laughter, and by this Connivance gave such a Confidence to all the loose Fellows in the Town to use all People ill that they met in the Streets, in the night time, that no Person durst stir out of their House after Sun set, for fear of running the hazard of being stript or murder'd by those sorts of Robbers.

Let us come now to some others, less serious and consequently less troublesome and dangerous: The Republicks of *Greece* being desirous that their Subjects should eat their Fish whilst it was fresh and at a reasonable Rate, had not recourse to the Methods of lay-



ing a Fine upon them, for which the Fish-mongers might have had some reason to complain, but they took the Advice which the Comick Poet *Alexis* says was proposed to them by *Aristonicus*, they laid a grievous Penalty upon all Persons that sold Fish if they did sit down in the Market, *Ut ii standi tadio lassitudineq; confecti, quam recentissimos venderent*; That being weary of standing they might sell them fresh to dispatch their Market: So the *Romans* would not suffer the Priests of *Jupiter* to ride on Horse-back, lest as *Festus Pompeius* says, *Si longius urbe discederent, sacra negligerentur*; If they should go far from the City the Holy Offices might chance to be neglected.

It were an easie thing to produce several more Examples of this kind, if these were not sufficient to let us judge of the rest, and to lead us to the third sort, which is that of Politicks, or the Government of Nations by one Person or by many: Now in relation to this last, that nothing may be omitted that can serve for its Illustration, we may observe three things; The first is the general Science of the Establishment and Preservation of States and Empires, which Science does not only contain what has been delivered down to us by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, but likewise all that *Tully* in his Book of Laws, *Xenophon* in his Prince, *Plutarch* in his Maxims, *Isocrates*, *Synesius* and other Authors have thought necessary to be understood and practis'd by those who



who govern: It is likewise certain, that it consists in many Rules that are universally received and approv'd, such as these; That things do not happen by chance or necessity; That there is a God that is the first Cause of all things, who has made a Heaven for the Reward of the Just, and eternal Torments for the Punishment of the Wicked; That some ought to command, and others to obey; That it is the Duty of a Man to defend his Religion, his Prince and his Country, in the fight of all Men, and against all Men; That the main Strength of a Prince consists in the Love and Union of his Subjects; That he has a right to levy Money from his Subjects to supply the Necessities of War, and for the Maintenance of his Court, with several others set forth and explained by *Marni*, *Ammirato*, *Paruta*, *Remigio*, *Florentino*, *Zinaro*, *Malvezzi*, and *Botero* in their Political Discourses.

The second is properly what the *French* call *Maximes d'Estat*, and the *Italians* *Ragion di Stato*, though *Boterus* has compris'd all the three Differences under that Term, when he says, *Ragione di Stato e notitia di Mezzi atti a fundare, conservare & ampliare, un Dominio*, Reason of State is the Knowledge of measures proper for the Foundation, Preservation, and Increase of a Dominion; in which he has not hit so right, in my Opinion, as those who defin'd it to be, *Excessus juris communis propter commune Bonum*, An





Encroaching upon common Right for the common Good; seeing this Definition being more special, particular and determinate, one may distinguish by it betwixt the first Rules for the Foundations of Empires, which are established upon Laws, and conformable to Reason; and these second which *Clapmarius* improperly calls *Arcana Imperiorum*, and we, with more reason, *Maxims of State*, since they cannot be pronounced Lawful, either according to the Natural or Civil Law, or the Laws of Nations but only out of Consideration of the publick Good, which often reaches farther than that of particular Persons; so we see that *Claudius*, when by the Laws of his Country he could not take *Julia Agrippina* the Daughter of *Germanicus* to be his Wife, he had recourse to the Laws of State, and so found out an evident Contradiction to the ordinary ones, and married her, *ne fœmina experta fœcunditatis*, says *Tacitus*, *integra juventa, claritudinem Cæsarum in aliam domum transferret*, Book 12. That is to say, lest this Lady happening to marry into some great House, the Blood of the *Cæsars* might be spread into other Families, and produce a Number of Princes and Princesses, who in time might have some Pretensions to the Empire and consequently disturb the publick Tranquillity. For the same reason *Tiberius* would not let *Agrippina* the Widow of *Germanicus*, and Mother to her we have been speaking of, marry again, tho' she requi-



