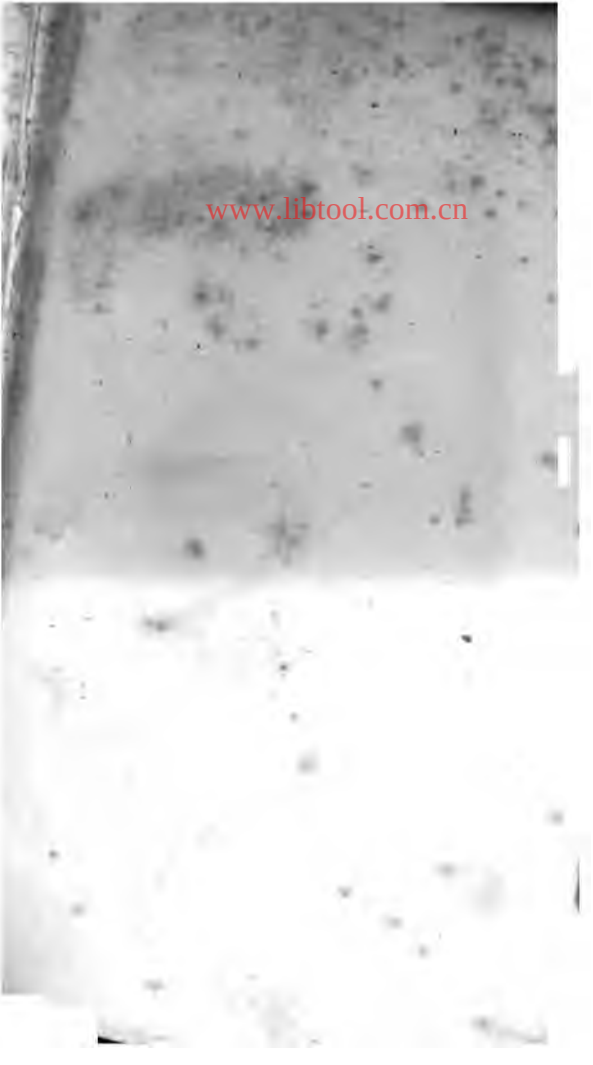

BACON;

HIS WRITINGS,

AND

HIS PHILOSOPHY.

BY GEO. L. CRAIK, M.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BACON;

HIS WRITINGS, AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

Bacon has himself said, that, although some books may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others, that should be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; "else," he adds, "distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things." This is in his essay entitled 'Of Studies;' and undoubtedly the works of a great writer can only be properly studied in their original form.

But abridgements, compendiums, analyses, even of the works of the greatest writers, may still serve important purposes. If properly executed, even the student of the original works may find them of use both as guides and as remembrancers. A good compendium should be at least the best index and synopsis. The more extensive the original book, or books, the more is such a compendious analysis wanted, not to supersede or be a substitute for the original, but to accompany it as an introduction and instrument of ready reference. It is like a map of a country through which one has travelled, or is about to travel; or rather it is like what is called the key-map prefixed to a voluminous atlas, by which all the other maps are brought together into one view, and their consultation facilitated.

To the generality of readers, again, a comprehensive survey in small compass of an extensive and various mass of writings is calculated to be more than such a mere convenient table of contents or ground-plan. In the same Essay Bacon has said, "Some books are to be tasted,

others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention." This must be understood, from the title and whole strain of the essay, to be addressed to students—to the comparatively few a large portion of whose time is occupied with books. If the illustrious author had been treating of the subject of reading in general, with the "great faculty," as he has himself called it, which he possessed in so eminent a degree, of contracting his view as well as of dilating and dispersing it, of making his mental eye a microscope to discern the parts of whatever he investigated as well as a telescope to take in the whole, he would not have omitted to remark also, that the same book is often to be read in one way by one man and in another way by another. We cannot have a better example than his own writings. In their entire form they fill many volumes; they have been collected in three or four large folios, in five quartos, in a dozen or more octavos. Let the student of literature or philosophy, we say again, by all means read and inwardly digest every page of them; but it would be the height of pedantry to recommend that anything like that should be done by all readers. Even if the entire body of Bacon's works could be produced at so small a cost as to be within the reach of all readers, the time to peruse them would be wanting. Nor, even if such of them as are not in English were to be all translated (which they have not yet been), would they be found to be all, or nearly all, of universal interest. Another remark that Bacon himself would not have failed to make if he had been examining the question of reading books in its whole extent, and on all sides, is, that, with few exceptions, all books lose something of their first importance, at least for the world at large, with the lapse of time. Works of science, or positive knowledge, especially, are always to some extent superseded, at least for their main or primary purpose, by the *growth or extension* of that very branch of knowledge

which they may have been the first to set before the eyes of men, as the torch may be dimmed and made useless by the greater light it has itself served to kindle. Much of what Bacon has left us is interesting now only as having either been or seemed to be of importance at the time when it was first published; that is to say, only as an evidence of the state of knowledge in those days. Much is the same thing that we have elsewhere in another form, or is the rudimentary conception of what is more fully brought out elsewhere. To the student of the history of science, or of the progress of thought and discovery in the mind of Bacon, all these indications are curious and precious; he will scrutinize them all anxiously, and will even wish that they were more numerous. But it is the results of such scrutiny principally that the ordinary reader wants; at most a few specimens of the repetitions and variations and exploded errors will be enough for him. Is nobody to be thought entitled to know anything about Bacon and his philosophy—about which everybody has heard so much—who cannot or will not make himself master of every line that Bacon has written? Here, as in all other cases, there is one kind of knowledge which the professed student of the particular subject in question requires, and quite another kind which suffices for the general reader—who may be considered as a mere looker on at the operation which the other is carrying on. It is right that such an observer should have understanding enough of the matter to comprehend what he sees done; it is not at all necessary that he should be able to do it. Even if the highest education were to be universally diffused, still some must have their attention more especially directed to one department of knowledge, some to another; and therefore in every department there must still be the few thoroughly instructed, and the many to whom the subject is known only in its outlines and general principles.

Such a knowledge of what is called the Baconian philosophy we hope to present our readers with the materials for acquiring *in these volumes*. Our plan, of producing *for the most part* Bacon's own words, will have at

least the advantage of trustworthiness and safety. Our duty will be to confine ourselves principally to exposition, and to deal but little either in controversy or in criticism. The only respect, therefore, in which we shall have to draw upon the confidence of the reader will be that we exhibit all the evidence which is material upon any disputed point.

But what is understood by the Baconian philosophy is only one of the things to which the extant writings of Bacon relate. About half of the entire body of them, even if we exclude his Letters, has nothing to do with his system or method of philosophy. If we confine ourselves to his English writings, the portion of them that relates to his method of philosophy will be found to be less than a third of the whole. The other two-thirds are occupied with matters Moral, Theological, Historical, Political, and Legal.

Bacon is a great name both in the history of philosophy and in our English literature. At the same time, with the exception of his Essays, what he has written is very little known to the general reader. He stands, therefore, exactly in the position which seems to make it expedient that an account of his works should be given, and so much of them as can be made generally interesting produced for popular perusal, in such a form as the present. It is the object of the series of analytical accounts of great writers, to which the present volumes belong, to introduce the most numerous class of readers to an actual acquaintance with those chief works, in our own literature and in that of other countries, with the names at least of the authors of which everybody is familiar. And this we believe to be likely to prove by far the most effectual way of promoting the more general study of the works in their original and complete form.

PART I.

BACON'S MORAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL WORKS.

Section I.—The Essays.

The father of Francis Bacon was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal from the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 till his death in 1579; his mother was Anne, the second of the four learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of whom the eldest married Lord Burleigh, and the third Lord Russell, son of the second Earl of Bedford. She was the second wife of Sir Nicholas, who had had by a former wife three sons and three daughters. Francis was the younger of two sons by the second marriage, the other being named Anthony.

He was born in London, at his father's residence, called York House,* from having been properly the town mansion of the Archbishops of York. Mr. Montagu says that it is the same house which is now numbered 31, Strand, being the corner house on the west side of Villiers Street; but Villiers Street is only one of several streets that were built upon the grounds of York House, after the site was disposed of by the second Villiers Duke of Buckingham some years subsequent to the Restora-

* This house was rented from the Archbishop of York not only by Sir Nicholas Bacon, when Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, but by his successors in the same office, or in that of Lord Chancellor, Sir John Puckering, Lord Ellesmere, and finally his illustrious son. It was *afterwards* acquired from Archbishop Mat*hew by the crown,* and bestowed by James I. upon *Villiers Duke of Buckingham.*

tion. The common account of this York House,—whi must not be confounded with the earlier York House, York Place, so called from having been the archiepiscop residence till it was purchased by Henry VIII. fro Cardinal Wolsey in 1530, which stood on the site Whitehall, and of which a portion still remains in t official residence of the Comptroller of the Exchequer, is, that it stood a little to the west of Inigo Jone handsome erection still called the York Stairs Watergat in the midst of a garden skirted by the river. We dou if any part of it extended to the street. The expressi of Bacon's first biographer, Dr. Rawley, in his accou as translated by himself into Latin, which is in seve minute particulars more precise and accurate than t original English, is, that he was born in York Palac "infra plateam dictam le Strand," which would seem mean, not in the Strand, but below or back from it.

His birth took place, according to Rawley, on t 22nd of January, 1560. But, as we are afterwards to that at his death, in April, 1626, he was only in his sixt sixth year, by January, 1560, must be meant, as was th the usual mode of computation, what we should now c January, 1561.*

He was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, when was only in his thirteenth year, along with his broth Anthony, who was his senior by two or three yea They were both matriculated as members of the unive sity on the 10th of June, 1573. It is not very cle how long he remained at Cambridge. Mr. Monta makes him to have left after a residence of only t years;† but Rawley, in his English 'Life,' say

* Dugdale, however, in his 'Baronage,' vol. ii., pp. 437-4 as the account is reprinted by Archbishop Tenison in t 'Baconiana,' p. 246, makes him to have been born in t 2nd of Elizabeth, which would be in January, 1560. H he afterwards contradicts himself by stating (p. 257) that, his death in April, 1626, he was in the sixty-sixth year of his a

† Life, p. x. Six pages after, indeed, he says that he w *sent to France* "after *three* years' residence in the Universit

"Whilst he was commorant in the university, about sixteen years of age (as his Lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy, as his Lordship used to say, only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man. In which mind he continued to his dying day." In the subsequent Latin translation the expression he uses is slightly different, and somewhat more precise:—"tantum non sexdecim annos ætatis nato," when he had all but completed his sixteenth year. The time referred to, then, may be taken to have been towards the close of the year 1576. This computation agrees very well with what follows in Rawley's account:—"After he had passed the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of state; and, for that end, sent him over into France with Sir Amyas Paulet, then employed ambassador lieger into France." According to Mr. Montagu (*Life*, Note O), Sir Amyas Paulet was sent as ambassador to France in September, 1576; although he immediately subjoins an extract of a letter from Sir Amyas, dated 22nd June, 1577, in which, writing to a friend in England, he says, "One year is already spent since my departure from you." In his *Sylva Sylvarum* (Experiment 997) Bacon himself speaks of having been at Paris when he was "about sixteen years old."

With the exception of a short visit to England with dispatches from the ambassador to the queen, which must have been made before December, 1578, when Sir Amyas was recalled, Bacon remained in France till after the death of his father, which took place in February, 1579. In his *Sylva* (Experiment 986) he mentions having been in Paris when he received the news. His later biographers make him to have spent some time after the recal of Sir Amyas Paulet in visiting the provincial parts of France; and there are some traces in his writings of his having at least once made an excursion to the

south-west. In his *Sylva* (Experiment 365) he mi
mention of a mode of thickening milk practised
a village near Blois, in such a manner as if he
seen it; and in another work of his latter years,
Historia Vitæ et Mortis, he records a conversation
had had with a person whom he met when he wa
young man at Poictiers. In the Sixth Book of the
Augmentis Scientiarum, he gives an account of a met
of cyphers which he says he invented when he wa
young man at Paris. It was in that capital, no do
that he spent by far the greater part, if not the wh
of the two years and a half, or thereby, that he seem
have remained abroad. Mr. Montagu mentions, a
fact illustrative of the impression he had already be
to make, "that an eminent artist, to whom, when
Paris, he sat for his portrait, was so conscious of
inability to do justice to his extraordinary intellec
endowments, that he has written on the side of his
ture, *Si tabula daretur digna, animum mallem*" (If
canvas were worthy of it, I should prefer a picture of
mind). This is the portrait of which Mr. Montagu
given an engraving in the first volume of his edition
the works of Bacon, where it is described as a miniat
by Hillyard.

It appears that Bacon was entered a student of Gr
Inn on the 21st of November, 1576; his four broth
Nicholas, Nathaniel, Edward, and Anthony, being
all entered on the same day.* He was made a Benc
of his inn in 1586; and in 1588 he was elected L
Reader. In Gray's Inn he erected, Rawley, writ

* The true date of Bacon's admission as a student of Gr
Inn was, we believe, stated for the first time in an articl
the 'London Review,' No. IV. (for October, 1835), p. 5
note. It had been assumed by Mr. Montagu, that he did
commence the study of the law till 1580. The authority
ferred to by the London Reviewer, is the Harleian MS., 1
which is described as "a large volume of copies of the rec
of Gray's Inn." The original admission-book for this da
lost.

in 1657, tells us, "that elegant pile or structure commonly known by the name of the Lord Bacon's Lodgings; which he inhabited by turns the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day." "The apartments in which Lord Bacon resided," says Mr. Montagu, "are said to be at No. 1, Gray's Inn Square, on the north side, one pair of stairs; I visited them in June, 1832. They are said to be, and they appear to be, in the same state in which they must have been for the last two centuries; handsome oak wainscot, and a beautiful ornament over the chimney-piece." "In the garden," Mr. Montagu adds, "there was, till within the last three or four years, a small elevation surrounded by trees, called Lord Bacon's Mount, and there was a legend that the trees were planted by him; they were removed to raise the new building now on the west side of the garden, and they stood about three-fourths from the south end." The elms in the walks were also planted by Bacon, when he was Double Reader, in the year 1600.

Mr. Montagu gives from the original preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. a letter of Bacon's to Lord Burghley, dated 6th May, 1586, from which, he says, it appears that Bacon had some time before applied to the Lord Treasurer to be called within the bar, or to be made what was then called an inner barrister. But this was no doubt merely his application to be made a bencher, his promotion to which rank Mr. Montagu has previously noticed. The inner barristers of that day were the benchers and readers, the term having reference to the bar, not of the court, but of the hall of the inn, and the place occupied by them at the readings and exercises of the house. The letter, however, is interesting for what Bacon says of his own disposition and habits at this date. "I find also," he writes, "that such persons as are of nature bashful (as myself is), whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well, and I most humbly beseech your *Lordship to* believe, that arrogancy and *over-weening is so far from* my nature, as, if I think

well of myself in anything, it is in this, that I am free from that vice." In his thirtieth year, according to Mr. Montagu (meaning apparently the year 1589), Bacon was appointed Queen's Counsel learned extraordinary, "an honour," it is added, "which until that time had never been conferred upon any member of the profession." Rawley calls it "a grace (if I err not) scarce known before."*

It appears to have been from about this date that Bacon began to attach himself to the prevalent royal favourite, the Earl of Essex. Nevertheless, it was about this very time† that his relations the Cecils, hostile as they were to Essex and his faction, procured for him the reversion of the valuable place of Register of the Star Chamber. It was worth about 1600*l.* per annum; "for

* Mr. Jardine, in 'Criminal Trials' ('Library of Entertaining Knowledge'), 1832, vol. i. p. 385, *note*, observes that "it does not distinctly appear at what time Bacon received his nomination as Queen's Counsel." Mr. Jardine adds, "He is said to have been the first King's Counsel under the degree of Sergeant."

† We do not find that Mr. Montagu anywhere assigns a precise date to this appointment, although he notices it under the year 1591 ('Life,' p. xxvi.). But Dugdale (in 'Baconiana,' p. 247) states that Bacon was made one of the Clerks of the Council in 32 Eliz., quoting as his authority the Patent Rolls of that year, p. 11. The 32 Eliz. extended from Nov. 1589 to Nov. 1590. This, we suppose, is the same appointment which Rawley designates as that of Register of the Star Chamber; the Judges of the Court of Star Chamber having been the Lords of the Council, or chief ministers of the crown. Indeed it is clear, from a comparison of various passages in the *Egerton Papers* (edited by Mr. Collier for the Camden Society, 4to. London, 1840), that the office of which Bacon held the reversion, was called indifferently the Clerkship of the Council, or the Clerkship of the Star Chamber (*Confer* pp. 272 and 429). Mr. Collier, however, would appear to be mistaken in his assertion, at p. 266, that Bacon *did* not obtain the reversion of the Clerkship of the Star *Chamber till some time* after his disappointment in regard to *the office of Solicitor-General.*

which," says Rawley, "he waited in expectation either fully or near twenty years; of which his lordship would say, in Queen Elizabeth's time, that it was like another man's ground buttaling [abutting] upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn. Nevertheless, in the time of King James it fell unto him." But it can scarcely be made matter of charge against Elizabeth or her ministers, as the worthy chaplain in his zeal would almost make it, that the office did not become vacant sooner. Bacon's failure in obtaining any present provision, he goes on, "might be imputed, not so much to her Majesty's averseness or disaffection towards him, as to the arts and policy of a great statesman then [he means Burghley], who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down; lest, if he had risen, he might have obscured his glory." According to Mr. Collier (*Egerton Papers*, p. 269), "there is some reason to think that Bacon at one time acted as private secretary to Sir Robert Cecil." But this was perhaps at a date considerably later; for the letter which gives occasion to the remark, and which is stated to be addressed in the hand-writing of Bacon, is dated the 25th of December, 1597.

Long ere now, however, Bacon had commenced his career as a politician. Instead of having, as is commonly stated, first entered parliament in 1592, it appears from Browne Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria* and D'Ewes's *Journals* that he had sat in every House of Commons from the fifth parliament of Elizabeth, which met in 1585. He was returned to that parliament for Melcombe Regis; to Elizabeth's sixth parliament, which met in 1586, for Taunton; to her seventh, which met in 1588, for Liverpool; to her eighth, which met in 1592, for Middlesex; to her ninth, which met in 1597, for Ipswich; to her tenth, which met in 1601, for both Ipswich and St. Alban's, when he elected to serve for the former place; to James's first parliament, which met in 1603, again for the same two places, when he elected, as before, to serve for Ipswich; *and to James's second* parliament, which

met in 1614, for St. Alban's, for Ipswich, and for the University of Cambridge, when he elected to serve for the last. It seems to have been in the more spacious arena of the House of Commons that Bacon's eloquence first broke forth so as to attract observation. One account, indeed, is, that it was not till 1594 that he made his first pleading at the bar, his previous professional practice having been confined to his chambers, or at the most to the inferior courts.* The description that has been given of his oratory by Ben Jonson would seem to have a special reference to his speaking in Parliament:—"There happened in my time one noble speaker, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious [censor-like]. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."†

In 1592, also, appeared Bacon's first publication, as far as is known: 'Certain Observations upon a Libel published this present year, 1592, entituled A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England.' It will fall to be noticed when we come to give an account of his political writings.

On the promotion of Sir Edward Coke to be Attorney-

* B. Brit. 2nd edit., vol. i. p. 494.

† 'Discoveries;' Works, by Gifford, ix. 184. To Jonson we are also indebted for the knowledge of a peculiarity in his manner of speaking:—"My Lord Chancellor of England wringeth his speeches from the strings of his band, and other counsellors from the picking of their teeth."—*Conversations with Drummond, edited by* Mr. D. Laing for Shakespeare *Society, 8vo. Lond., 1842*, p. 25.

General, in April, 1594, Bacon became a candidate for the vacant office of Solicitor-General; but another person was eventually appointed. Upon this the Earl of Essex, who had exerted himself in his friend's behalf with extraordinary zeal, and took his failure much to heart, munificently presented him with an estate near Twickenham, which he afterwards sold for 1800*l.* The fact has been circumstantially related by Bacon himself.

In 1596 he completed and dedicated to the Queen 'A Collection of some of the Principal Rules and Maxims of the Common Law, with their Latitude and Extent;' but this work was not published till 1630, some years after the author's death, when it was printed along with another tract subsequently written, 'The Use of the Law, for Preservation of our persons, goods, and good names, according to the practice of the laws and customs of this land;' both being included under the title of 'The Elements of the Common Law of England.'*

And now we come to the publication of the first edition of the ESSAYS, which appeared in a small 8vo. volume, with the following title:—'Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London. Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane. 1597.' Only the leaves are numbered, and there are 45 of them in all, in two series; of which the first, extending to 13 leaves, is occupied with the Essays. The 14th leaf presents the following new title:—'Meditationes Sacrae. Londini. Excudebat Johannes Windet. 1597.' Then follow, on 14 more leaves, the *Meditationes Sacrae*, in Latin, being the same that are called the *Religious Meditations* on the first or general title-page. The leaf numbered 16 of this second series presents a third title:—'Of the Coulers of good and evill, a fragment. 1597;' and it is followed by 16 leaves con-

* Mr. Montagu, however ('Life,' p. xxxv.) appears to consider the 'Maxims' and the 'Use' as having originally formed one work. The *Dedication* to Elizabeth, and the Preface, clearly *apply only to the* 'Maxims.'

taining the tract so called, being the same that is called *Places of Perswasion and Disswasion* in the general title. The *Meditationes Sacrae* are printed in the Italic letter; the *Essays* and *Colours* in the Roman. On the back of the last leaf are the words—"Printed at London by John Windet for Humfrey Hooper. 1597."*

We may observe, that, notwithstanding the date 1597, it is most probable that the volume really appeared in the early part of what we should now call the year 1598. The *Essays* are inscribed by the author "To M. Anthony Bacon, his deare Brother;" the Dedication being dated "From my chamber at Graies Inne this 30 of Januarie. 1597." This would mean January, 1598, according to the then usual mode of computation.

There is another edition of the same collection with exactly the same title-page, except only that the date is 1598. It may have appeared, therefore, either in the same year with the former or in the beginning of the year 1599. It is in 12mo., and the page is of a smaller size than in the former. Only the leaves, of which there are 50, are numbered. It is not so neatly printed as the edition marked 1597; but the chief difference is, that the *Religious Meditations* are now in English. They in particular are full of the grossest misprints—all of which have been carefully preserved in Mr. Montagu's edition.

The only other known impression of the same collection (having also the *Meditations* in English) is a small 8vo., "printed at London for John Jaggard, dwelling in Fleete Streete, at the hande and Starre, near Temple Barre. 1606." The date of the Dedication is also altered

* Mr. Montagu says that the 'Religious Meditations' are not printed, as the 'Essays' are, for Hooper. But in the next sentence but one he says, "Although the name of Hooper does not appear in the title prefixed to the 'Meditationes Sacrae,' it is evident that Windet was the printer for Hooper." The first or general title-page shows clearly enough that the entire volume was printed for Hooper. Mr. Montagu also expresses *himself as if* the 'Places of Perswasion and Disswasion' were *a second title of the* 'Religious Meditations.'

to 1606; and Mr. Montagu considers this to be a pirated edition.

The *Essays*, as they stand in these three first editions, are only ten in number; but several of the twelve *Meditationes* are the rudimentary forms of compositions afterwards inserted among the *Essays*.

The next edition that has been discovered is dated 1612, and contains 38 Essays; namely, nine of those formerly published (the 8th, entitled 'Of Honour and Reputation,' being omitted), and 29 new ones. Of the nine that are reprinted, also, several are considerably enlarged. The Table of Contents enumerates 40 Essays; but the two last, entitled 'Of the Public,' and 'Of War and Peace,' are not given.

The Fifth edition, also dated 1612, appears to be another piracy of Jaggard's. It contains 39 Essays; namely, the 10 formerly printed (but without the enlargements), and the 29 new ones. It has likewise the *Religious Meditations*, and the *Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion*.

The Sixth edition is also by Jaggard, and is dated 1613. It is a transcript of the Fourth edition, with the addition of the Essay 'Of Honour and Reputation,' there omitted. It contains, therefore, the same 39 Essays as the Fifth edition, but differently arranged, and with several of them extended and altered.

The Seventh is an Edinburgh edition, printed for Andro Hart, and dated 1614. It is a copy of the last mentioned.

The Eighth edition, dated 1624, is printed for Elizabeth Jaggard (probably Jaggard's widow), and is also copied from the edition of 1613. These three last-mentioned editions all contain the *Meditations* and the *Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion*, as well as the Essays.

The Ninth edition, the last published in Bacon's lifetime, is a small quarto of 340 pages, entitled 'The Essayes or Counsels, Civell and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly enlarged. London, Printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the King's

head in Paul's Churchyard. 1625.' It contains 58 Essays; namely, the 38 published in the Fourth edition, and 20 additional ones. Several of those formerly published have also new titles, and are otherwise altered.*

In the original Dedication of the Essays to "Mr. Anthony Bacon, his dear Brother," Bacon says, "Loving and Beloved Brother, I do now like some that have an orchard ill neighboured; that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print; to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation;† to let them pass had been to adventure‡ the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them." From this it may be inferred that, as was then common, they had already been for some time circulating in manuscript. He goes on to speak of them as having passed long ago from his pen, and intimates that they are now published as they were originally written. And in this statement, it should be observed, he seems to refer to all the contents of the little volume—to the *Meditations* and the *Colours of Good and Evil*, as well as to the *Essays*.

The short address concludes with an expression of strong affection, which is further interesting for a disclosure, at this early date, of what appears to have been Bacon's conviction in regard to his own true sphere at the close as well as at the outset of his public life. In the depth of their reciprocal love, he says to his brother,

* We have abstracted the notices of the last six of these editions, as well as we could, from Mr. Montagu's detailed account, 'Life,' note 3 I. But in his tabular comparison of the edition of 1625 with the regular edition of 1612, he makes the 1st Essay of the former to be the same with the 1st of the latter, whereas it is quite different and new; the 3rd of the former to be new, whereas it corresponds in great part to the 1st of the latter; and the 29th of the former to be new, whereas it is an extension of the 38th of the latter.

† *That is, as we should now say, to misconstruction.*

‡ *To risk.*

ure you, I sometimes wish your infirmities trans-
upon myself, that her Majesty might have the
e of so active and able a mind; and I might be,
xcuse, confined to these contemplations and studies,
hich I am the fittest." Mr. Anthony Bacon, who
person of great ability and accomplishment, was
of his life so afflicted with gout as to incapacitate
for walking, and died in 1601 or 1602. When the
ys were republished in 1612, increased to four times
r original number and extent, but without the *Medi-
ms* and the *Colours of Good and Evil*, the former of
ch had been now mostly turned into Essays, while
latter tract was reserved to be incorporated in the
Augmentis Scientiarum, Bacon dedicated them to Sir
hn Constable, who was married to a sister of Lady
acon's. He says, "My last Essays I dedicated to my
ear brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who is with God.
ooking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others
f the same nature; which if I myself shall not suffer to
e lost, it seemeth the world will not, by the often print-
ng of the former." These last words may lead us to
suspect that Jaggard's edition of 1606 (supposed to be
pirated) had not been the only re-impression of the
former Essays after their first appearance in 1597 or
1598, although no other intermediate edition is now
known.

It appears from a letter first published in Stephens's Second Collection ('Letters and Remains,' 4to., Lond. 1734), that Bacon had originally designed to dedicate this 1612 edition to Henry Prince of Wales, who died on the 6th of November in that year. The book, therefore, we may infer did not come out till towards the end of the year, or perhaps not till after the beginning of 1613. The letter is in fact the intended Dedication to the Prince. "Having," Bacon begins, "divided my life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give his Majesty and your Highness of the fruits of both, simple though they be." The Essays he goes on to describe as *only "brief notes, set* down rather signifi-*cantly than anxiously." "The* word," he continues,

" is late, but the thing is ancient; for Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but Essays, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles." As for the present compositions, he adds, he has " endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies."

It was Bacon's practice to improve and make additions to the Essays throughout his life. In the letter to Bishop Andrews prefixed to his tract entitled 'An Advertisement touching an Holy War,' which was written in 1622, he says, after speaking of his other writings:— " As for my Essays, and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement, perhaps, yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand." From what has been stated it will be seen that the successive forms which the work assumed as published by the author are to be found in the three editions of 1597 (or 1598), of 1612 (the regular edition of that date), and of 1625. The last-mentioned edition is dedicated to the potent royal favourite, Villiers Duke of Buckingham, between whom and Bacon the most intimate alliance had subsisted from the first appearance of the former at court. Having dedicated his Instauration to the King, and his History of Henry the Seventh, as also his portions of Natural History (meaning certain tracts in what is called the Third Part of the Instauratio Magna) to the Prince (that is Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I.), Bacon informs his grace that he now dedicates the Essays to him; " being," he says, " of the best fruits that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield." Of all his other works, he observes, they have been the most current; " for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms." And he has enlarged *them, he states,* " both in number and weight; so that *they are indeed a* new work." " I thought it there-

he adds, "agreeable to my affection and obliga- your Grace to prefix your name before them English and in Latin; for I do conceive that the olume of them, being in the universal language, st as long as books last." He takes care to inti- hat he has now also translated his Henry the h' into Latin:* the Instauration and the Natural were originally published and written in that e. But the Latin version of the Essays, of which speaks, was not printed till some years after his it and the translation of the History of Henry enth, along with other pieces, were first published Rawley, in a folio volume, at London, in 1638. tin title, which was given to the Essays by Bacon , is 'Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.'† ontagu seems to consider the translation as being own throughout—quoting, oddly enough, as the tion of them given by Rawley, 'Sermones Fideles, Honoratissimo Auctore, praeterquam in paucis, ite donatus.' We need not say that the learned a was incapable of writing anything like this. is title-page (for it is from that that the words racted) describes as for the most part turned into by Bacon himself is not the Sermones, but the volume, the general title of which is 'Moralium ium Tomus.' As it contains the voluminous *De tis Scientiarum*, and other long treatises, and *mones* form a very small part of it, they may be the few things of which the author himself was translator. In his Life of Bacon, it is true, both English and in the Latin, Rawley seems to ate the Latin translation of the Essays among own performances. But, on the other hand, we con himself, in a letter to his friend Mr. Toby w, without date, but apparently written in 1622

* expression in the Latin is quite explicit:—"Quam Latinum verti."

† is Bacon states *in his Latin Letter* to Father Fulgentio, *probably in 1624.*

or 1623,* expressing himself in a way which implies at least that he did not then intend to be his own translator. "It is true," he says, "my labours are now most set to have those works which I had formerly published, as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry Seventh*, that of the *Essays*, being retractate and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not; for these modern languages will at one time or other play the bankrupts with books, and, since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity." And Archbishop Tenison says expressly, speaking of the Essays, "The Latin translation of them was a work performed by divers hands; by those of Dr. Hacket (late Bishop of Lichfield), Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious poet), and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recall them. To this Latin edition he gave the name of *Sermones Fideles*, after the manner of the Jews, who called the words, adagies, or observations of the wise, *Faithful Sayings;* that is, credible propositions, worthy of firm assent and ready acceptance. And, as I think, he alluded more particularly in this title to a passage in Ecclesiastes (xii. 10, 11), where the preacher saith that he sought to find out *Verba Delectabilia* (as Tremellius rendereth the Hebrew), *pleasant words* (that is, perhaps, his Book of Canticles), and *Verba Fidelia* (as the same Tremellius), faithful sayings (meaning, it may be, his collection of Proverbs). In the next verse he calls them *Words of the Wise*, and so many goads and nails given *ab eodem pastore*, from the same shepherd (of the flock of Israel)."† Bacon himself, in his letter to Father Fulgentio, intimates that he preferred the title *Sermones*

* The letter is placed by Birch, in whose collection it was first published, under the year 1623; but, as it seems to speak of the Latin translation of the 'Advancement of Learning,' which was published in that year, as only in progress, perhaps it may have been written in 1622.

† *Introduction to* 'Baconiana,' 1679, p. 61.

Fideles, as weightier than that of *Saggi Morali* which had been given to the Essays in the Italian translations;[1] —"Verum illi libro nomen gravius impono."

It is a curious fact that at one time Bacon's Essays appear to have been generally known and read only in an English translation from the Latin. Thus, the writer of the Life of Bacon in the first edition of the Biographia Britannica, published about the middle of the last century, tells us that it is from the Latin translation we have the Essays in Bacon's Works, referring to what is called Mallet's edition, which appeared in 1753. Hume, it may be remarked, has described Bacon's prose as barbarous. And, what is still more surprising, Dugald Stewart, in his Preliminary Dissertation to the Encyclopædia Britannica, written and published within the last thirty years, expresses his astonishment that Bacon's English style should have been preferred by Bishop Burnet to that of Sprat! If, indeed, his wonder had been that so just a judgment should have proceeded from Burnet, it would be more intelligible; but, on the contrary, Burnet is strangely enough brought forward as "no contemptible judge of style;" and it is declared to be difficult to conceive on what grounds he proceeded "in hazarding so extraordinary an opinion." The passage occurs in a note at p. 40 (last edition); and is followed up by an exclamation about the inferiority, "in all the higher qualities and graces of style," of the prose compositions of Swift to those of Pope and Addison. We need not say that an editor of Bacon's Essays would now be thought out of his senses who should give them any other English than Bacon's own.

As the Essays stand in Bacon's last and most com-

[1] Two Italian translations bearing this title had already appeared, one in 1618 (by Mr. Toby Matthew), the other in 1621. A French translation had also been published at London in 1619, under the title of 'Essays Moraux.' This was the work of Sir Arthur Gorges, the common friend of Bacon and Spenser, and also the English translator of Bacon's treatise 'De Sapientia Veterum.' *Mr. Montagu everywhere gives the name Essayes, we do not know upon what authority.*

plete edition, the first is entitled 'Of Truth,' and is as follows:—

'What is Truth?' said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of Truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural, though corrupt, love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same Truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves. One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy 'Vinum Dæmonum,'* because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign

* The wine of devils. (The translations throughout our *extracts from the Essays* are the same as in the edition, with *notes, by Dr. W. C. Taylor*, 8vo., Lond. 1840.)

human nature. The first creature of God in the works
ays was the light of the sense; the last was the light of
and his sabbath-work ever since is the illumination of
t. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter
, then he breathed light into the face of man, and still
heth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The
at beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the
ith yet excellently well: 'It is a pleasure to stand upon
e, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to
a the window of a castle and to see a battle, and the
res thereof below; but no pleasure is comparable to the
g upon the vantage-ground of truth—(a hill not to be
nded, and where the air is always clear and serene)—
see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests
ale below:' so always that this prospect be with pity,
t with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon
have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence,
n upon the poles of truth.

ass from theological and philosophical truth to the
civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those
ctise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour
s nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in
gold and silver, which may make the metal work the
but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked
are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon
y, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth
r a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious.
erefore Mountaigny saith prettily, when he inquired the
Why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace,
h an odious charge? Saith he, 'If it be well weighed,
that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave
God, and a coward towards men.' For a lie faces
nd shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of false-
nd breach of faith, cannot possibly be so highly ex-
as in that it shall be the last peal, to call the judgments
upon the generations of men; it being foretold, that
hrist cometh, 'He shall not find faith upon the earth.'

his is our first specimen, we may stop for a moment
e the characteristics of Bacon's manner of think-
l writing by which it is marked.

first thing that will strike every reader is its
of matter. *Jonson*, as we have seen, has said of
speaking, that his hearers could not cough or

look aside from him without loss; neither can his readers remit their attention for a sentence, or for a clause of a sentence, without missing a portion of the thought. We do not speak merely of the vividness and pregnancy of the expression; that is another thing. What we mean is, that the flow of the reasoning or reflection never pauses, never diminishes. True or false, one new thought, one new view succeeds another as fast as it is possible to exhibit them. Nor is this true only of the Essays, where the style is more formally aphoristic and economical. His other writings are less pointed and epigrammatic; but the packing of the thoughts is nearly as close everywhere. Every word indicates a working, teeming mind. Much of what is said, indeed, may be merely ingenious; some portion of the abundance may be even incumbering, and would, we may think, be better away; but there, at any rate, it is, never-failing and seemingly inexhaustible, at the least the richest intermixture of wisdom, fancy, and ingenuity in succession, often a combination and interfusion of all the three.

Then there is the uncommonness and characteristic air of nearly all the thoughts. It might be supposed that after any true thing has once been said, and generally felt and accepted, it would pass into common property, and cease to be recognisable as the thought of an individual. But it does not so happen. An original thought never loses its stamp of originality. If it has been struck out in an illiterate and unrecording age, it spreads indeed everywhere among the people, but it retains its distinctive shape of a peculiar utterance, a proverb, and, after having been repeated for a thousand years, it shows like a flash of fire among other words every time it is used. It is the same with an original thought in a book. It always remains new, fresh, and striking. A mere scientific truth may become a commonplace; it is something entirely separate from the *mind of the discoverer*; but a happily expressed thought *is a fragment of the mind* which first gave it such expression, and will always continue to be something unlike what any other mind would have produced. Take an

discovery in astronomy: we could not say from anything that is known of the minds of Copernicus, or Galileo, or Tycho Brahe, or Kepler, from which of them it proceeded, nor does the mention of it in ordinary circumstances recal its author; no part of its importance, no part of its beauty or its life lies in its connection with him: it has no flavour or character of any kind which it has taken from him, or which makes any likeness between him and it. He has thrown it forth as the tissue is thrown forth by the loom; a moral saying is more like the grape, that is ever racy of the soil where it grew. Thus, a characteristic thought of Bacon's cannot be taken possession of by any one else and made his own; in the change of the Baconian form or expression, the thought itself would be changed; it must therefore always retain that peculiarity of aspect which marks it as his, and which will keep it for ever as distinguishable and as striking as it was at first. A discovery made by Kepler might easily, if we were to judge only by the intellectual characters of the two, be attributed to Copernicus; but verse of Homer's or a sentence of Bacon's will usually, like a picture by Raphael, attest their own paternity.