required it of him with such Remonstrances, supported with powerful Reasons, as could not be refus'd her, without Injustice, which nevertheless was render'd lawful; by Reason of State, since *Tiberius* was not ignorant (*quantum ex republica peteretur*, *Tacitus* Book 4. *Annal.*) that is to say, what consequence this Marriage might be of, and that the Children which should spring from it, being so nearly related to *Augustus*, the Roman State might some Day fall into great Troubles and Parties by reason of divers Persons that might make Pretences to the Empire. No Law likewise permits us to procure the Ill and Disadvantage of one that never has done us any harm. And yet this Maxim of State related by *Livy* (Book 2. Dec. 5.) *Id agendum ne omnium rerum jus ac potestas ad unum populum perveniat*, That care should be taken that no one People should have an universal Power; obliges us to succour our Neighbour against those who have never offended us for fear their Ruin should serve as Steps to hasten our own, and that all our Companions being devoured by those new *Cyclops's*, we should expect no other Favour than that which was granted to *Ulysses* to be the last Morsel to satisfy their Hunger. This is the Pretext that the *Aetolians* made use of to obtain Succours from King *Antiochus* and *Demetrius* King of the *Illyrians* to excite *Philip* King of *Macedonia* and Father of *Perseus* to take up Arms against the Romans. This was





likewise the Reason why that great Politician *Cosmo de Medicis*, was so desirous to keep *Milan* from falling into the hands of the *Venetians*, when the Race of the *Visconti* Dukes of *Milan* was extinct. And *Henry* the *Fourth* being inform'd that the Duke of *Savoy* had fail'd in his Attempt to surprize *Geneva*, said openly, That if it had succeed-ed he would have laid Siege to it the Day following; and yet when the King of *Spain* invaded the same Duke's Territories, *France* upon the foremention'd Maxim, came in powerfully to his Assistance. It was this which furnish'd *Alexander* the *Sixth* and *Francis* the *First* with a lawful Excuse for making Alliances with the Grand Seignior: From thence the *Spaniards* held a secret Correspondence with the *Hugonots*, and *France* let Troops pass privately into the *Valtoline* and into *Holland*, though all this seem'd in outward Appearance to be against the Rules of Religion, at least of common Piety and Conscience. In short, without this Consideration there could never have been so many Leagues broken as we find in *Guicciardine*: *Charles* the *Fifth* would never have abandoned the *Venetians* to the *Turks*: *Charles* the *Eighth* would not so easily have been driven out of *Italy*: *Paul* the *Fifth* would not so quietly have got Possession of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, nor could the present Pope have seiz'd upon that of *Urbis*: So many Princes would not desire the Restitution of the *Palatinate*,



minate, nor the Prosperity of the King of Sweden, nor that *Casal* should remain to the Duke of *Mantua*, were it not by virtue of this Maxim, to set bounds to the unmeasurable Ambition of certain Nations who would put that in practice towards their neighbouring Princes, which rich Citizens do to the poor ones

———O *si angulus ille*  
*Parvulus accedat qui nunc denormat Agel-*  
*lum.* Hor, Book 2.

Might that small Angle happen to my share

'Twould make this Field of mine so regular!

We might add, that the Law of Arms does not permit those People to be ill treated, who have surrender'd themselves, and implor'd the Mercy of their Conqueror, and yet when the number of Prisoners is so great that they cannot easily be guarded, provided for, or put into a Place of Safety, or that their own Side will not Ransom them, it is allow'd by these Maxims to put them all to the Sword, since otherwise they might starve an Army, put them to defiance, favour the Enterprizes of their Companions, and cause a thousand other Difficulties. And for this Reason *Aldus Manutius*, Discourse III. has held, that *Hannibal* might be justly excus'd for slaying in the Temple of *Juno* all the Ro-

man



man Captives that would not follow him when he left *Italy*; although for this and some other Actions *Valerius Maximus* has given him this Character, *Hannibal cujus majori ex parte virtus sævitia constabat*, The Valour of *Hannibal* consisted most in Cruelty.