Bacon's manner of writing has been described by his chaplain and first biographer in the following terms:— "In the composing of his books, he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression than at any fineness or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough; as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter and not the principal. And, if his style were faulty, it was because he could do no otherwise. Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them; for he held such things to be but digressions or diversions from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style." What is said of his avoidance of all mere verbal conceits is true, and the fact merits especial attention as notably discriminating *the wit of Bacon* from that of every other *great writer eminent for that* quality in his age. Pro-

bably nothing resembling a pun, or any quibble of tl class, is to be found in all that he has written. N does he torture thoughts more than words; having or given the thought full and fitting expression, he lets alone, and passes on to the next. Yet the characteris of his writing is pre-eminently wit, understood in t largest and highest sense, as the perception and exhi tion of things in their less obvious relations. Upon topic is he ever trite, or a repeater of what has been s by others; he cannot quote a verse of Scripture with giving it an interpretation of his own. And yet t peculiar view that he takes of everything never, or v rarely, appears forced or unnatural; if it be the last t would occur to an ordinary thinker, it looks as if it w the first that had occurred to him.

Much of this comes of the real originality of Baco manner of thinking; but the effect is also in part owi to his great oratorical skill or art of expression. T manner of his writing is as striking and uncommon as matter. Or rather, we should say, the arraying and parelling of his thoughts is as brilliant as the thoug themselves. He has no passion; but no man had e more of the mere ingenuity and fancy that belong eloquence. His style is all over colour and imagery; much so, indeed, that this sort of enrichment may be s frequently to enter into its substance, and to constit his thoughts rather than to clothe and decorate the Metaphors, similitudes, and analogies make up a gr part of his reasoning,—are constantly brought in proof and argument as well as for illustration. Not t this forms any objection to the force or soundness of reasoning. In moral exposition, which is totally dif ent in its nature from mathematical demonstration— different as a piece of music is from the multiplicat table—what is at all times principally wanted, alm the one thing needful, is the spirit and pulse of life; that be present in sufficient strength, the manner which it shows itself, or the source whence it is obtain *is of little consequence.* Consider what all such exposit *is. It rarely or never* takes the form of pure syllog

or absolutely necessary deduction; its nature does not admit of its doing so; it never can, except perhaps for a step or two now and then by a process of forcing or torture, be reduced to that form. What is called moral reasoning consists, in addition to the historical statement of the necessary facts, mainly of such excitement addressed to the reader or hearer as enables and impels him to supply every thing else for himself—to see the subject in the same light in which the writer or speaker sees it, and to come to the same conclusions. There are various ways, we repeat, of producing this effect, according to the circumstances of the case. Almost the only position that can be universally affirmed is, that the thing cannot be done in the manner of a mathematical demonstration; in moral questions that mode of reasoning is at once powerless and, for any continued effort, impossible. It may be accomplished by mere artifice of narration; by the clear exhibition of the subject in the proper points of view; by passionate declamation; by invective; by ridicule; by epigrams and witticisms; and often, as effectually as in any other way, or more so than in any other, by ingenious analogies and similitudes and other fanciful illustrations. None of these modes of exposition, it is true, are in a strict sense logically conclusive; but any one is nearly as much so as any other; and at any rate no methods more purely logical are possible. An extended concatenation of perfect syllogisms upon any moral subject would be a mere string of truisms and inanities.

We do not admit, therefore, that there is any thing false or hollow in Bacon's manner of reasoning, because he deals largely in figurative illustrations. When in the above essay he represents truth as a kind of daylight, and falsehood or fiction as a candlelight, we contend that he expounds an idea and impresses a conviction as distinctly and completely as could have been done by the soberest and most colourless statement. Nay, much more distinctly and effectually; for there is a life and power in the *figure that the* plain statement would not *have had, awakening a corresponding* life and power of

conception in the mind of the reader. Nor is an imaginative manner of thinking, or a figurative style, inconsistent with soundness of judgment or correctness of exposition. The highest of all truths have been expounded poetically. Many of the highest truths cannot be conceived at all except imaginatively. A mind of imaginative capacity is in the region of thought and reasoning to a mind without imagination what in the world of sense the man who sees is to him who is blind. The latter may have a tolerably correct notion of any thing he can touch and handle; but the former alone can embrace the grand panorama of nature.

¶ The question, however, still remains in how far Bacon is a philosopher or sage, as well as an orator—what is the real amount and character of the truth and wisdom contained in his writings. To what extent are his views subtle and profound? to what extent only specious? Ingenuity, fancy, eloquence, fertility of invention, a never-failing flow of thought of one kind or another, even singular sagacity and insight within a certain range, will be denied him by none; but with all this the deepest penetration and widest compass of vision may still be wanting. Whether or no such be the case, the actual examination of his works must decide.

The Second Essay, entitled 'Of Death,' had appeared in the edition of 1612. We will give the greater part of it:—

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it as a tribute due unto nature is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of Mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his fingers' end pressed or tortured, and *thereby imagine* what the pains of death are when the whole *body is corrupted and dissolved*; when many times death *passeth with less pain than* the torture of a limb: for the most *vital parts are not the* quickest of sense. And by him that

spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, 'pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa;'* groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak but it masters and masters the fear of death: and therefore death is no such terrible enemy, when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it; Nay we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety; 'cogita quàmdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.'† A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make. For they appear to be the same men till the last instant.

Then follow some instances of the composure with which strong or well-balanced minds have welcomed death; among others, that of the Emperor Galba, who is said to have exclaimed, holding out his neck to his assassin, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani* (Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people); and that of Septimius Severus, whose last words to those about him were, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum* (Be quick, if anything remains for me to do). The essay concludes thus: —

It is as natural to die as to be born, and to a little infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind that is fixed, and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the

* The parade of death is more terrific than death itself.

† Consider how often you repeat the same things; the desire of death may *arise not only from* fortitude, or misery, but from *satiety.*

dolours of death.' But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is '*Nunc dimittis*'*—when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also—that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy. 'Extinctus amabitur idem.' †

The Third Essay, 'Of Unity in Religion,' is an enlargement of one which had appeared in the edition of 1612. It is longer than usual; but, one or two short passages will suffice as samples of the manner in which the subject is treated. Having remarked that "the fruits of unity, next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all, are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within;" the author proceeds:—

For the former:—It is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals, yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith 'Ecce in deserto,' ‡ another saith 'Ecce in penetralibus;' § that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, 'Nolite exire,' Go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, 'If an heathen come in and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?' And certainly it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorners.

He afterwards gives the following advice in regard to the true rule or principle of unity:—

Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two

* Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.

† *The same person* shall be beloved after death.

‡ *Behold, he is in the* desert.

§ *Behold, he is in the* secret chamber of the house.

kinds of controversies: the one is when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the fathers, 'Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours;' whereupon he saith, 'In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.'* They be two things—unity and uniformity. The other is when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both.

Of the Fourth Essay, 'Of Revenge,' first printed in the edition of 1625, the following is the commencement:—

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior—for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, saith, 'It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.' That which is past is gone, and irrecoverable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch because they can do no other.

And here are the commencement and conclusion of

* *There may be variety in the* vesture, but let there be no division.

the Fifth, entitled 'Of Adversity,' which was also one of those added in the edition of 1625:—

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), That the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired—'Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.' Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man and the security of a god—'Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.' This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: That Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher; livelily describing Christian resolution that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. . . . . We see in needle-works and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

The Sixth Essay, 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation,' was likewise new in 1625. The following are its most material or striking passages:—

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, 'Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son, attributing arts or policy to Augustus and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when *Mucianus encourageth* Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius *he saith, 'We rise not* against the piercing judgment of *Augustus, nor the extreme* caution or closeness of Tiberius.'

These properties of arts, or policy and dissimulation, or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties, several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him, a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness: but if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn: and at such times, when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith, and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible. . . . . In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides, to say truth, nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal; for he that talketh what he knoweth will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral. And in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracks of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

In conclusion, those advantages which are considered to belong to the practice of Simulation and Dissimulation having been enumerated, it is added:—

There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and *perplexeth the conceits* of many, that perhaps *would otherwise co-operate with him*, and makes a man walk *almost alone to his own ends*. The third and greatest is, that

depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

Of the Seventh Essay, entitled 'Of Parents and Children,' which is one of those first printed in 1612, it will be enough to give a few sentences at the beginning:—

"The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make mifortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity.

We will transcribe the whole of the Eighth, entitled 'Of Marriage and Single Life,' also one of those first given in the collection of 1612:—

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some others that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish, rich, covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, 'Such an one is a great *rich man;*' *and another* except to it, 'Yea, but he hath a great *charge of children,' as if* it were an abatement to his riches. *But the most ordinary* cause of a single life is liberty, especi-

ally in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants, but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children. And I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet on the other side they are more cruel and hard hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so often called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, 'Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati.'* Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question, When a man should marry?—'A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.' It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives, whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

The Ninth Essay is entitled 'Of Envy,' (the word being here used in its modern sense, and not in that sometimes borne by the Latin *invidia*, hatred generally, or hatred arising merely from a wish to displace, in which it often occurs in other parts of Bacon's writings). It was first *published in 1625*. It commences thus:—

* *He preferred his* old woman to immortality.

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars, evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of envy an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph, for that sets an edge upon envy; and besides at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

And the following is the concluding paragraph:—

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that, of all other affections, it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then. And therefore it was well said, 'Invidia festos dies non agit;'* for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night: as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilly and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

The Tenth Essay, 'Of Love,' is in the collection of 1612. It is not very long, but a few sentences will convey the substance of the whole:—

The stage is more beholden to love than the life of man: for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a syren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the *memory remaineth, either* ancient or recent) there is not one

* *Envy keeps* no holidays.

that hath been transported to the mad degree of love; which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. . . . . It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it bewrays the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for, whereas it hath been well said that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self, certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to love and to be wise. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more man ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: that he that preferred Helena quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed: both which times kindle love and make it more frequent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly.

The subject of the Eleventh, which is entitled, 'Of Great Place,' and which was also first published in the edition of 1612, is more in Bacon's line; and of this Essay, though it is of some length, we will subjoin the greater part:—

Men in great places are thrice servants—servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty, or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains, and it is sometimes base; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the *regress is* either a downfal, or at least an eclipse, *which is a melancholy* thing. . . . . In the *discharge of thy place set before* thee the best examples; for imita-

tion is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example, and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place, not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons, but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times—of the ancient time, what is best, and of the latter time, what it fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory, and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places, and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays, give easy access, keep times appointed, go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruptions do not only bind thine own hands, or thy servant's hands, from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity, used, doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other: and avoid not only the fault but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent; severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then, but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without: as Solomon saith, 'To respect persons is not good, for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.' It is most true that

was anciently spoken—'A place showeth the man;' and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse: 'Omnium consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset,'* saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, 'Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius:'† though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit whom honour amends, for honour is or should be the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, 'When he sits in place he is another man.'

We will give also the whole of the Twelfth, entitled 'Of Boldness,' first published in 1625.—

'It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, 'What was the chief part of an orator?' He answered, 'Action.' 'What next?' 'Action.' 'What next again?' 'Action.' He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise, and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business. What first? Boldness.

* He would have been universally deemed fit for empire, if he had never reigned.

† *Vespasian was the only emperor* who was changed for the *better by his accession.*

What second and third? Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part, yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after, for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body: men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled. Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still he was never a whit abashed, but said, 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.' So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly, to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also, boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come, but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed—that boldness is ever blind, for it seeth not dangers and inconveniencies; therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution: so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

The following are the most notable passages of the *Thirteenth, first published* in 1612, and entitled, 'Of *Goodness, and Goodness* of Nature:—

'Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue, charity, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall, the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. . . . . Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, 'Tanto buon che val niente'—So good that he is good for nothing. And one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macchiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, 'That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;' which he spake because indeed there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth; therefore to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies, for that is but facility or softness which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: 'He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;' but he doth not rain wealth nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how, in making the portraiture, thou breakest the pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern—the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. 'Sell all thou hast and give it to the poor, and follow me.' But sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou hast a vocation, wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain.

The Fourteenth, also contained in the edition of 1612, is entitled 'Of Nobility,' and is very short. We subjoin a few sentences of it:—

A monarchy, where *there is no nobility* at all, is ever a *pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks*; for nobility *attempers sovereignty and draws the eyes* of the people some

what aside from the line royal. . . . . A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. . . . . .

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time! For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous but less innocent than their descendants, for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves.

The Fifteenth Essay, 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' was first published in 1625, and is of considerable length; but the following are perhaps the portions of it most worthy of note:—

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them: for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds—much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war—

'Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.'*

This same 'multis utile bellum' † is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate, in the better sort, be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great, for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat,

* Hence griping avarice, extortion, fraud,
Unblushing perjury had spread abroad,
Crushing the wretched people in their course,
And leaving civil war their last resource.

† War useful to the many.

f things. For these limitations are three. The first, that we do ot so place our felicity in knowledge as we forget our mor- ality; the second, that we make application of our knowledge, o give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or epining; the third, that we do not presume by the contem- ılation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God. For as ouching the first of these, Solomon doth excellently expound iimself in another place of the same book, where he saith, "I aw well that knowledge recedeth as far from ignorance as light loth from darkness; and that the wise man's eyes keep watch in his head, whereas the fool roundeth about in darkness: but withal I learned, that the same mortality involveth them both." And for the second, certain it is, there is no vexation or anxiety of mind which resulteth from knowledge, otherwise than merely by accident; for all knowledge and wonder (which is the seed of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in itself; but when men fall to framing conclusions out of their know- ledge, applying it to their particular, and ministering to them- selves thereby weak fears or vast desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of; for then knowledge is no more "Lumen siccum," whereof Heraclitus the profound said, "Lumen siccum optima anima;"* but it becometh "Lumen madidum, or maceratum,"† being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections. And as for the third point, it deserveth to be a little stood upon, and not to be lightly passed over: for if any man shall think by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things to attain that light whereby he may reveal unto himself the nature or will of God, then indeed is he spoiled by vain philosophy; for the con- templation of God's creatures and works produceth (having regard to the works and creatures themselves) knowledge, but having regard to God, no perfect knowledge, but wonder, which is a broken knowledge. And therefore it was most aptly said by one of Plato's school, "That the sense of man carrieth a resemblance with the sun, which, as we see, openeth and revealeth all the terrestrial globe; but then again it ob- scureth and concealeth the stars and celestial globe: so doth the sense discover natural things, but it darkeneth and shutteth up divine." And hence it is true, that it hath proceeded that divers great learned men have been heretical, whilst they have

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* Dry light (or intelligence) is the best animating principle.
† *Moistened* or steeped light.

tance, or at least distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

We will give nearly the whole of the Sixteenth Essay, entitled 'Of Atheism,' which is in the collection of 1612.

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion—that is the school of Leucipus, and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds, unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture saith, 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.' It is not said, 'The fool hath thought in his heart;' so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant: whereas if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he *did but dissemble* for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there *were blessed natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves without *having respect to* the government of the world, wherein, they

say, he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine—'Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.'* Plato could have said no more. . . . . They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity and the raising of human nature. For take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man who, to him, is instead of a God, or *melior natura*; which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty.

The Seventeenth Essay, also in the collection of 1612, is entitled 'Of Superstition.' Its leading idea is stated in the commencement:—

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: 'Surely,' saith he, 'I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born;' as the poets speak of Saturn. And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men.

Of the Eighteenth, entitled 'Of Travel,' first published in 1625, it may be enough to give the concluding sentences:—

* It is not profane *to deny the* deities of the vulgar, but it is *profane to apply the opinions of* the vulgar to the divinities.

When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers than forward to tell stories. And let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts, but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

The Nineteenth 'Of Empire,' which is in the collection of 1612, sets out thus:—

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire and many things to fear, and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who, being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing and have many representations of perils and shadows, which make their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of—'That the king's heart is inscrutable;' for multiude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys—sometimes upon a building, sometimes upon erecting of an order, sometimes upon the advancing of a person, sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand—as Nero for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus for playing at fence, Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle—'That the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay in great.' We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years (it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes) turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy—as did Alexander the Great, Diocletian, and, in our memory, Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

From the Twentieth Essay, 'Of Counsel,' also published *in 1612, we extract a small portion at the close:—*

'It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. . . . . In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions—as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are in effect no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like), be first heard before committees, and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let them not come in multitudes or in a tribunitious manner, for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table, and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table, a few at the upper end in effect sway all the business, but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth, for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and, instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of 'Placebo.' *

The Twenty-first, entitled 'Of Delays,' first published in 1625, is very short: it concludes thus:—

Generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands—first to watch and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity—like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

The Twenty-second, 'Of Cunning,' published in 1612, begins as follows:—

We take cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And

* *I will make myself agreeable.*

certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley; turn them to new men and they have lost their aim.

The Twenty-third, also published in 1612, is entitled 'Of Wisdom for a Man's Self,' and is thus wound up:—

'Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall; it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him; it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noticed, is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are 'Sui amantes sine rivali,'* are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

The Twenty-fourth Essay, entitled 'Of Innovations,' and first published in 1625, we give entire:—

As the births of living creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For ill to man's nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator. And if time, of course, alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter

* *Lovers of themselves without a rival.*

them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation, and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which, indeed, innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees, scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for, and ever it mends some and pairs other: and he that is holpen, takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware, that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and as the Scripture saith, 'That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.'

The following are the first and last paragraphs of the Twenty-fifth, entitled "Of Despatch," which is in the edition of 1612:—

Affected despatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not despatch by the time of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed, so in business the keeping close to the matter and not taking of it too much at once procureth despatch. It is the care of some, only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of despatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, *another by cutting* off; and business so *handled at several sittings or meetings* goeth commonly backward and forward *in an unsteady* manner. I knew a wise man

that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, 'Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.' . . .

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of despatch, so as the distribution be not too subtile; for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business, and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business—the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection; whereof, if you look for despatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate despatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

Here is the greater part of the Twenty-sixth, entitled "Of Seeming Wise," also published in 1612:—

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the apostle saith of godliness, 'Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof;' so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency that do nothing or little very solemnly—Magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gestures, and are wise by signs, as Cicero saith of Piso—that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin—'Respondes altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.'† Some think to bear it

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* *Trifles with great* parade.

† *You answer with* one brow raised to your forehead, and the *other depressed to your* chin, that cruelty is not pleasing to you.

by speaking a great word and being peremptory, and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. . . . . Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion, but let no man choose them for employment, for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over formal.

The Twenty-seventh, "Of Friendship," likewise in the collection of 1612, is long; but the following passages are the most notable, or those that best admit of being separated from the context:—

"Little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. . . . . .

"It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak, so great as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equal to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. . . . . .

Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, 'That he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great.' With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, 'Hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi;'* and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus, for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would maintain

* *On account of our friendship* I have not concealed these *matters.*

Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate by these words—'I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.' Now if these princes had been as a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as a half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship. . . .

The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true—'Cor ne edito' (Eat not the heart). Certainly if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto, are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first-fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys and cutteth griefs in halves: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. . . . . .

The second-fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easily, he marshaleth them more orderly, he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself, and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the King of Persia, 'That speech was like cloth of Arras opened and put abroad, whereby the imagery doth appear in figure, whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.' Neither is this second-fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained

ither is my meaning, as was spoken of Socrates, to call phi-
hy down from heaven to converse upon the earth; that is
ave natural philosophy aside, and to apply knowledge
to manners and policy. But as both heaven and earth do
pire and contribute to the use and benefit of man; so the
ought to be, from both philosophies to separate and reject
i speculations, and whatsoever is empty and void, and to
serve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful: that
owledge may not be, as a courtesan, for pleasure and vanity
ly, or as a bondwoman to acquire and gain to her master's
e; but as a spouse, for generation, fruit, and comfort.

The abuses sometimes accompanying the love of nowledge having been thus freely censured, and ob-ections thereby obviated, the author now proceeds to he second thing that he had proposed to accomplish in his First Book, the exposition of the dignity and worth of learning. After having adduced what he calls the divine testimony and evidence, or that which is to be discovered in the Scriptures and the works of God, he turns to human proofs. Here he is led into a digression on the benefits that follow to mankind, "when kings themselves, or persons of authority under them, or other governors in commonwealths and popular estates, are endued with learning:"—

Which felicity of times under learned princes (to keep still the law of brevity, by using the most eminent and selected examples), doth best appear in the age which passed from the death of Domitian the emperor until the reign of Commodus: comprehending a succession of six princes, all learned, or singular favourers and advancers of learning; which age for temporal respects, was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman empire (which then was a model of the world) enjoyed: a matter revealed and prefigured unto Domitian in a dream the night before he was slain; for he thought there was grown behind upon his shoulders a neck and a head of gold: which came accordingly to pass in those golden times which succeeded: of which princes we will make some commemoration; wherein although the matter will be vulgar, and may be thought *fitter for a declamation* than agreeable to a treatise *infolded as this is, yet because* it is pertinent to the point

but he answered, 'He would not pilfer the victory;' and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, 'Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;' but before the sun set he found them enough to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage, so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war, as it is trivially said, where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing. For Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), 'Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.' Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces, which is the help in this case, all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, 'He may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.' . . . . . .

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs—that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger-subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization, whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans, therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*) and to *grant it in the highest* degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*,*

* Right of trade.

jus connubii,* *jus hæreditatis*,† but also *jus suffragii*‡ and *jus honorum*;§ and this, not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families, yea, to cities and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and, putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers, yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives, as by the 'Pragmatical Sanction,' now published, appeareth. . . . . .

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health: for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But, howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still, for the most part, in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour-states; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith—'Consilium Pompeii planè Themistocleum est, putat enim qui mari potitur eum rerum potiri.'|| And without

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* Right of marriage. † Right of inheritance.

‡ Right of suffrage. § *Right of* honours.

|| *Pompey's plan is clearly that of* Themistocles, for he believes *that whoever is master of the sea* will possess the empir

doubt Pompey had tired out Cæsar if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world: the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war, but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land, are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day, with us of Europe, the 'vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt by the sea, most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now for martial encouragement some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance, perhaps, upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great king of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies—were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things—honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

The Thirtieth Essay, "Of Regiment (that is, govern-

ent or management) of Health," is another of those pub-shed in 1597. It is very short, and it will be sufficient to quote the opening sentences:—

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation what he finds good of and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it—than this, I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age.

The Thirty-first, entitled "Of Suspicion," was new in 1625. It is also very short; and the following few sentences may be sample enough of it:—

There is nothing makes a man suspect much more than to know little, and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions as to provide as, if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt.

The Thirty-second, "Of Discourse," is another of those, most or all of which are short, in the original collection of 1597. Here are two or three sentences of it:—

The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion, and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade any thing too far. . . . . .

A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply, or second speech without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness or weak-

as we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turn, as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none all, is blunt.

From the Thirty-third Essay, entitled "Of Plantations," which was first published in 1625, we extract the commencing and concluding remarks, as of more general or enduring applicability:—

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children, but now it is old it begets fewer; for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. . . . . It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

The Thirty-fourth Essay, "Of Riches," first appeared in the collection of 1612. Its spirit and general tenour may be gathered from the following extracts:—

Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution, the rest is but conceit: so saith Solomon, 'Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?' The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them, or a power of dole and donative of them, or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? And what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as Solomon saith—'Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man.' But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact; for certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. . . . . The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. . . . . It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very *easily to great riches*: for when a man's stock is come to that *that he can expect the* prime of markets, and overcome those *bargains, which, for* their greatness, are few men's money, and

partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. . . . . He that resteth upon gains certain shall hardly grow to great riches, and he that puts all upon adventures doth oftentimes break and come to poverty; it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. . . . . Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them, and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise: riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. . . . . A great estate left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment. Likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt, and but the painted sepulchres of alms which soon will putrify and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure, and defer not charities till death; for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

The Thirty-fifth Essay is entitled "Of Prophecies," and was first published in 1625. It is omitted in the Latin translation of the Essays, perhaps from the impossibility of giving the effect of the popular rhymes to which great part of it relates in that language, and the peculiarly English interest of the principal matters discussed or noticed. The following are extracts:—

When I was in France, I heard from one Doctor Pena that the queen-mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel, at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy that I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was—

'When hempe is spun,
England's done:'

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes he reigned which had the principal letters of that word 'hemp (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabe England should *come to utter confusion*; which, thanks *God, is verified only in the change of* the name; for that the

they do pervert the motions and faculties of the mind, and not prepare them. The truth whereof is not obscure, when scholars come to the practices of professions, or other actions of civil life; which when they set into, this want is soon found by themselves, and sooner by others. But this part touching the amendment of the institutions and orders of universities, I will conclude with the clause of Cæsar's letter to Oppius and Balbus, "Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, et multa reperiri possunt; de iis rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis."* . . . .

The last defect which I will note is, that there hath not been, or very rarely been, any public designation of writers or inquirers concerning such parts of knowledge as may appear not to have been already sufficiently laboured or undertaken; unto which point it is an inducement to enter into a view and examination what parts of learning have been prosecuted, and what omitted: for the opinion of plenty is amongst the causes of want, and a great quantity of books maketh a show rather of superfluity than lack; which surcharge nevertheless is not to be remedied by making no more books, but by making more good books, which, as the serpent of Moses, might devour the serpents of the enchanters.

The author then enters upon the proper subject of the work by laying down what he calls the Partitions of the Sciences, or the General Distribution of Human Knowledge. This is an attempt that has been often made since Bacon first set the example, but hardly perhaps yet with perfect success. The general outline of Bacon's scheme is sufficiently simple. He assigns all human learning either to the Memory, to the Imagination, or to the Reason; the domain of the first being History; that of the second, Poesy; that of the third, Philosophy. The subdivisions are exhibited in a table; and the explanation of their nature, and of the extent to which they have been cultivated, or to which they remain unknown or unreclaimed, is the object of the work. In this Second Book are included both History and Poesy;

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* *I have thought* of some means by which this may be *effected, and many* others may be devised; I request that you *will take the matter* into serious consideration.

so that Philosophy alone occupies the remaining Seven Books.

History is divided into Natural and Civil; the latter, however, comprehending Ecclesiastical and Literary in addition to what is commonly called Civil History. Natural History is of three sorts:—of nature in course, of nature erring or varying, and of nature altered or wrought; that is, History of Creatures (*Generationum*); History of Marvels (*Præter-generationum*); and History of Arts. The first is declared to be moderately well cultivated; the second and third so slightly and to so little purpose that they may be classed among the desiderata. Natural History, in reference to its utility or application, is afterwards stated to be of two kinds; according as it supplies the knowledge of facts, or what Bacon calls the primitive matter (*materia prima*) of philosophy. The former he names Narrative; the latter, Inductive; and the Inductive he places among the desiderata.

In treating of the three divisions of Civil History, he begins with Literary History, or that of Learning and Arts. This also he declares to be deficient. Then, proceeding to Civil History properly so called, he divides it into three kinds, Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities; "not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images. For, of pictures or images, we see some are unfinished, some are perfect, and some are defaced; so . . . Memorials are History unfinished, or the first or rough draughts of History; and Antiquities are History defaced, or some remnants of History which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time." Memorials, or preparations for history, again, are either commentaries or registers. And neither in these nor in Antiquities is any deficiency asserted, beyond what belongs to their nature.

Perfect History, or History Proper, is also divided into three kinds, "according to the object which it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent; for it either representeth a *time*, a *person*, or an action." The first our *author calls Chronicles*; the second, Lives; the third,

Narrations or Relations. It is in speaking of the first that he introduces the rapid review of the recent history of England, the first draught of which is found, as we have already had occasion to notice, in a letter written by him to Lord Ellesmere in April, 1605,* a few months before the publication of the *Advancement of Learning*. The passage as it stands in that work is as follows; and it is pretty closely translated in the *De Augmentis*, except that the short eulogy on the government of Elizabeth is omitted:—

But for modern Histories, whereof there are some few very worthy, but the greater part beneath mediocrity (leaving the care of foreign stories to foreign states, because I will not be "curiosus in aliena republica"),† I cannot fail to represent to your majesty the unworthiness of the history of England in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland in the latest and largest author that I have seen: supposing that it would be honour for your majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the age to come, so were joined in one history for the times passed; after the manner of the sacred history, which draweth down the story of the ten tribes and of the two tribes, as twins, together. And if it shall seem that the greatness of this work may make it less exactly performed, there is an excellent period of a much smaller compass of time, as to the story of England; that is to say, from the uniting of the roses to the uniting of the kingdoms; a portion of time, wherein to my understanding, there hath been the rarest varieties that in like number of successions of any hereditary monarchy hath been known: for it beginneth with the mixed adoption of a crown by arms and title: an entry by battle, an establishment by marriage, and therefore times answerable, like waters after a tempest, full of working and swelling, though without extremity of storm; but well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot, being one of the most sufficient kings of all the number. Then followeth the reign of a king, whose actions, howsoever conducted, had much intermixture with the affairs of Europe, balancing and inclining them variably; in whose time also began that great alteration

* See vol. i. p. 214.

† *Too inquisitive in the affairs of a foreign state.*

in the state ecclesiastical, an action which seldom cometh upon the stage. Then the reign of a minor: then an offer of a usurpation, though it was but as "febris ephemera."* Then the reign of a queen matched with a foreigner: then of a queen that lived solitary and unmarried, and yet her government so masculine, that it had greater impression and operation upon the states abroad than it any ways received from thence. And now last, this most happy and glorious event, that this island of Britain, divided from all the world, should be united in itself: and that oracle of rest, given to Æneas, "Antiquam exquirite matrem,"† should now be performed and fulfilled upon the nations of England and Scotland, being now reunited in the ancient mother name of Britain, as a full period of all instability and peregrinations: so that as it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle; so it seemeth that by the providence of God, this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations, (in which, I hope, it is now established for ever,) had these prelusive changes and varieties.

The department of Lives is described as in modern times lying much waste; and, as for Narrations and Relations of particular actions, "there were also," it is observed, "to be wished a greater diligence therein." Other divisions of History Proper follow, into Universal and Particular, and into Annals and Journals (*Acta Diurna*); then a second division of Civil History into Pure and Mixed (such as Cosmography, which is compounded of Civil and Natural History); then of Ecclesiastical History, into the General History of the Church, the History of Prophecy, and the History of Providence, or the Divine Retribution (*Nemesis*). Lastly, there are the Appendices to History; namely, Orations, Letters, and Apophthegms, or brief sayings.

The remarkable passage which commences the disquisition on Poesy is nearly the same in the *De Augmentis* as in the *Advancement*:—

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most

* A fever of brief duration.

† *Seek your ancient mother* (the land of your ancestors).

Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. . . . . But if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom copulate, and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth: so as in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature, resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined: for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

The Fortieth, entitled "Of Fortune," is another of those published in 1612. We will give the greater part of it:—

The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky, which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars: not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little, and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think: when they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions that he hath poco di matto. And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. . . . . Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, confidence, and reputation: for those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's

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Johnson, in his Dictionary, instead of *quech*, gives *queck*, as Bacon's word here; quoting the passage in a singularly perverted shape in all respects:—"The lads of Sparta were accustomed to be whipped, without so much as *quecking*." His interpretation, however, may be just enough:—"To shrink; to show pain; perhaps to complain."

self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, 'Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus.'* So Sylla chose the name of Felix, and not of Magnus. And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy end infortunate. It is written, that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced his speech, 'and in this fortune had no part,' never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

The Forty-first, entitled "Of Usury," first appeared in the edition of 1625. By usury Bacon means simply taking interest for money; and, with all his penetration, he was not before his age in his views upon this and other questions of commerce and political economy, as may be seen both from the present essay, and more fully from his History of Henry the Seventh. He was too sagacious, however, to contend that the taking of interest for money could be altogether dispensed with or put down; and accordingly, after having here pointed out what he calls "the discommodities of usury," he proceeds:—

On the other side, the commodities of usury are: first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: for it is certain, that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest: so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot; and so, whereas

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* *Thou bearest Cæsar, and* his fortune too.

usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country that would say, 'The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds.' The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore, to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other; so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia. . . .

The Forty-second Essay, "Of Youth and Age," which is one of those published in 1612, must be given nearly in full:—

A man that is young in years, may be old in hours, if he have lost no time, but that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second; for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages: and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus, of the latter of whom it is said, 'Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;'* and yet he was the ablest emperor almost of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner. Young men in the conduct and manage of actions embrace more than they can hold, stir more *than they can quiet*, fly to the end without consideration of

* *He spent his youth* not merely in errors, but in madness.

the means and degrees, pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first, and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both, and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain Rabbin upon the text, 'Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams,' inferreth, that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. . . .

Of the Forty-third, entitled "Of Beauty," also published in 1612, the following is the most material portion :—

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue, as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit, and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophi of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. . . . . That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express, no nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. . . .

And *here is the most striking* part of the Forty-fourth,

"Of Deformity," which likewise accompanied Beauty in the edition of 1612:—

ever hath anything fixed in his person that doth in- ntempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue er himself from scorn; therefore all deformed persons ne bold; first, as in their own defence as being exposed but in process of time by a general habit. Also it n them industry, and especially of this kind to watch rve the weakness of others, that they may have some- epay. Again, in their superiors it quencheth jealousy them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, believing they should be in possibility of advancement see them in possession, so that upon the matter, in a , deformity is an advantage to rising. . . .

wo next Essays, which are intimately connected, ch both appeared first in 1625, although long, cely admit of curtailment. They are among the iborate and interesting in the collection. The fth, entitled "Of Building," after some intro- remarks, proceeds as follows:—

annot have a perfect palace except you have two ides, a side for the banquet as is spoken of in the book r, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and and the other for dwelling. I understand both these be not only returns but parts of the front, and to be without, though severally partitioned within, and to be sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the at as it were joineth them together on either hand. I ave on the side of the banquet in front one only goodly ve stairs, of some forty foot high, and under it a room seing or preparing place at times of triumphs; on the e, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the a hall and a chapel (with a partition between), both state and bigness, and those not to go all the length, ave at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, ; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk ound, and likewise some privy kitchens with butteries ries, and the like; as for the tower I would have it es of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings, dly leads upon the top railed with statues interposed; ame tower to be divided into rooms as shall be

ought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them e upon a fair open newel and finely railed in with images of ood cast into a brass colour, and a very fair landing place at he top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants, for otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own, for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front, only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front, and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases cast into turrets on the outside and not within the row of buildings themselves; but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer and much cold in winter, but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side let it be all stately galleries, in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed chambers, and let all three sides be a double house without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also that you may have rooms both for summer and winter, shady for summer and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold; for inbowed windows I hold them of good use, (in cities indeed upright do better in respect of the uniformity towards the street,) for they be pretty retiring places for conference, and besides they keep both the wind and the sun off, for that which would strike almost through the room doth scarce pass the window; but let them be but few, four in in the court on the sides only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward court of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches as high as the first story. On the under story towards the garden let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade *or estivation, and only* have opening and windows *towards the garden, and be level* upon the floor no whit *sunken under ground to avoid all* dampishness; and let there be

a fountain or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries, whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed chambers, anticamera, and recamera joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story a fair gallery open upon pillars, and upon the third story likewise an open gallery upon pillars to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace, save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain with a wall about it; a second court of the same but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court to make a square with the front, but not to be built nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft and fairly garnished on the three sides, and cloistered on the inside with pillars and not with arches below. As for offices let them stand at distance with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

And here is the Forty-sixth, "Of Gardens," in full:—

"God Almighty first planted a garden, and indeed it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works. And a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January and the latter part of November you must take such things as are green all winter; holly, ivy, *bays, juniper, cypress* trees, yew, pine-apple trees, fir trees, *rosemary, lavender,* periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the *blue, germander, flag,* orange trees, lemon trees, and myrtles

if they be stoved, and sweet marjoram warm set. There followeth for the latter part of January and February the mazerion tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulippa, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamairis, frittellaria. For March there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond tree in blossom, the peach tree in blossom, the cornelian tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock gilly-flower, the cowslip, flower de lice, and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulippa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry tree in blossom, the dammasin and plum trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos africanus, cherry tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian with the white flower, herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple tree in blossom. In July come gilly-flowers of all varieties, musk roses, the lime tree in blossom, early pears and plums in fruit, genitings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberts, musk melons, monk's hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melo-cotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullises, roses cut or removed to come late, bollyhocks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London, but my meaning is perceived that you may have ver perpetuum* as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music,) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells, so that you may walk by a whole row of them and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, especially the white double violet

* *Perpetual spring.*

which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide; next to that is the musk rose, then the strawberry leaves dying with a most excellent cordial smell, then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilly-flowers, especially the matted pink and clove gilly-flower; then the flowers of the lime tree, then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean flowers I speak not because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is burnet, wild thyme, and water mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like as we have done of buildings) the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts, a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long and in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green, therefore you are of either side the green to plant a covert alley upon carpenters' work about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys, you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge, the arches to be upon pillars of carpenters' work of some ten foot high and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches *let there* be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also *upon carpenters'* work; and upon the upper hedge over every *arch, a little turret* with a belly enough to receive a cage of *birds; and over* every space between the arches some other

little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep but gently slope of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the higher end for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green, nor at the further end for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device, advising nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy or full of work, wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff, they be for children. Little low hedges round like welts with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns upon frames of carpenters' work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also in the very middle a fair mount with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast, which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments, and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains they are a great beauty and refreshment, but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures, the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water, the other a fair receipt of water of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well; but the main matter is, so to convey the water as it never stay either in the bowls or in the cistern, that the waters be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that it is to be cleansed every day by the hand, also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves, as that the bottom be finely paved, and *with images; the sides* likewise, and withal em-
bellished with coloured glass and such things of lustre; en-
compassed also with fine rails of low statues. But the main

point is the same, which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain, which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts and then discharged away under ground by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills, (such as are in wild heaths,) to be set some with wild-thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bears'-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without; the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds you are to fit them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit trees, be fair and *large, and* low and not steep, and set with fine flowers, but thin *and sparingly, lest they* deceive the trees. At the end of both *the side grounds I* would have a mount of some pretty height, *leaving the wall of* the enclosure breast high, to look abroad *into the fields.*

For the main garden I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides with fruit trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free; for as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a plat-form of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it, and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing, for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost, set their things together, and sometimes add statuas and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

The next six Essays, which are all short, were all in the first publication of 1597. The Forty-seventh, "Of Negotiating," concludes thus:—

In dealing with cunning persons we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty a man may not look to sow and reap at once, but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

And this is the close of the Forty-eighth, entitled "Of Followers and Friends:"—

To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers on, many times, see more than gamesters, and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

From the Forty-ninth, "Of Suitors," we select the *following passage:—*

Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras,* is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour, but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. . . .