To such Maxims as these we may refer the manner of Acting, or particular Customs of certain Nations as to their own Government: As for Example, that of our *Salick* Law, so religiously observ'd touching the Succession of Males to the Crown, and the Exclusion of Females, by which Means the Crown was preserv'd from the Invasion of the *Spaniards* during the time of the League: The true and loyal *Frenchmen* having protested against all foreign Pretensions as null and void, and dismiss all the Rivals by this formal Text of the Law, *Francorum Regni successor Masculus esto*, Let the Successor to the Kingdom of the *Franks* be a Male.

That Law of the *Chinese* is much of the same Nature, which prohibits Strangers from coming into their Kingdom under pain of Death; That of the grand *Turk* to strangle all his Relations; that of the King of *Ormuz* to put out their Eyes; that of the *Abyssins* to make them dwell upon the top of an inaccessible Mountain; the *Ostracisme* amongst the *Athenians*; the *Matze* to the *Valaix*, a People of *Germany*; the Council of *Discoli* at *Lucca*; the Lake *Orfano* at *Venice*; the Inquisition in *Spain* and *Italy*; and several other



ther Laws and Customs peculiar to each Nation, which have no other Foundation of Right but these Reasons of State, and yet are all very religiously observ'd, as being necessary for the Conservation of those States that make use of them.

To conclude: The last thing that is to be consider'd in Politicks are these *master strokes* which may come under the same definition that we have already given to the *Maxims* and *Reasons of State*, *Ut sint excessus juris communis propter commune bonum*, or to explain it better, *Bold and extraordinary Actions*, which *Princes* are constrain'd to execute when their *Affairs* are difficult and almost to be despair'd of, contrary to the common Right, without observing any Order or Form of Justice, but hazarding particular Interest for the good of the Publick. But the better to distinguish between these *Maxims*, this may be added, that generally when any thing is done by *Maxims*, all Causes, Reasons, Manifesto's, Declarations, and Forms and Methods to prove an Action lawful precede the Effects and Operations of them; whereas on the contrary, in these *master strokes of State*, the Thunderbolt falls before the Noise of it is heard in the Skies, *Ante ferit, quam flamma micet*, Prayers are said before the Bell is rung for them; the Execution precedes the Sentence; he receives the Blow that thinks he himself is giving it; he suffers who never expected it, and he dies that look'd upon him-  
self



self to be the most secure; all is done in the Night and Obscurity, amongst Storms and Confusion, the Goddess *Laverna* presides, and the first Grace requested of her is this,

*Da fallere, da sanctum justumque videre  
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice Nubem.*

Make me a Saint and Just to human Sight,  
But wrap my Cheats in Clouds, and Crimes  
in Night.

They have however so much that is good in them, that they have the same Justice and Equity that we said before lay under the *Maxims and Reasons of State*, but those Maxims might be publish'd before the Stroke, whereas the principal Rule observ'd in these, is to keep them conceal'd till they are finish'd. Of this sort were the remarkable Executions of the Count of *St. Paul* under *Lewis the Eleventh*, of the Marshal *de Biron* under *Henry the Fourth*, the Earl of *Essex* under *Elizabeth Queen of England*, the Marquis *D'Ancre* under the King now reigning; the two Brothers under *Henry the Third*, of *Majon* under *William the First*, King of *Sicily*, of *David Riccio* under *Mary Queen of Scots*, of *Spurius Melius* the Roman Knight under *Abala Servilius* Commander of the Horse; of *Sejanus* and *Plautian* under two several Emperors, which were all as lawful and necessary one as the other, and yet the three first ought to be refer'd to *Maxims and Reasons of State*, because