The Fiftieth is entitled "Of Studies;" here is part of it:—

Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. . . . . Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend. Abeunt studia in mores.† . . .

The Fifty-first, "Of Faction," begins and ends as follows:—

Many have an opinion, not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. . . . . When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of primum mobile.‡

And here are a few sentences from the Fifty-second, entitled "Of Ceremonies and Respects:"—

* *You may ask too much*, in order to obtain a moderate boon.
† *Studies become habits.* ‡ The primary moving power.

It doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella said) 'like perpetual letters commendatory to have good forms;' to obtain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them, for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse wherein every syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? ..... It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own; as if you would grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. . . .

The Fifty-third Essay, entitled "Of Praise," was first published in 1612, and commences thus:—

Praise is the reflection of virtue, but it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues; the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration, but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

Of the Fifty-fourth, entitled "Of Vain-Glory," which is also in the edition of 1612, the latter part is as follows:—

In fame of learning the flight will be slow, without some feathers of ostentation. Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.† Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some

* Appearances *like to virtues.*

† *Those who write books on despising* glory put their names *in the title-page.*

vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. . . . . Excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For, saith Pliny, very wittily, 'In commending another you do yourself right, for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.' Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts. . . .

The Fifty-fifth, "Of Honour and Reputation," is one of the original Ten published in 1597. This is one of its sections:—

The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are conditores imperiorum, founders of states and commonwealths, such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are legislatores, lawgivers, which are also called second founders, or perpetui principes,* because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the Wise, that made the Siete Patridas. In the third place are liberatores,† or salvatores;‡ such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are propagatores, or propugnatores imperii,§ such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are patres patriæ,‖ which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number.

The Fifty-sixth, which was first published in 1612, is entitled "Of Judicature." The following are extracts:—

Judges ought to remember that their office is jus dicere and not jus dare; to interpret law, and not to make law or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the

* *Perpetual sovereigns.* † Deliverers. ‡ Saviours.
§ *Extenders or defenders of the state.*
‖ *Fathers of their country.*

ome, which under pretext of exposition of Scrip-
stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that
not find; and by show of antiquity to introduce
ges ought to be more learned than witty, more
plausible, and more advised than confident.
igs integrity is their portion and proper virtue;
ith the law) 'is he, that removeth the land-
mislayer of a mere stone is to blame, but it
judge that is the capital remover of land-marks,
th amiss of lands and property. One foul sen-
re hurt than many foul examples; for these do
e stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. . . .
it to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God
re his way by raising valleys and taking down
there appeareth on either side an high hand,
ution, cunning advantages taken, combination,
ounsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make
al, that he may plant his judgment as upon an
Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* and
e-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine
the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard
and strained inferences, for there is no worse tor-
torture of laws, especially in case of laws penal;
have care, that that which was meant for terror
into rigour, and that they bring not upon the
ower whereof the Scripture speaketh, Pluet super
for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon
Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers
they be grown unfit for the present time, be by
confined in the execution, Judicis officium est, ut
a rerum, &c.† In causes of life and death, judges
as the law permitteth) in justice to remember
o cast a severe eye upon the example, but a mer-
the person. . . . .
f a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evi-
oderate length, repetition, or impertinency of
apitulate, select, and collate the material points
hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence.
above these is too much, and proceedeth either
illingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of

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g the nose brings blood.
rain snares upon them.
fice of a judge to consider not only the facts but
ircumstances of the facts.

shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention It is a strange thing to see, that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous and giveth grace to the modest. But it is more strange that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew, after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard....

From the Fifty-seventh, "Of Anger," which first appeared in 1625, we extract a single paragraph:—

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness, as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it, which is a thing easily done if a man will give law to himself in it.....

The Fifty-eighth, "Of the Vicissitude of Things," was another of those added by the author to his last edition. It begins thus:—

Solomon saith, 'There is no new thing upon the earth.' So that as Plato had an imagination, 'That all knowledge was but remembrance;' so Solomon giveth his sentence, 'That all novelty is but oblivion.'* ...

* A little lower down comes a sentence which in Mr. Montagu's and most of the common editions stands:—"As for *conflagrations* and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, *but destroy.*" *In the* edition of Bacon's works in 2 vols. 8vo., *Lond. 1843, it is given*:—"As for conflagrations and great *droughts, they do* merely dispeople and destroy." Both these

And it is thus wound up:—

In the youth of a state arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state learning, and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath its infancy when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and lastly its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

Two Essays are commonly added in the modern impressions; the one entitled "A Fragment of an Essay on Fame;" the other, "Of a King." The Fragment on Fame was first published in 1657 by Dr. Rawley in the first edition of the *Resuscitatio;* and there can be no doubt of its authenticity. The following is the latter part of it, being about the half of what we have:—

Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius, by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is a usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Grecia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his

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readings are equally inconsistent with the context. The true reading *may be gathered from* the Latin:—*Illae populum penitus non absorbent aut destruunt;* that is, "they do no *merely [for altogether, completely]* dispeople or destroy."

bridge of ships which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

Rawley notes that "the rest was not finished." In a copy of the second edition of the *Resuscitatio* (1661) in the British Museum we find a MS. note in an old hand stating that the Essay is continued in another piece contained in that collection, entitled "The Image (or Civil Character) of Julius Cæsar;" but this appears to be a mere fancy, and a mistaken one. The piece on Julius Cæsar was written by Bacon in Latin, from which what is given in the second and third editions of the *Resuscitatio* is a translation by Rawley; and there is no probability that it was designed to have any connexion with this English Essay on Fame.

The Essay "Of a King" was first published along with another tract entitled "An Explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power or ordinance of the King's prerogative," in 1642, in a 4to. pamphlet, in which both are attributed to Bacon; and the Essay and Explanation were reprinted in the volume called *The Remains*, 1648, and in the re-impression of that volume in 1656 with the new title of *The Mirror of State and Eloquence*. But they are not included in any of the three editions of the *Resuscitatio* (1657, 1661, 1671); nor are they noticed by Tenison in the *Baconiana* (1679). The external evidence therefore is unfavourable to the authenticity of the Essay; for the collection called *The Remains* is of no authority. The style and manner of thinking, however, are, at least in some places, not unlike Bacon, although the formal division into numbered paragraphs (which may have been the work of a transcriber) is peculiar. The following paragraphs, for instance, might very well have been written by Bacon:—

1. A king is a mortal god on earth, into whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and

flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kind of men, God is the least beholden unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for Him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

12. That king which is not feared is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

We may here also mention a somewhat longer piece, entitled "An Essay on Death," commonly printed, in the complete editions of Bacon, among what are called his Theological Works. The only authority for attributing it to Bacon is that of the *Remains* (1648), in which volume it first appeared. It is a composition of considerable beauty, but not in his manner. In the common collection of the Essays, it may be remembered, there is one on Death (the second), first printed in 1612.

It will be admitted by all that these Essays of Bacon's do at least, as he himself says of them, "come home to men's business and bosoms." They are full of that sort of wisdom which is profitable for the guidance of life, and to which every reader's experience of himself and of others responds. This they are, it is needless to say, without having anything of vulgarity or triviality; on the contrary, nearly every thought is as striking for its peculiarity and refinement as for its truth. But, with all their combined solidity and brilliancy, they are not much marked by any faculty of vision extending beyond actual humanity. Their pervading spirit, without being either low or narrow, is still worldly. It is penetrating and sagacious, rather than either far-seeing or subtle. The genius displayed in them is that of oratory and wit, rather than that of either metaphysics or the higher order of poetry. The author has a greater gift of looking into the heart of man than into the heart of things. He is observant, reflective, ingenious, fanciful, and, to the measure that all that allows, both eloquent and wise

but, it may be from the form or nature of such compositions not admitting of it, he can hardly be said to be in these Essays very eminently either capacious or profound.

Of its kind, however, though that kind may not be the highest, the writing is wonderful. What a spirit of life there is in every sentence! How admirably is the philosophy everywhere animated and irradiated by the wit; and how fine a balance and harmony is preserved between the wit and the sense, the former never becoming fantastic any more than the latter dull! The moral spirit, too, though worldly, is never offensively so; it is throughout considerate, tolerant, liberal, generous; and, if we have little lofty indignation, we have as little violence, or bitterness, or one-sidedness. It is not a morality with which any tendency to enthusiasm or fanaticism in such matters will sympathize; but yet it is not wanting either in distinctness or in elevation, any more than in a reasonable charity. Prudence is no doubt a large ingredient; but principle is by no means absent. Nor does much appear to be introduced in these Essays for mere effect. At any rate, the quantity of idea, of one sort or another, in proportion to the space, is almost without example, at least with so little apparent forcing or straining, so easy and smooth a flow. Brilliant as the light is, it is so managed as to fall softly upon the eye, to satisfy rather than to dazzle. One new or uncommon thought is presented after another in more rapid succession than in almost any other book; and yet the mind of the reader is neither startled nor fatigued, so consummate is the rhetorical art. Our review has necessarily been confined to a series of selections or samples; for, with such compactness everywhere, analysis or abridgment was impossible. But, although many things are left unnoticed in our abstract, we have endeavoured to make it comprehend the portion of each Essay which, admitting of being detached from the rest (always of *course an* indispensable condition), seemed the most *remarkable.*

SECTION II.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

In the year 1601 occurred the trial, conviction, and execution of Bacon's friend Essex, and the publication soon after by the government of what was called "A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons" of the earl and his accomplices, which was drawn up by Bacon, who had also appeared on the part of the crown at the trial. It is accordingly included among his works as well as an "Apology," or defence of his conduct which he deemed it expedient to print, probably in the same year, in the form of a letter to the Earl of Devonshire. James I. became king of England by the death of Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603; and Bacon was knighted on the 23rd of July, the day before the coronation, on which occasion above three hundred other gentlemen received the same honour. In a letter written a few days previous to his relation Robert Lord Cecil (afterwards Earl of Salisbury), the chief minister of the new king, he intimates that he would be glad to have "this divulged and almost prostituted honour," among other reasons, "because," he says, "I have found out an alderman's daughter, a handsome maiden, to my liking." This was Alice, one of the daughters and coheirs of Benedict Barnham, Esq., alderman of London, whom he afterwards married. He had also been continued in his rank (or rather office, as it was then considered) of king's counsel by a warrant signed by James at Worksop, on his way to London, on the 21st of April.*

* Published by Mr. Collier in the Egerton Papers, p. 367. Mr. Montagu's *account, given under* the year 1604 (Life, p. *108), is, that Bacon was made by* patent king's counsel learned

According to Mr. Montagu, it was in the fall of the year 1604 that he prepared and addressed to the king his work (which is, however, only a fragment) upon "The Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain." In 1605 he published his "Two Books of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human," also addressed to James. On new year's day, 1606, he presented to the king his short paper entitled "Certain Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland;" and in the course of the same year, according to Mr. Montagu (*Life*, pp. 140, 141), his "two publications" on "Church Controversies," and the "Pacification of the Church." But in the first place neither of these tracts appears to have been ever published till many years after both James and Bacon himself had left the world: and secondly, it is clear from the second, certainly written in the beginning of the reign of James, that the first must have been written long before the end of the preceding reign. On the 25th of June, 1607, Bacon was at last appointed solicitor-general, on Sir Edward Coke being made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. This year he is supposed to have communicated to his friends Andrews, then Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas Bodley, his exposition in Latin of some of the principles of his philosophy, entitled *Cogitata et Visa;* the letters sent with it, which as there given, however, are both without date, are in the *Resuscitatio.* In 1609, or more probably in

in the law, with a fee of forty pounds a-year, "which," it is added, "is said to have been a 'grace scarce known before.'" For this last expression reference is made in a foot-note to the life by Rawley; but Rawley uses it in speaking of his having been made queen's counsel extraordinary in the reign of Elizabeth, as Mr. Montagu has himself noticed in a preceding page (p. 24). Mr. Montagu adds, but without giving his authority, that the same day on which he was made king's counsel, James granted Bacon "by another patent under the great seal a pension of sixty pounds a-year, for special services received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himself." The same facts are stated in the *Biographia Britannica* on the authority of documents in *Rymer's Fœdera*, and with the additional information that the two patents are dated the 25th of August, 1604.

the beginning of what we should now call the year 1610 he published his Latin Treatise "De Sapientia Veterum" (*Concerning the Wisdom of the Ancients*), of which we have a very good translation by his friend Sir Arthur Gorges (uniformly, as far as we have observed, called Georges by Mr. Montagu), already mentioned as the translator of the Essays into French. This translation was published in 1619, in Bacon's lifetime; and it is very probable that it may have had the advantage of his revision. *The Wisdom of the Ancients* is the next of what may be called the Moral Works which falls to be noticed; and we shall take our extracts from the English translation by Gorges, which is made from a second and enlarged edition of the Latin published in 1617. An Italian translation was also published in 1618, and a French translation in 1619.

Gorges, however, has omitted two short Dedications prefixed to the Latin work; the one (which is placed second) to the author's Alma Mater, the University of Cambridge, the other to the Lord Treasurer the Earl of Salisbury, Chancellor of the University. The address to Salisbury is chiefly remarkable for the elegant turning of the compliments and the general felicity of the expression, qualities not to be adequately represented in a translation. One phrase may be noticed as reflecting a favourite idea of Bacon's; he speaks of philosophy as then through old age falling as it were into a second childhood—*philosophia seculo nostro veluti per senium repuerascens*, as he does, both in the Advancement of Learning, and more at length in the Novum Organum, of ancient times being the youth, and modern times the old age of the world. For the rest, he professes his design in the present treatise to have been to pass over whatever was manifest, obsolete, or common-place, and to produce something which should have a respect to the steeps and high places of life and the more remote recesses of science—*ad vitæ ardua et scientiarum arcana*. In the Dedication to the University, he intimates his hope and belief that some addition to the *stores of learning* and knowledge may be *found to have been made* by what he has here written

from the circumstance that contemplation cannot but gain something of new grace and vigour by being transferred, as it has been in his case, to active life—that the richer supply of matter for nourishment must enable it to strike its roots deeper, or at the least to put forth more spreading boughs and a greater show of foliage. You yourselves, he adds, as I apprehend, are scarcely aware over how wide a sphere the dominion of those studies of yours extends, nor to what a multiplicity and variety of matters they apply.

The work is introduced by a Preface, which commences thus:—

> The antiquities of the first age (except those we find in sacred writ) were buried in oblivion and silence: silence was succeeded by poetical fables; and fables again were followed by the records we now enjoy. So that the mysteries and secrets of antiquity were distinguished and separated from the records and evidences of succeeding times by the vail of fiction, which interposed itself and came between those things which perished and those which are extant. . .

It is not his intention, Bacon goes on to state, to treat these ancient parables as mere exercises for ingenuity in the application of them; but with serious endeavour to labour to extract from them what they may contain of real mystery or hidden knowledge and wisdom. "And," he continues,

> I am persuaded (whether ravished with the reverence of antiquity, or because in some fables I find such singular proportion between the similitude and the thing signified, and such apt and clear coherence in the very structure of them, and propriety of names wherewith the persons or actors in them are inscribed and intituled) that no man can constantly deny but this sense was in the author's intent and meaning when they first invented them, and that they purposely shadowed it in this sort: for who can be so stupid and blind in the open light, as (when he hears how Fame, after the Giants were destroyed, sprang up as their youngest sister) not to refer it to the murmurs and seditious reports of both sides, which are wont to fly *abroad for a time* after the suppressing of insurrections? Or *when he hears how the giant* Typhon having cut out and

away Jupiter's nerves, which Mercury stole from him
cred again to Jupiter, doth not presently perceive how
may be applied to powerful rebellions, which take from
their sinews of money and authority, but so, that by
ty of speech and wise edicts (the minds of their subjects
n time privily and as it were by stealth reconciled) they
their strength again? Or when he hears how (in that
rable expedition of the gods against the giants) the bray-
Silenus his ass conduced much to the profligation of the
, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to
how the greatest enterprises of rebels are oftentimes dis-
d with vain rumours and fears.

oreover, to what judgment can the conformity and signifi-
n of names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the wife of
iter, doth plainly signify counsel; Typhon, insurrection;
a, universality; Nemesis, revenge, and the like. Neither
it trouble any man, if sometimes he meet with historical
rations, or additions for ornament's sake, or confusion of
nes, or something transferred from one fable to another to
ing in a new allegory; for it could be no otherwise, seeing
ey were the inventions of men which lived in divers ages
nd had also divers ends; some being ancient, others neoterical;
me having an eye to things natural, others to moral.

There is another argument, and that no small one neither, to
rove that these fables contain certain hidden and involved
neanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd
nd foolish in the very relation that they show, and as it were,
roclaim a parable afar off; for such tales as are probable they
nay seem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of his-
ory. And as for such as no man would so much as imagine
r relate, they seem to be sought out for other ends. For what
ind of fiction is that wherein Jupiter is said to have taken
Metis to wife, and, perceiving that she was with child, to have
levoured her, whence himself conceiving brought forth Pallas
rmed out of his head. Truly I think there was never dream
so different to the course of cogitation, and so full of montro-
ity) ever hatched in the brain of man. Above all things this
revails most with me and is of singular moment, many of
nese fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are
elated and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod, and others; for
f it were so, that they took beginning in that age, and from
hose authors by whom they are delivered and brought to our
ands, my mind *gives me there* could be no great or high mat-
r *expected or supposed* to proceed from them in respect of

these originals. But if with attention we consider the matter, it will appear that they were delivered and related as things formerly believed and received, and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversely related by writers that lived near about one and the self-same time, we may easily perceive that they were common things, derived from precedent memorials, and that they became various by reason of the divers ornaments bestowed on them by particular relations. And the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great opinion of them as not to be accounted either the effects of the times or inventions of the poets, but as sacred reliques or abstracted airs of better times, which by tradition from more ancient nations fell into the trumpets and flutes of the Grecians. . . .

If, however, any will obstinately deny all this, leaving them to enjoy the gravity of judgment which they affect, —"although indeed it be but lumpish and almost leaden"—he will present the matter to them in another way:—

There is found among men (and it goes for current) a two-fold use of parables, and those (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary ends, conducing as well to the folding up and keeping of things under a vail, as to the enlightening and laying open of obscurities. But omitting the former (rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient fables as things vagrant and composed only for delight), the latter must questionless still remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder, but it must absolutely be received as a thing grave and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable and necessary to all sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the understanding of man by an easy and gentle passage through all novel and abstruse inventions which any way differ from common received opinions. Therefore in the first ages (when many human inventions and conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new and not generally known), all things were full of fables, enigmas, parables, and similes of all sorts, by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and *conceal knowledge*, especially seeing the understandings of men *were in those times* rude and impatient, and almost incapable *of any subtilties*, such things only excepted as were the objects

of sense: for as hieroglyphics preceded letters, so parables were more ancient than arguments. And in these days also, he that would illuminate men's minds anew in any old matter, and that not with disprofit and harshness, must absolutely take the same course and use the help of similes. . . .

There is perhaps no work of Bacon's that impresses one so forcibly with admiration of the ingenuity, freshness, and vital energy of his intellect as this treatise on the Wisdom of the Ancients. Nothing in his interpretation of the old fables is borrowed or common-place; every thing is new and his own. Yet it seems all as natural as if no other explanation were possible, and in some instances as if the only wonder were that it should not have been all along perceived by every body. So exquisite is the art of the exposition. And very note-worthy, too, it is how these original views of Bacon's, with all this ready acceptance or accordance which they command, have never yet become vulgar or trite. They have been promulgated for more than two centuries, mixed up during all that time with the general mass of thought; yet there they still lie as bright and distinguishable as at first, like the crystals imbedded in common clay or gravel. Their originality has preserved them in their integrity, like a powerful salt. Or, they are of too marked a character to admit of their being taken up by any one who chooses, and becoming common property. The king's broad arrow is stamped too deep upon them; the master mind that first gave them forth has put too much of itself into them—has too livingly shaped, coloured, inspired them all over and through and through.

The fables, or mythological legends, interpreted amount to the number of thirty-one. We must, however, confine our review to a very few of the more remarkable expositions, which we shall give entire, or nearly entire; for none of them will bear abridgment.

We will begin with that of the story of Typhon, to which an allusion has already been made in the Preface:—

Juno being vexed (say the poets) that Jupiter had begotten

Pallas by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other gods and goddesses that she might also bring forth of herself alone without him; and having by violence and importunity obtained a grant thereof, she smote the earth, and forthwith sprang up Typhon a huge and horrid monster. This strange birth she commits to a serpent (as a foster-father) to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of years but he provokes Jupiter to battle. In the conflict the giant getting the upper hand, takes Jupiter upon his shoulders, carries him into a remote and obscure country, and (cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maimed. But Mercury recovering these nerves from Typhon by stealth, restored them again to Jupiter. Jupiter being again by this means corroborated, assaults the monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a thunder-bolt, from whose blood serpents were engendered. This monster at length fainting and flying, Jupiter casts on him the mount Ætna and with the weight thereof crushed him.

This fable seems to point at the variable fortune of princes, and the rebellious insurrection of traitors in a state. For princes may well be said to be married to their dominions, as Jupiter was to Juno; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of empyring and bending towards tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and, contemning the counsel of their nobles and senators, hatched laws in their own brain, that is, dispose of things by their own fancy and absolute power. The people (repining at this) study how to create and set up a chief of their own choice. This project, by the secret instigation of the peers and nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning, by whose connivance the commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring or discontent in the state, shadowed by the infancy of Typhon, which being nursed by the natural pravity and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort (unto princes as infestious as serpents), is again repaired by renewed strength, and at last breaks out into open rebellion, which, because it brings infinite mischiefs upon prince and people, is represented by the monstrous deformity of Typhon: his hundred heads signify their divided powers; his fiery mouths their inflamed intents; his serpentine circles their pestilent malice in besieging; his iron hands their merciless slaughters; his eagle's talents their greedy rapines; his plumed body their continual rumours and scouts and fears, and such like. And sometimes these rebellions grow so potent that princes are enforced (transported as it were by the rebels,

and forsaking the chief seats and cities of the kingdom) to contract their power, and being deprived of the sinews of money and majesty, betake themselves to some remote and obscure corner within their dominions. But in process of time, if they bear their misfortunes with moderation, they may recover their strength by the virtue and industry of Mercury, that is, they may (by becoming affable and by reconciling the minds and wills of their subjects with grave edicts and gracious speech) excite an alacrity to grant aids and subsidies whereby to strengthen their authority anew. Nevertheless having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of fortune by war, and yet study how to suppress the reputation of the rebels by some famous action, which if it fall out answerable to their expectation, the rebels finding themselves weakened, and fearing the success of their broken projects, betake themselves to some slight and vain bravadoes like the hissing of serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to flight, and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for kings to pursue and oppress them with the forces and weight of the kingdom as it were with the mountain Ætna.

Perhaps there is no one of these interpretations that is upon the whole so admirable as that entitled "Pan, or Nature:" and it is further recommended to special attention as having been selected by Bacon himself to be one of his examples when treating of this method of recovering the lost wisdom of the old world in the second book of his work *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, and there inserted with some additions and other alterations. The original of Pan, he begins by observing, under whose person the ancients have exquisitely described Nature, has been left by them doubtful; some accounts making him to have been the son of Mercury, others the offspring of Penelope and all her suitors, while others say that he was the son of Jupiter and Hybris, which signifies contumely or disdain. In all the accounts, however, it is admitted that the Parcæ, or Destinies, were his sisters.

He is pourtrayed by *the ancients* in this guise; on his head a *pair of horns that reach to heaven*, his body rough and hairy, *his beard long and shaggy*, his shape biformed above like a

man, below like a beast, his feet like goat's hoofs, bearing these ensigns of his jurisdiction, to wit, in his left hand a pipe of seven reeds, and in his right a sheep-hook or a staff crooked at the upper end, and his mantle made of a leopard's skin. His dignities and offices were these: he was the god of hunters, of shepherds, and of all rural inhabitants; chief president also of hills and mountains, and next to Mercury the ambassador of the gods. Moreover he was accounted the leader and commander of the nymphs, which were always wont to dance the rounds and frisk about him; he was accosted by the Satyrs and the old Sileni. He had power also to strike men with terrors, and those especially vain and superstitious, which are termed panic fears. His acts were not many for ought that can be found in records, the chiefest was, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, in which conflict he had the foil. The tale goes too, how that he caught the giant Typhon in a net and held him fast. Moreover when Ceres, grumbling and chafing that Proserpina was ravished, had hid herself away, and that all the gods took pains (by dispersing themselves into every corner) to find her out, it was only his good hap (as he was hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the trial who was the best musician, he or Apollo; and by the judgment of Midas was indeed preferred. But the wise judge had a pair of ass's ears privily chopped to his noddle for his sentence.

Little or nothing, it is added, is reported of his amours. We are only told that he loved the nymph Echo, whom he took to wife; and that Cupid, whom he had irritated by audaciously challenging him to a wrestling-match, in his spite and revenge, inflamed him with a passion for another pretty wench called Syrinx. Moreover he had no issue; only he was the reputed father of a little girl called Iambe,* that with many pretty tales was wont to make strangers merry. Some, however, think that Iambe was really his daughter by his wife Echo.

This (if any be) is a noble tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the secrets and mysteries of nature.

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* *Carelessly misprinted* Iamle *in all, or almost all, the editions of the English translation by Gorges, Mr. Montagu's included.*

Pan (as his name imports) represents and lays open the all of things or nature. Concerning his original there are two only opinions that go for current; for either he came of Mercury, that is, the word of God, which the holy Scriptures without all controversy affirm, and such of the philosophers as had any smack of divinity assented unto, or else from the confused seeds of things. For they that would have one simple beginning refer it unto God; or if a materiate beginning, they would have it various in power. So that we may end the controversy with this distribution, that the world took beginning either from Mercury or from the seeds of all things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina, terrarumque, animæque, marisque fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.

For rich-vein'd Orpheus sweetly did rehearse
How that the seeds of fire, air, water, earth,
Were all pack'd in the vast void universe;
And how from these as firstlings all had birth,
And how the body of this orbique frame,
From tender infancy so big became.

But as touching the third conceit of Pan's original, it seems that the Grecians (either by intercourse with the Egyptians, or one way or other) had heard something of the Hebrew mysteries; for it points to the state of the world, not considered in immediate creation, but after the fall of Adam, exposed and made subject to death and corruption; for in that state it was, and remains to this day, the offspring of God and sin. And therefore all these three narrations concerning the manner of Pan's birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between things and times. For this Pan or Nature (which we suspect, contemplate, and reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the word of God by the means of confused matter, and the entrance of prevarication and corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the sisters of Pan or Nature, because the beginnings and continuances, and corruptions, and depressions, and dissolutions, and eminences, and labours, and felicities *of things, and all the chances* which can happen unto *anything are linked with the chain of* causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him because horns are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, the nature of all things being like a pyramis, sharp at the top. For individual or singular things being infinite are first collected into species, which are many also; then from species into generals, and from generals (by ascending) are contracted into things or notions more general, so that at length Nature may seem to be contracted into a unity. Neither is it to be wondered at that Pan toucheth heaven with his horns, seeing the height of nature or universal ideas do in some sort pertain to things divine, and there is a ready and short passage from metaphysic to natural theology.

The body of nature is elegantly and with deep judgment depainted hairy, representing the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are as it were the hairs and bristles of Nature, and every creature is either more or less beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of seeing, and no less in every virtue and operation that effectuates upon a distant object; for whatsoever works up anything afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth rays or beams.

Moreover Pan's beard is said to be exceeding long, because the beams or influences of celestial bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all, and the sun (when his higher half is shadowed with a cloud) his beams break out in the lower and looks as if he were bearded.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a biformed body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior creatures. For the one part, by reason of their pulcritude and equability of motion, and constancy, and dominion over the earth and earthly things, is worthily set out by the shape of man; and the other part in respect of their perturbations and unconstant motions, and therefore needing to be moderated by the celestial, may be well fitted with the figure of a brute beast. This description of his body pertains also to the participation of species, for no natural being seems to be simple, but as it were participating and compounded of two. As for example; man hath something of a beast, a beast something of a plant, a plant something of an inanimate body; so that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior species.

It is a witty allegory, that same of the feet of a goat, by reason of the upward tending motion of terrestial bodies towards *the air and heaven*, for the goat is a climbing creature that loves *to be hanging about* the rocks and steep mountains. And this *is done also in* a wonderful manner, even by those things which

are destinated to this inferior globe, as may manifestly appear in clouds and meteors.

The two ensigns which Pan bears in his hands do point, the one at harmony, the other at empiry. For the pipe consisting of seven reeds doth evidently demonstrate the consent and harmony and discordant concord of all inferior creatures, which is caused by the motion of the seven planets; and that of the sheep-hook may be excellently applied to the order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked; this staff therefore or rod is especially crooked in the upper end, because all the works of divine providence in the world are done in a far fetched and circular manner, so that one thing may seem to be effected and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to pass, as the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and the like. Besides in all wise human government, they that sit at the helm do more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the minds of the people by pretexts and oblique courses than by direct methods; so that all sceptres and maces of authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's cloak or mantle is ingeniously feigned to be the skin of a leopard, because it is full of spots. So the heavens are spotted with stars, the sea with rocks and islands, the land with flowers, and every particular creature also is for the most part garnished with divers colours about the superficies, which is as it were a mantle unto it.

The office of Pan can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed as by feigning him to be the god of hunters, for every natural action, and so by consequence motion and progression, is nothing else but a hunting. Arts and sciences have their works and human counsels their ends which they earnestly hunt after. All natural things have either their food as a prey, or their pleasure as a recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ille capellam,
Florentem cythisum sequitur lasciva capella.

The hungry lioness with sharp desire
Pursues the wolf; the wolf the wanton goat;
The goat again doth greedily aspire
To have the trifol juice pass down her throat.

Pan is also said to be the god of the country clowns, because men of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature than those that live in the cities and courts of princes, where

too much art is corrupted. So as the saying of the h in the sense of love) might be here verified :

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

The maid so trick'd herself with art,
That of herself she is least part.

held to be lord president of the mountains, because mountains and hills nature lays herself most open, ıost apt to view and contemplation.

Pan is said to be (next unto Mercury) the messenger there is in that a divine mystery contained, for next of God the image of the world proclaims the power ı divine, as sings the sacred poet, Ps. xix. 1. "Cœli ɔriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firma- The heavens declare the glory of God, and firma- th the works of his hands."

ıphs, that is, the souls of living things, take great de- ın. For these souls are the delights or minions of l the direction or conduct of these Nymphs is with ı attributed unto Pan, because the souls of all things llow their natural dispositions as their guides, and ɔ variety every one of them after his own fashion nd frisk and dance with incessant motion about her. and Sileni also, to wit, youth and old age, are some llowers; for of all natural things there is a lively, l (as I may say) a dancing age, and an age again bibling, and reeling. The carriages and disposi- h which ages to some such as Democritus was (that ve them duly) might peradventure seem as ridicu- formed as the gambols of the Satyrs or the gestures i.

'ears and terrors which Pan is said to be the author, be this wise construction made; namely, that ı bred in every living thing a kind of care and ş to the preservation of its own life and being, and ing and shunning of all things hurtful. And yet ws not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes ıpty fears with such as are discreet and profitable; hings (if their insides might be seen) would appear ıic frights. But men, especially in hard, fearful times, are wonderfully infatuated with superstı- indeed is nothing else but a Panic terror.

ıg the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid at

wrestling: the meaning of it is, that matter wants no inclination and desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the world into the old Chaos, if her malice and violence were not restrained and kept in order, by the prepotent unity and agreement of things signified by Cupid, or the god of love; and therefore it was a happy turn for men and all things else, that in that conflict Pan was found too weak and overcome.

To the same effect may be interpreted his catching of Typhon in a net: for howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted tumors (as the name of Typhon imports) either in the sea or in the air, or in the earth, or elsewhere, yet Nature doth intangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and restrain it, as it were with a chain of adamant, the excesses and insolences of these kind of bodies.

But for as much as it was Pan's good fortune to find out Ceres as he was hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave admonition; that we expect not to receive things necessary for life and manners from philosophical abstractions, as from the greater gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other study, but from Pan; that is, from the discreet observation, and experience, and the universal knowledge of the things of this world; whereby (oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a hunting) such inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrel he made with Apollo about music, and the event thereof, contains a wholesome instruction, which may serve to restrain men's reasons and judgments with reins of sobriety, from boasting and glorying in their gifts. For there seems to be a twofold harmony, or music; the one of divine providence, and the other of human reason. Now to the ears of mortals, that is to human judgment, the administration of the world and creatures therein, and the most secret judgments of God, found very hard and harsh; which folly, albeit it be well set out with ass's ears, yet notwithstanding these ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondered at, that there is nothing attributed unto Pan concerning loves, but only of his marriage with Echo. For the world or nature doth enjoy itself, and in itself all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough there is no place left to desire. *Therefore there can be no* wanton love in Pan or the *world, nor desire to obtain* anything (seeing he is contented

with himself) but only speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the nymph Echo, or if more quaint by Syrinx. It is an excellent invention that Pan or the world is said to make choice of Echo only (above all other speeches or voices) for his wife: for that alone is true philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of the world; and it is written no otherwise than the world doth dictate, it being nothing else but the image or reflection of it, not adding anything of its own, but only iterates and resounds. It belongs also to the sufficiency or perfection of the world, that he begets no issue; for the world doth generate in respect of its parts, but in respect of the whole how can it generate, seeing without it there is nobody? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tattling girl faltered upon Pan, may in very deed with great reason be added to this fable; for by her are represented those vain and idle paradoxes concerning the nature of things which have been frequent in all ages, and have filled the world with novelties, fruitless if you respect the matter, changelings if you respect the kinds, sometimes creating pleasure, sometimes tediousness with their overmuch prattling.

Another of the interpretations repeated with enlargements in the *De Augmentis* is that of the fable of "Perseus, or War:"—

Perseus is said to have been employed by Pallas for the destroying of Medusa, who was very infestuous to the western parts of the world, and especially about the utmost coasts of Hyberia. A monster so dire and horrid, that by her only aspect she turned men into stone. This Medusa alone of all the Gorgons was mortal, the rest not subject to death. Perseus therefore preparing himself for this noble enterprise, had arms and gifts bestowed on him by three of the gods. Mercury gave him wings annexed to his heels, Pluto a helmet, Pallas a shield and a looking-glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to Medusa, but first to the Grees, which by the mother's side were sisters to the Gorgons. These Grees from their birth were hoar-headed, resembling old women. They had but one only eye, and one tooth among them all, both which, she that had occasion to go abroad was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This eye and tooth they lent to Perseus: and so finding himself thoroughly furnished for the effecting of his design, hastens towards Medusa. Her he found sleeping, and

not present himself with his face towards her, lest
awake; but turning his head aside beheld her
glass, and (by this means directing his blow) cut
d; from whose blood gushing out, instantly came
e flying horse. Her head thus smote off, Perseus
Pallas her shield, which yet retained this virtue,
ever looked upon it should become as stupid as a
ke one planet-stricken.

le seems to direct the preparation and order, that is
in making of war; for the more apt and considerate
g whereof, three grave and wholesome precepts
of the wisdom of Pallas) are to be observed.

That men do not much trouble themselves about the
f neighbour nations, seeing that private possessions
es are enlarged by different means; for in the aug-
of private revenues, the vicinity of men's territories
nsidered: but in the propagation of public domi-
occasion and facility of making war, and the fruit
cted ought to be instead of vicinity. Certainly the
what time their conquests towards the west scarce
yond Liguria, did yet in the east bring all the pro-
far as the mountain Taurus within the compass of
and command: and therefore Perseus, although he
and born in the east, did not yet refuse to undertake
ion even to the utterm**o**st bounds of the west.

y—There must be a care had that the motives of
t and honourable, for that begets an alacrity, as well
iers that fight, as in the people that pay, it draws on
res aids, and brings many other commodities besides.
is no pretence to take up arms more pious, than the
g of Tyranny; under which yoke the people lose
ge, and are cast down without heart and vigour, as
t of Medusa.

—It is wisely added, that seeing there were three
by which wars are represented) Perseus undertook
hat was mortal; that is, he made choice of such
war as was likely to be effected and brought to a
t pursuing vast and endless hopes.

nishing of Perseus with necessaries was that which
noed his attempt, and drew fortune to be of his side;
speed from Mercury, concealing of his counsels
s, and *Providence from* Pallas.

is it without an allegory, and that full of matter too,
rings of celerity were fastened to Perseus his heels.

and not to his ancles, to his feet and not to his shoulders; because speed and celerity is required, not so much in the first preparations for war, as in those things which second and yield aid to the first; for there is no error in war more frequent than that prosecutions and subsidiary forces do fail to answer the alacrity of the first onsets.

Now for that helmet which Pluto gave him, powerful to make men invisible, the moral is plain; but that twofold gift of providence (to wit the shield and looking-glass) is full of mortality; for that kind of providence which like a shield avoids the force of blows is not alone needful, but that also by which the strength and motions, and counsels of the enemy are descried, as in the looking-glass of Pallas.