because the Proceſs was made and Forms of Laws obſerv'd before their Execution, and all the reſt to the *maſter ſtrokes* of State and Refin'd Politicks, becauſe no Proceedings were againſt them till their Execution. We may likewiſe bring this diſtinction, that although many Formalities might precede the execution of a Deſign, yet if Religion is mightily profan'd by it, as when the *Venetian* ſaid, *Somo Venetiani, dopo Chriſtiani, We are Venetians and afterwards Chriſtians*: When a Chriſtian Prince calls in the *Turk* to his Aſſiſtance; when *Henry the Eighth* made his Country revolt from the Holy See; when the Duke of *Saxony* encourag'd the Hereſy of *Luther*; when *Charles of Bourbon* took *Rome*, imprifon'd the Pope, and put three Cardinals to Death; or when the Affair is altogether extraordinary and of very great Conſequence for the Good or Ill that may happen from it; then we may uſe this Term of a *maſter Stroke of State*; as we may judge by the following enumeration of ſome of them which have been put in Practice not by *Turks, Infidels* or *Cannibals*, but by Chriſtian Princes, ſuch as not to flatter or ſpare our own Nation, have been Kings of *France*; amongſt whom *Clovis* the firſt Chriſtian King, committed ſome ſo ſtrange and ſo far from all Juſtice, that I cannot imagine what thoughts that good Man *Savaron* muſt have when he wrote a Book of his Sanctity: *Charles the Seventh* made no ſcruple of carrying



rying on his designs by *Joan* the Maid of *Orleans*; *Lewis* the *Eleventh* broke his Word given to the Constable, deceiv'd every one under the Veil of Religion, and made use of the *Hermite* the *Prevost* to put many Persons to death without any formal Proceedings; *Francis* the *First* was the Cause of the *Turks* coming into *Italy*, and would not observe the Treaty made at *Madrid*; *Charles* the *Ninth* consented to the memorable Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, and to the secret Assassination of *Lignerolles* and *Bussy*; *Henry* the *Third* dispatch'd the *Guises*; *Henry* the *Fourth* made a League Offensive and Defensive with the *Hollanders*, not to mention his Conversion to the Catholick Religion; and *Lewis* the *Just*, all whose Actions were esteem'd Miracles, and his master strokes of State to be the effects of his Justice, practis'd two signal ones in the Death of the Marquis *D'Ancre*, and the Succours he sent to the *Valtoline*. As for the *Venetians*, if it is true that they hold constant to the Maxims abovemention'd, it must be confess'd that they remain plung'd in the depth of a continual *Matchiavelism*, not to mention several other things that they daily practice. The *Florentines* in rejoycing at the Captivity of *St. Lewis* in the *Holy Land*, did not so much make use of a Secret of State, as of an Action very discommendable and shameful: *It was remarkable*, says *Villani*, *that when the News came to Florence where the Gibellins were then in Power, they*  
made



made a Feast in their great Hall. Amongst the Popes we may take notice of the Prison of *Celestine*, the Poison of *Alexander the Sixth*, the Assassination of *Father Paul*, which was design'd, though not perfected; which are two certain proofs, that they do not cease to be Men when they are elected to be Popes. *Charles of Anjou* King of *Sicily*, cut off the Heads of *Conradin* and *Frederick of Austria*: *Peter of Arragon* gave Authority to the *Sicilian Vespers*. *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, and *Alexander the Sixth* had recourse to *Bajazet* against the Forces of *Charles the Eighth* of *France*. The Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, did not give the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleance*, though in his Passage through *France* he had promis'd to do it. The same Emperor just at the Time when he had it in his Power to Ruine the Protestants, rather chose to make use of them to invade *France*, and call'd them his *Black Guards*. He diverted that Money which *Germany* had contributed to the War against the *Turks*, to the Ruin of *Francis the First*: His Hatred to the King of *England* because of the Divorce from his Aunt, made *Rome* so violent against *Henry the Eighth*, and by this means gave occasion to the Change of Religion which then happen'd. After this he made a League with that King, and got him to take Arms against *France*: His General *Charles de Bourbon* took *Rome* and rais'd such a Persecution against the Ecclesiasticks,