But Perseus albeit he were sufficiently furnished with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of special importance before he entered the lists with this monster, and that was to have some intelligence with the Greæ. These Greæ are treasons which may be termed the Sisters of War, not descended of the same stock, but far unlike in nobility of birth; for wars are general and heroical, but treasons are base and ignoble. Their description is elegant, for they are said to be gray-headed, and like old women from their birth; by reason that traitors are continually vexed with cares and trepidations. But all their strength (before they break out into open rebellions) consists either in an eye or in a tooth; for every faction alienated from any state contemplates and bites. Besides, this eye and tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of faction. And as concerning the tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same song, so that hear one and you hear all. Perseus therefore was to deal with these Greæ for for the love of their eye and tooth. Their eye to discover, their tooth to sow rumours and stir up envy, and to molest and trouble the minds of men. These things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the action of war, and sets upon Medusa as she slept; for a wise captain will ever assault his enemy when he is unprepared and most secure, and then is there good use of Pallas her glass. For most men, before it come to the push, can acutely pry into and discern their enemy's estate; but the best use of this glass is in *the very point* of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this glass with the face turned from Medusa.

The monster's head being cut off there follow two effects. The first was the procreation and raising of Pegasus, by which may evidently be understood Fame, that (flying through the world) proclaims victory. The second is the bearing of Medusa's head in his shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the motions and insolencies of enemies, and makes envy herself silent and amazed.

A third of these expositions inserted in the *De Augmentis* is that entitled "Dionysus [the Greek name for Bacchus], or Passions." It is said that Jupiter's paramour, Semele, having bound him by an inviolable oath to grant her one request, desired that he would come to her in the same form in which he was accustomed to visit Juno; the result of which was that the miserable wench was consumed with lightning.

But the infant which she bare in her womb, Jupiter the father took out, and kept it in a gash which he cut in his thigh, till the months were complete that it should be born. This burden made Jupiter somewhat to limp, whereupon the child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its father, while it lay in his thigh) was called Dionysus. Being born, it was committed to Proserpina for some years to be nursed, and being grown up, it had such a maiden-face, as that a man could hardly judge whether it were a boy or a girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived. Being but a youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of vines, the making also, and use of wine, for which becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the world even to the uttermost bounds of India. He rode in a chariot drawn with tigers. There danced about him certain deformed hobgoblins called Cobali, Acratus, and others, yea even the Muses also were some of his followers. He took to wife Ariadne, forsaken and left by Theseus. The tree sacred unto him was the ivy. He was held the inventor and institutor of sacrifices, and ceremonies, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had power to strike men with fury or madness; for it is reported, that at the celebration of his orgies, two famous worthies, Pentheus and Orpheus, were torn in pieces by certain frantic women, the one because he got upon a tree to behold their

ceremonies in these sacrifices, the other for making melody with his harp. And for his gests, they are in manner the same with Jupiter's.

There is such excellent morality couched in this fable, as that moral philosophy affords not better; for under the person of Bacchus is described the nature of affection, passion, or perturbation, the mother of which (though never so hurtful) is nothing else but the object of apparent good in the eyes of appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful desire rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth: nevertheless (whilst yet it is an imperfect embrio) it is nourished and preserved in the humane soul (which is as it were a father unto it, and represented by Jupiter), but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindered and lamed thereby, and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out, as it were, into act, it remains yet a while, with Proserpina as with a nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, caves under ground, until (the reins of shame and fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness) it either takes the pretext of some virtue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement passion is of a doubtful sex as being masculine in the first motion, but feminine in prosecution.

It is an excellent fiction that of Bacchus's reviving: for passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed, no, though they lay, as it were, in their grave; for, let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings nourishment unto it: and indeed of all things known to men, Wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common nurse to them all.

Again his conquering of nations, and undertaking infinite *expeditions is an elegant* device; for desire never rests content *with what it hath, but with* an infinite and unsatiable appetite *still covets and gapes after* more.

His chariot also is well said to be drawn by tigers: for as soon as any affection shall from going afoot, be advanced to ride in a chariot, and shall captivate reason, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that these ridiculous hobgoblins are brought in, dancing about his chariot: for every passion doth cause, in the eyes, face and gesture, certain undecent, and ill-seeming, apish, and deformed motions, so that they who in any kind of passion, as in anger, arrogancy or love, seem glorious and brave in their own eyes, do yet appear to others mis-shapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothed by some art, wherein the indulgence of wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who (when they ought to be the mistresses of life) are made the waiting-maids of affections.

Again, where Bacchus is said to have loved Ariadne, that was rejected by Theseus; it is an allegory of special observation: for it is most certain, that passions always covet and desire that which experience forsakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their lusts) that whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers men in all ages, after experience had, utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a mystery, that the ivy was sacred to Bacchus: for the application holds, first, in that the ivy remains green in winter. Secondly, in that it sticks to, embraceth, and overtoppeth so many diverse bodies, as trees, walls, and edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistance and reluctation, and as it were, by an Antiparistasis (like the ivy of the cold of winter), grow fresh and lusty. And as for the other, every predominate affection doth again (like the ivy) embrace and limit all human actions and determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious rites and ceremonies were attributed unto Bacchus, seeing every giddy-headed humor keeps in a manner revel-rout in false religions: or that the cause of madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection *is by nature a short* fury, which (if it grow *vehement, and become habitual*) concludes madness.

Concerning the rending and dismembering of Pentheus and

Orpheus, the parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe and against curious inquiry, and wholesome and free admonition.

Lastly, that confusion of Jupiter and Bacchus, their persons may be well transferred to a parable, seeing noble and famous acts, and remarkable and glorious merits, do sometimes proceed from virtue, and well ordered reason, and magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret affection, and hidden passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of fame and glory, that a man can hardly distinguish between the acts of Bacchus and the gests of Jupiter.

We could wish to add several others; bnt we have space for only one more; that of "Orpheus, or Philosophy:"—

The tale of Orpheus, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every point. It may seem to represent the image of Philosophy: for the person of Orpheus (a man admirable and divine, and so excellently skilled in all kinds of harmony, that with his sweet ravishing music he did as it were charm and allure all things to follow him) may carry a singular description of Philosophy, for the labours of Orpheus do so far exceed the labours of Hercules in dignity and efficacy, as the works of wisdom excel the works of fortitude.

Orpheus, for the love he bare to his wife, snatched, as it were, from him by untimely death, resolved to go down to hell with his harp, to try if he might obtain her of the infernal powers. Neither were his hopes frustrated, for having appeased them with the melodious sound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the light of the upper world; which he, impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all danger, nevertheless violated, insomuch that the covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into hell. From that time Orpheus falling into a deep melancholy, became a contemner of womankind, and bequeathed himself to a solitary life in the deserts; where, by *the same melody* of his voice and harp, he first drew all *manner of wild beasts* unto him, who, (forgetful of their *savage fierceness*, and casting off the precipitate provocations

of lust and fury, not caring to satiate their voracity by hunting after prey,) as at a Theatre in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, stand all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their ears to his music. Neither is this all, for so great was the power and alluding force of his harmony, that he drew the woods and moved the very stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him. These things succeeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain Thracian women (possessed with the spirit of Bacchus) made such a horrid and strange noise with their cornets that the sound of Orpheus's harp could no more be heard; insomuch as that harmony, which was the bond of that order and society being dissolved, all disorder began again; and the beasts (returning to their wonted nature) pursued one another unto death as before; neither did the trees or stones remain any longer in their place; and Orpheus himself was by these female Furies torn in pieces, and scattered all over the desert. For whose cruel death the river Helicon (sacred to the Muses) in horrible indignation hid his head under ground and raised it again in another place.

The meaning of this fable seems to be thus. Orpheus's music is of two sorts, the one appeasing the infernal powers, the other attracting beasts and trees. The first may be fitly applied to natural philosophy, the second to moral or civil discipline.

The most noble work of natural philosophy is the restitution and renovation of things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the preservation of bodies in their estate, detaining them from dissolution and putrefaction. And if this gift may be done in mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite temper of nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an instrument. But seeing it is of all things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other reason, more than through curious diligence and untimely impatience. And therefore philosophy, hardly able to produce so excellent an effect in a pensive humour (and that without cause), busies herself about human objects, and by persuasion and eloquence, insinuating the love of virtue, equity and concord in the minds of men; draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetful of their unbridled affections whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves *to discipline*; whence follows the building *of houses, erecting of towns*, planting of fields and orchards,

with trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amiss to say, that even thereby stones and woods were called together and settled in order. And after serious trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a body mortal, this care of civil affairs follows in its due place; because by a plain demonstration of the unevitable necessity of death men's minds are moved to seek eternity by the fame and glory of their merits. It is also wisely said in the fable, that Orpheus was averse from the love of women and marriage, because the delights of wedlock and the love of children do for the most part hinder men from enterprising great and noble designs for the public good, holding posterity a sufficient step to immorality without actions.

Besides even the very works of wisdom (although amongst all human things they do most excel) do nevertheless meet with their periods. For it happens that (after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time) even tumults and seditions, and wars arise; in the midst of which hurly-burlies, first laws are silent, men return to the pravity of their natures; fields and towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their fury continue) learning and philosophy must needs be dismembered; so that a few fragments only, and in some places will be found like the scattered boards of shipwreck, so as a barbarous age must follow; and the streams of Helicon being hid under the earth until the vicissitude of things passing, they break out again and appear in some other remote nation, though not perhaps in the same climate.

Very ingenious, too, are the explanations of the fables of Cupid, of Dædalus, of Nemesis, of Prometheus, of the Sphinx, of Proserpina, and of the Sirens.

SECTION III.

THE APOPHTHEGMS AND OTHER MORAL WORKS.

THE next fact in Bacon's biography that Mr. Montagu records is, that he was made one of the judges of the New Court of the Verge. But the learned biographer, as is his custom, leaves us to infer, if that were possible, that this appointment did not take place in any year whatever. The account given by Dugdale, in his Baronage, is, that in the 9th of King James, which would be in 1611, "he was made joint judge with Sir Thomas Vavasor, then Knight Marshal, of the Knight Marshal's Court, then newly erected within the verge of the king's house." Meanwhile he still held his office of solicitor-general, till he exchanged it for that of attorney-general, on the 27th of October, 1613,—not 1612, as Mr. Montagu makes it—on the promotion of Sir Henry Hobart to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Coke having been removed to the King's Bench. Mr. Montagu makes him to have now composed "his work for compiling and amending the laws of England," meaning the short tract addressed to the king, entitled "A Proposition to his Majesty touching the Compiling and Amendment of the Laws of England." But this paper in the very heading is stated to be "By Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney-General, and one of his Privy Council;" and it begins "Your Majesty, of your favour, having made me privy councillor, and continuing me in the place of your attorney-general, which is more than was three hundred years before," &c. Now it is certain that Bacon was not sworn of the Privy Council till several years after this. On the meeting of parliament in *April, 1614*, a question was started in the *Commons as to the right* of the attorney-general to sit

in that House, on the ground that he was officially an assistant to the House of Lords, on which, indeed, he was, and still is, summoned at the calling of every new parliament to give his attendance. Bacon's predecessor, Hobart, had sat: but it was argued that he had been made attorney-general while he was a member of the House, whereas Bacon had been returned a member after he was attorney-general. In point of fact Hobart's right to sit had also been questioned at first; but after much discussion it had been carried that the matter should be allowed to rest, and he is stated to have retained his seat "by connivance, without other order."* In Bacon's case, after a committee had been appointed to search for precedents, and had made their report, it was resolved that the attorney-general should remain for that parliament, but that no attorney-general should serve as a member in any future parliament. And, accordingly, no attorney-general appears to have sat in the House of Commons from that time till after the Restoration.

About the same time that Bacon was made attorney-general, there was introduced at court, and taken into the King's household, George Villiers, afterwards the famous Duke of Buckingham, the all-powerful royal favourite of two reigns. Almost from the first Villiers seems to have attached himself to Bacon, or Bacon to him, the understood if not expressed condition or purpose of their alliance being that Bacon should assist the young courtier by his advice, and that the latter should in return employ his influence with the King to promote the professional advancement of his "guide, philosopher, and friend." There is printed in Bacon's works a long letter, or treatise rather, entitled "Advice to Sir George Villiers, when he became favourite to King James, recommending many important instructions how to govern himself in the station of prime minister," and professing to have been written at the request of Villiers. It was to Villiers that Bacon applied to get himself made a privy councillor, which he was made on the 9th of

* Hatsell, vol.

une, 1616. It must have been after this, therefore, hat he wrote his "Proposition touching the Amendnent of the Laws." On the resignation of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, Bacon was, on the 7th of March, 1617, made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; on the 4th of January, 1618,* he was made Lord Chancellor; and on the 11th of July in the same year he was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam of Verulam in the county of Herts. "About this time," says Mr. Montagu, "the King conferred upon him the valuable farm of the Alienation Office, and he succeeded in obtaining for his residence York House." The first part of this statement seems to be taken from Rawley's account, who, after enumerating his various offices and honours, makes mention of "other good gifts and bounties of the hand which his majesty gave him, both out of the Broad Seal and out of the Alienation Office, to the value in both of eighteen hundred pounds per annum." Upon taking the seals, however, he had quitted not only his attorney-generalship, which it seems was worth 6000*l.* a year, but also his office of Register of the Court of Star-chamber, which brought him about 1600*l.*, and another office which he held of Chancellor to the Prince of Wales. On the other hand he had many years before this acquired his father's estate of Gorhambury by the decease of his brother Anthony (about 1602); and this manor, Rawley tells us, and other lands and possessions near thereunto adjoining, amounting to a third part more than his grants out of the Broad Seal and the Alienation Office, he retained with the income derived from those grants to his dying day. As for York House, he seems not to have established himself there till about the close of the year 1620. It must have been apparently on the 22nd of January, 1621, that the celebration of his birthday here took place which Ben Jonson has commemorated:—

* Which was in the 15th of James I., not the 16th, as Dugdale here *makes it*.

Hail, happy genius of this ancient pile!
How comes it all things so about thee smile?
The fire, the wine, the men; and in the midst
Thou stand'st as if some mystery thou didst!
Pardon! I read it in thy face; the day
For whose returns, and many, all these pray:
And so do I. This is the sixtieth year
Since Bacon, and thy lord, was born, and here
Son to the grave wise Keeper of the Seal,
Fame and foundation of the English weal.
What then his father was, that since is he,
Now with a title more to the degree;
England's High Chancellor; the destined heir
In his soft cradle to his father's chair;
Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool."*

He had shortly before this published, in a folio volume, the most highly finished and the most celebrated of all his works, his 'Novum Organum Scientiarum,' in two Books, forming the second part of his 'Instauratio Magna.' We have in the *Resuscitatio* a letter from King James to the author thanking him for a copy of his book as just received, which is dated the 16th of October, 1620.

On the 27th of January, 1621 (five days after his birthday), not 1620, as Mr. Montagu has it—Bacon was created Viscount St. Alban. On the 30th of the same month the new parliament met, and on the 15th of March a committee of the House of Commons, which had been appointed to inquire into abuses in the courts of justice, reported that two charges of corruption had been brought against the lord chancellor. On the 17th Bacon presided in the House of Lords for the last time. Mr. Montagu continues to lag a year behind throughout all this. The charges of corruption having in the mean time accumulated to twenty-three, Bacon on the 24th of

* Jonson's 70th *Underwood;* in *Works, by Gifford,* viii. 440, 441. 'The Biographia Britannica,' indeed, here quotes these very lines to prove that the celebration must have taken *place in January, 1620.* But "This is the sixtieth year since" *must surely mean the* same thing with,—"It is sixty years *since.*"

April (Mr. Montagu says the 22nd) sent in his first submission and confession to the Lords by the hands of the Prince of Wales, and a second and more particular confession on the 30th of the same month. On the same or the next day the seals were sequestered; and on Thursday the 3rd of May, the Commons and their Speaker having appeared at the bar of the Lords and prayed judgment, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir James Ley, who had been commissioned to exercise for the present the office of Speaker in the House of Lords, pronounced sentence, to the effect that the Viscount St. Alban, having been by his own confession found guilty, should be fined forty thousand pounds, and imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; that he should be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state or commonwealth; and that he should never again sit in parliament, nor come within the verge of the court. Bacon was ill at this time, and he was not committed to the Tower till the 31st, nor was he detained in confinement more than two days. The king also forgave him his fine; and he was soon after allowed to return to court. At last, he received a full pardon in the beginning of the year 1624. The common account, however, that he was again summoned to parliament in the first year of the next reign appears to be erroneous.

Writing to the king on the 21st of April, 1621, in the very height of the storm which threw him down, we find Bacon thus concluding his letter—with more of strength of heart, it will perhaps be thought, than of moral sensibility:—"Because he that hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes, I will go farther, and present your majesty with a bribe. For if your majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present your majesty with a good History of England, and a better digest of your laws. And so, concluding with my prayers, I rest your majesty's afflicted but ever devoted servant." He certainly did not allow his fall either long to affect his spirits or to interrupt his studies. Before the end of the year he *was ready with his* 'History of Henry VII.' *it appears from a letter of* Sir Thomas Meautys, dated

the 7th of January, 1622, that it had already been perused in manuscript by the king; and it was published probably a few weeks or months after. On the 20th of March, also, we find him sending the king, not indeed his promised digest of the laws, but "an offer," or detailed proposition of such a work. In this same year, too, he composed his unfinished dialogue entitled 'An Advertisement touching an Holy War,' which he inscribed to Bishop Andrews; and he published the portion of his 'Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis' entitled 'De Ventis' (Of Winds), which is arranged as a portion of the Third Part of the *Instauratio Magna*. The next year, 1623, he published in Latin his work entitled 'De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum' (on the Dignity and Advancement of the Sciences), in nine Books, regarded as forming the First Part of the *Instauratio Magna*; and also his 'Historia Vitae et Mortis' (History of Life and Death), arranged as another portion of the Third Part of that work. Various other writings, both in English and Latin, which he composed in his retirement, were not given to the world till after his death. But in 1625, besides the new and greatly enlarged edition of his Essays, a very small 8vo. volume of 307 pages, widely and handsomely printed, entitled 'Apophthegms, new and old, collected by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban,' once more gave public note, while he still lived, of the unabated activity of his mind and pen.