sticks, *that* (as it is in that Dialogue of *Charonte*) *no Man durst appear abroad in the Habit of a Fryar or a Priest*. In short, in his time and by his Command, there was so great a Butchery of Men in the *Indies*, which were then newly discover'd, that it is beyond any credibility. *Philip the Second* would never suffer the Pope to meddle with the Affairs of *Portugal*, and hang'd up all the *French* Soldiers that were going to the Assistance of *Don Antonio*. And whoever does not know how much he labour'd for the Reconciliation of *Henry the Fourth* to the Church of *Rome*, may learn it from Cardinal *D'Offat's* Letters, where all those Artifices are recorded which at that time were practis'd against the *French* Monarchy. Now these Examples drawn only from the Histories of ten or twelve Princes being so many in Number, I am of Opinion they may serve for an undoubted Proof to demonstrate, that though the Writings of *Machiavel* are prohibited, his Doctrine has nevertheless been practis'd by the same Persons, whose Authority has censur'd them.

But having fully discours'd of the Definition, it is likewise necessary to consider, what the Division may be; the first and most natural way seems to be to divide them into just and unjust, that is to say, into Monarchical, and Tyrannical; and that under the first we may place the death of *Plautian*, *Sejanus*, and the Marquis *D'Ancre*; and to the second that of *Remus* and *Conradin*.

Besides



Besides this Division, which I look upon as the principal, they may likewise be divided into such as regard the publick good, and others that have respect only to the private Interest of the People who undertake them. The first comprehends such Actions as that of *Hannibal*, who put to death a Roman Prisoner, who in his Presence had slain an Elephant, *Dicens indignum vitâ qui cogi potuerat cum bestiis decertare*; Saying he was not fit to live, who was so mean as to be compell'd to fight with Beasts. Although it is much more probable as *Sarissburgensis* has judiciously observ'd (*Polycrat. Book 1. c. 2.*) *Eum noluisse Captivum inauditi triumphî gloria illustrari, & infamari Bestias quarum virtute terrorem Orbi incusserat*; He would not suffer a Captive to be honoured with the Glory of an unheard of Triumph, and those Beasts should fall into any discredit, by whose Strength we had struck Terror through the Universe. So the People of *Elis* in *Greece* having brought *Phidias* the Statuary from *Athens* to make the Image of *Jupiter Olympius*, when he had perform'd his Work to admiration, thinking that if they let him return to *Athens* he might make another that might surpass it, accus'd him of Sacrilege and having cut off both his Hands, sent him home in that condition; *Nec puduit illos Jovem debere sacrilegio*, nor were they asham'd to owe their *Jupiter* to a Sacrilege, says *Seneca*, and the poor *Phidias*, *Talem fecit Jovem ut*  
F hoc



*hoc ejus opus Elii ultimum esse vellent*, Made such a *fove* as was to be the last Work he was to finish. As to those which regard a private Interest they have been practis'd by all the Legislators and New Prophets that we shall speak of hereafter.

They may likewise be divided into those which are fortuitous or casual; as when *Columbus* perswaded some of the Inhabitants of the new World, that he would take away the Moon from them (which was soon after to suffer an Eclipse) if they did not furnish him with plenty of Provisions; and into those which were premeditated and undertaken upon a mature deliberation from the apparent Good that they judge may proceed from them, as most of those were which we have lately discours'd of.

There are likewise some that are single or determin'd by one blow, as the Death of *Sejanus*, and some that are compound-ed, that is, follow'd or preceded by several others; preceded, as that of *St. Bartholomew* by the death of *Lignerolles*, the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, and the wounding of the Admiral; follow'd, as the Execution of the Marquis of *Ancre* by that of *Travail*, of his Wife the *Marchioness*, and the Exile of the *Queen-Mother*.

There are some which are done by Princes, when the Necessity and Conjuncture of their Affairs require them, of which only we shall treat in this Discourse; and others which are