Bacon's Apophthegms, in this his own edition, are 280 in number; but a good many more have been added in subsequent impressions. Tenison, in the Introduction to the *Baconiana*, says: "His lordship hath received much injury by late editions, of which some have much enlarged, but not at all enriched, the collection; stuffing it with tales and sayings too infacetious for a ploughman's chimney corner." And he particularizes an octavo volume published in 1669 with the title of "The Apophthegms of King James, King Charles, the Marquis of Worcester, the Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas More." This is described by Mr. Montagu as a reprint of a duodecimo volume printed in 1658, in which there are 184

Apophthegms attributed to Bacon. In the second edition of the *Resuscitatio*, published by Rawley in 1661, 249 Apophthegms are inserted, a few being new, but a good many of those published by Bacon himself being omitted; and in the third edition of the same work, published in 1671, four years after Rawley's death, the number of the Apophthegms is increased to 307 (of which, however, twelve are repetitions). But Tenison expressly notes that this latter is one of the editions in which Bacon has been unfairly dealt with, and he declares that the additions were not made by Rawley. It is curious, by the by, that the publisher of the third edition of the *Resuscitatio* should affirm in an address to the reader that that edition in the First Part (in which the Apophthegms are included) is an exact reprint of the preceding edition; as he also affirms, in another address, that all the pieces in the Second Part were collected and left ready for the press by Rawley. Twenty-seven additional Apophthegms, which may be received as genuine, are in the *Baconiana* published in 1679; and Mr. Montagu observes that there are "a few in Aubrey," by which we suppose is meant Aubrey's 'Lives,' published along with 'Letters written by eminent persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,' 8vo. 1813. We do not perceive, however, that he has given any of these last in his edition of Bacon's Works. He has only reprinted in his first volume the 280 Apophthegms originally published by Bacon, together with the twenty-seven in the *Baconiana*, and in an appendix, twenty-eight more under the title of Spurious Apophthegms, making altogether 335. The common editions, copying that of Blackburn (4 vols. fol. 1730), give 362 in all; namely, the 296 (after omitting the repetitions) published in the third edition of the *Resuscitatio;* thirty-nine described as "contained in the original edition in octavo, but omitted in later copies;" and the twenty-seven published in the *Baconiana* (of which last, however, three are sometimes omitted, as occurring in the same or nearly the same *words in the Essays*).

The apophthegms are introduced in the original edition by the following short preface:—

"Julius Cæsar did write a collection of apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero: I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is pity his work is lost, for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice; whereas that of Plutarch and Stobæus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use. They are *mucrones verborum*, pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calls them *salinas*, salt pits, that you may extract salt out of and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited, upon occasions, of themselves. They serve, if you take out the kernel of them and make them your own. I have, for my recreation in my sickness, fanned the old, not omitting any because they are vulgar,* for many vulgar ones are excellent good; nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat, and adding many new, that otherwise would have died."

The Apophthegms, or pointed sayings, thus collected by Bacon, are almost all good; very few at least of those published by himself can be pronounced unworthy of preservation. Many of them had been previously made use of by him in his Essays and other writings, and are repeated here for the most part nearly in the same words. Even with the aid he would thus have, however, we may take the liberty of doubting Tenison's assertion that the 280 short stories, filling above 300 printed pages in the original small volume, and above 60 in one of Mr. Montagu's octavos, were all dictated by him in one morning out of his memory. It is true that there are historical mistakes in some of them; but Bacon, as we have seen, does not himself plead the apology of haste, or talk of having written without resorting to books. Many of them, it is evident, he had merely transcribed from his own previous writings.

The following are selected from the original 280:—

* Generally current.

4. Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation, went to the chapel; and in the great chamber, Sir John Rainsforth, set on by wiser men (a knight that had the liberty of a buffoon), besought the queen aloud—"That now this good time, when prisoners were delivered, four prisoners, amongst the rest, mought likewise have their liberty who were like enough to be kept still in hold." The queen asked, "Who they were?" and he said, "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long been imprisoned in the Latin tongue, and now he desired they mought go abroad among the people in English." The queen answered, with a grave countenance, "It were good, Rainsforth, they were spoken with themselves, to know of them whether they would be set at liberty?"

6. Pace, the bitter fool, was not suffered to come at the queen, because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time, some persuaded the queen that he should come to her, undertaking for him that he should keep compass: so he was brought to her, and the queen said: "Come on, Pace; now we shall hear of our faults." Saith Pace; "I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks on."

9. Queen Ann Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the king's privy chamber to her, and said to him, "Commend me to the king, and tell him, he is constant in his course of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marquisse, and from a marquisse a queen; and now, he had left no higher degree of earthly honour, he hath made me a martyr."

11. Caesar Borgia, after long division between him and the lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time altogether in person. The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason; some one mought be free to revenge the rest. Nevertheless, he did with such fine art and fair carriage win their confidence, that he brought them altogether to council at Cinigagli, where he murdered them all. This act, which was related unto Pope Alexander, his father, by a cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious; the pope said, "It was they that had broke their covenant first, in coming all together."

14. Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last he had a boy, which after, at man's years, proved *simple*. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "*Thou prayedst so long for a boy*, that he will be a boy as *long as he lives.*"

33. Bias was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest:

and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the gods; but Bias said to them, "Peace, let them not know you are here." *

38. Alcibiades came to Pericles, and stayed a while ere he was admitted. When he came in, Pericles civilly excused it, and said, "I was studying how to give my account." But Alcibiades said to him, "If you will be ruled by me, study rather how to give no account."

42. There was a bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him, "My lord, why do you bathe twice a day?" The bishop answered; "because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice." †

49. When Vespasian passed from Jewry to take upon him the empire, he went by Alexandria, where remained two famous philosophers, Apollonius and Euphrates. The emperor heard the discourse, touching the matter of state, in the presence of many. And when he was weary of them, he broke off, and in a secret derision, finding their discourses but speculative, and not put in practice, said, "O that I might govern wise men, and wise men govern me."

58. The book of deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, supposed to be written by Doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her learned council, "Whether there were any treason contained in it?" Mr. Bacon intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, "No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony." The queen apprehending it gladly, asked, "How, and wherein?" Mr. Bacon answered, "Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus."

59. Mr. Popham, when he was speaker, and the lower house had sat long, and done in effect nothing; coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, "Now, Mr. Speaker, what has passed in the lower house?" He answered, "If it please your majesty, seven weeks."

63. Nero was wont to say of his master Seneca, "That his style was like morter of sand, without lime."

65. Queen Elizabeth being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put of some doubt

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* *This is omitted* in the *Resuscitatio.*

† *This is another* of those omitted in the Resuscitatio.

person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. and told him, "She was like one with a lanthorn seek- ıan," and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of : that place. Mr. Bacon answered her, "That he had hat in old time there was usually painted on the church he day of doom, and God sitting in judgment, and St. el by him with a pair of balances; and the soul and the eeds in the one balance, and the faults and the evil deeds ther; and the soul's balance went up far too light. as our lady painted with a great pair of beads, who cast ito the light balance, and brought down the scale: so he lace and authority, which were in her hands to give, were r lady's beads, which though men, through divers im- ions, were too light before, yet when they were cast in veight competent."

Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her ature; and the lord treasurer Burleigh, to feed her hu- would say to her, "Madam, you do well to let suitors for I shall tell you, *bis dat, qui cito dat*:* if you grant eedily, they will come again the sooner."

They feigned a tale of Sextus Quintus, that after his death t to hell, and the porter of hell said to him, "You have eason to offer yourself to this place; but yet I have order receive you: you have a place of your own, purgatory; ay go thither." So he went away, and sought purgatory while, and could find no such place. Whereupon he eart, and went to heaven, and knocked; and St. Peter "Who was there?" he said, "Sextus Pope." Whereunto ler said, "Why do you knock? you have the keys." i answered, "It is true, but it is so long since they were as I doubt the wards of the lock be altered."

The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massa- t was upon St. Bartholomew's day, treated with the king ueen-mother, and some other of the council for a peace. ides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, he security of performance. After some particulars pro- ed and rejected, the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the f a king sufficient security?" One of the deputies an- , "No, by St. Bartholomew, madam."

One was saying that his great grandfather, and grand- and father, died at sea; said another that heard him, I were as you, I would never come at sea." "Why," saith

* *He gives twice who gives quick.*

he, "where did your great grandfather, and grandfather and father die?" He answered, "Where but in their beds?" Saith the other, "And I were as you, I would never come in bed."

91. There was a dispute, whether great heads or little heads had the better wit? And one said, "It must needs be the little; for that it is a maxim, *omne majus continet in se minus*."

92. Solon, when he wept for his son's death, and one said to him, "Weeping will not help," answered, "Alas, therefore I weep, because weeping will not help."

100. Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession; "that there was never king that did put to death his successor."

113. There was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth and a gentleman of a great name, that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said, "That marriage was like a black pudding; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal."*

125. Augustus Cæsar would say; "That he wondered that Alexander feared he should want work, having no more to conquer; as if it were not as hard a matter to keep as to conquer."

134. The Romans, when they spake to the people, were wont to stile them ye Romans; when commanders in war spake to their army, they stiled them, my soldiers. There was a mutiny in Cæsar's army, and somewhat the soldiers would have had, yet they would not declare themselves in it, but only demanded a mission, or discharge, though with no intention it should be granted: but knowing that Cæsar had at that time great need of their services, thought by that means to wrench him to their other desires: whereupon with one cry they asked mission. Cæsar, after silence made, said; "I for my part, ye Romans." This title did actually speak them to be dismissed: which voice they had no sooner heard, but they mutinied again; and would not suffer him to go on with his speech, until he had called them by the name of his soldiers: and so with that one word he appeased the sedition.

137. Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him; "See your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of him." "No," said *Diogenes*, "but I mean to beg of the rest again."

138. Jason the Thessalian was wont to say, "that some

* *This is* omitted in the *Resuscitatio*.

oe done unjustly, that many things may be done

ir Nicholas Bacon being keeper of the seal, when Elizabeth, in progress, came to his house at Redgrave, to him, "My lo', what a little house you have gotten?" Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made great for my house."

Crœsus said to Cambyses, "That peace was better ar; because in peace the sons did bury their fathers, but wars the fathers did bury their sons."*

. Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence against a ier what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small tion. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said, ppeal." The king, somewhat stirred, said, "To whom do appeal?" The prisoner answered, "From Philip when he no ear, to Philip when he shall give ear."

59. The same Philip maintained arguments with a mu- an in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily, but the sician said to him, "God forbid, sir, your fortune were so rd that you should know these things better than myself."

167. Cato Major would say, "That wise men learnt more fools, than fools by wise men."

168. When it was said to Anaxagoras, "The Athenians ave condemned you to die:" he said again, "And Nature em."

181. One of the seven was wont to say, "That laws were ke cobwebs; where the small flies were caught, and the great oke through."

191. There was a law made by the Romans against the ribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero ith in a speech of his to the people, "That he thought the rovinces would petition to the state of Rome to have that law pealed. For," saith he, "before the governors did bribe and tort as much as was sufficient for themselves; but now they ribe and extort as much as may be enough not only for themlves, but for the judges, and jurors, and magistrates."

193. Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his ctory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but ith great slaughter of his own side, said to them again, "Yes, at if we have such another victory, we are undone."

194. Cineas was an excellent orator and statesman, and rincipal friend and counsellor to Pyrrhus; and falling in in-

* *This was omitted* in the *Resuscitatio.*

ward talk with him, and discerning the king's endless ambition, Pyrrhus opened himself unto him, that he intended first a war upon Italy, and hoped to achieve it; Cineas asked him, "Sir, what will you do then?" "Then," said he, "we will attempt Sicily." Cineas said, "Well, sir, what then?" Said Pyrrhus, "If the gods favour us, we may conquer Africa and Carthage." "What then, Sir," saith Cineas. "Nay, then," saith Pyrrhus, "we may take our rest, and sacrifice and feast every day, and make merry with our friends." "Alas, sir," said Cineas, "may we not do so now, without all this ado?"

199. Themistocles said of speech, "That it was like arras, that spread abroad shews fair images, but contracted is but like packs."*

200. Bresquet, jester to Francis I. of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the king sport, telling him ever the reason why he put any one into his calendar. When Charles V., emperor, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, passed through France, for the appeasing of the rebellion of Gaunt, Bresquet put him into his calendar. The king asked him the cause. He answered, "Because you have suffered at the hands of Charles the greatest bitterness that ever prince did from another, nevertheless he would trust his person into your hands." "Why, Bresquet," said the king, "what wilt thou say, if thou seest him pass back in as great safety, as if he marched through the midst of Spain?" Saith Bresquet, "Why, then, I will put him out, and put you in."

203. When peace was renewed with the French, in England, divers of the great councillors were presented from the French with jewels: the Lord Henry Howard, being then earl of Northampton, and a councillor, was omitted. Whereupon the king said to him, "My lord, how happens it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?" My lord answered according to the fable in Æsop; "Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam."†

206. Cosmos duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends, "that we read, that we ought to forgive our enemies; but we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends."

240. There was a politic sermon that had no divinity in

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* *This was omitted* in the *Resuscitatio.*

† *I am not a* cock [the word signifies also a Gaul or *Frenchman*], *therefore* I have found no precious stone.

it, was preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to Bishop Andrews, "Call you this a sermon?" The bishop answered, "And it please your majesty, by a charitable construction, it may be a sermon."*

261. The Lady Paget, that was very private with Queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against her match with Monsieur. After Monsieur's death, the queen took extreme grief, at least as she made show, and kept within her bed-chamber and one ante-chamber for three weeks' space, in token of mourning; at last she came forth into her privy-chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access to her, and amongst the rest my Lady Paget presented herself with a smiling countenance. The queen bent her brows, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her, "Madam, you are not ignorant of my extreme grief, and do you come to me with a countenance of joy?" My Lady Paget answered, "Alas! and may it please your majesty, it is impossible for me to be absent from you for three weeks, but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully." "No, no," said the queen, not forgetting her former averseness to the match, "you have some other conceit in it, tell me plainly." My lady answered, "I must obey you: it is this. I was thinking how happy your majesty was, in that you married not Monsieur; for seeing you take such thought for his death, being but your friend; if he had been your husband, sure it would have cost you your life."

262. Sir Edward Dyer, a grave and wise gentleman, did much believe in Kelly the alchemist, that he did indeed the work, and made gold; insomuch that he went into Germany, where Kelly then was, to inform himself more fully thereof. After his return, he dined with my Lord of Canterbury, where at that time was at the table Dr. Brown the physician. They fell in talk of Kelly. Sir Edward Dyer turning to the archbishop said, "I do assure your grace, that that I shall tell you is truth, I am an eye-witness thereof; and if I had not seen it, I should not have believed it. I saw Master Kelly put of the base metal into the crucible; and after it set a little upon the fire, and a very small quantity of the medicine put in, and stirred with a stick of wood, it came forth in great proportion, perfect gold; to the touch, to the hammer, to the test." Mylord archbishop said, "You had need take heed of what you say, Sir Edward Dyer, for here is an infidel at the board." Sir Edward Dyer said again pleasantly, "I

* *This was omitted in the Resuscitatio.*

would have looked for an infidel sooner in any place than at your grace's table." "What say you, Dr. Brown?" saith the bishop. Dr. Brown answered, after his blunt and huddling manner. "The gentleman hath spoken enough for me." "Why," saith the bishop, "what hath he said?" "Marry," saith Dr. Brown, "he said, he would not have believed it, except he had seen it, and no more will I."

273. Dr. Laud said, "That some hypocrites and seeming mortified men, that held down their heads like bulrushes, were like the little images that they place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, that look as if they held up the church, but are but puppets."

The following are from the small additional number published by Tenison in the *Baconiana*, which may also be confidently received as genuine:—

5. Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, "What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?" Sir Edward, who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired, paused a little; and then made answer, "Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise." The queen shrunk in her head; but was heard to say, "Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you." Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor.

25. The Lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold besoms; a proud lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, "Friend, hast thou no money? borrow of thy back, and borrow of thy belly, they 'll ne'er ask thee again, I shall be dunning thee every day."

27. Jack Weeks said of a great man, just then dead, who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, "Well, I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in heaven, 't were pity it were known."

Bacon's own arrangement of the Apophthegms being quite changed in the *Resuscitatio*, it is not very easy to ascertain all the omissions and additions; but as 39 of the original 280 are stated to have been left out, and the entire number (without counting repetitions) in the third edition of the *Resuscitatio* is 295, it follows that there *must be 54 in that* which are not in Bacon's own collec-

tion. Mr. Montagu, without intimating that there are any more, gives 28 of them in a note under the title of 'Spurious Apophthegms.' Even of these, however, a few may possibly be genuine; and at any rate two or three are worth transcribing: —

12. A great officer at court, when my Lord of Essex was first in trouble, and he and those that dealt for him would talk much of my lord's friends and of his enemies, answered to one of them, "I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy my lord hath; and that one friend is the queen, and that one enemy is himself."

14. My Lord of Leicester, favourite to Queen Elizabeth, was making a large chace about Cornbury Park, meaning to enclose it with posts and rails, and one day was casting up his charge what it would come to, Mr. Goldingham, a free-spoken man, stood by, and said to my lord, "Methinks your lordship goeth not the cheapest way to work." "Why, Goldingham?" said my lord. "Marry, my lord," said Goldingham, "count you but upon the posts, for the country will find you the railing."

20. A notorious rogue, being brought to the bar, and knowing his case to be desperate, instead of pleading, he took to himself the liberty of jesting, and thus said, "I charge you in the king's name, to seize and take away that man (meaning the judge) in the red gown, for I go in danger because of him."

26. When my Lord President of the Council was newly advanced to the Great Seal, Gondamar came to visit him; my lord said, "That he was to thank God and the king for that honour; but yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he would very willingly forbear the honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life." Gondamar answered that he would tell him a tale "Of an old rat that would needs leave the world: and acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole and spend his days solitarily; and would enjoy no more comfort: and he commanded them, upon his high displeasure, not to offer to come in unto him. They forbare two or three days; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest, incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would venture to see how his father did; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat *sitting in the midst of* a rich Parmesan cheese." So *he applied the fable after his witty* manner.

The remaining pieces included under the head of 'Moral Works' in the common editions of Bacon's writings, are only the collection of sentences entitled 'Ornamenta Rationalia;' and the 'Short Notes for Civil Conversation.'

The *Ornamenta Rationalia* were first published by Tenison in the *Baconiana* (1679). In his Introduction he informs us that Bacon "also gave to those wise and polite sayings the title of *Sententiæ Stellares;* either because they were sentences which deserved to be pointed to by an asterisk in the margin; or because they much illustrated and beautified a discourse in which they were disposed in due place and order: as the stars in the firmament are so many glorious ornaments of it, and set off with their lustre the wider and less adorned spaces." But the collection as originally made by Bacon had not come to Tenison's hands: it is, he proceeds, "either wholly lost or thrown into some obscure corner; but I fear the first. I have now three catalogues in my hands of the unpublished papers of Sir Francis Bacon, all written by Dr. Rawley himself. In every one of these appears the title of Ornamenta Rationalia; but in the bundles which came with those catalogues, there is not one of those *Sentences* to be found. I held myself obliged, in some sort and as I was able, to supply this defect; it being once in my power to have preserved this paper. For a copy of it was long since offered me by that doctor's only son, and my dear friend (now with God), Mr. William Rawley; of whom, if I say no more, it is the greatness of my grief for that irreparable loss which causeth my silence. I was the more negligent in taking a copy, presuming I might upon any occasion command the original, and because that was then in such good hands. Now there remains nothing with me but a general remembrance of the quality of that collection. It consisted of divers short sayings, aptly and smartly expressed, and containing in them much of good *sense in* a little room. These he either made or took *from others, being* moved so to do by the same reason *which caused him* to gather together his Apophthegms,"

The original collection, it is afterwards added, "was (as I remember) gathered partly out of his own store and partly from the antients; and accordingly 'tis supplied out of his own works and the *Mimi* of *Publius*." Publius is Publius Syrus (or the Syrian), the Mimographer, who flourished at Rome in the half century immediately preceding our era, and from whose lost *Mimi*, or Mimes, about a thousand pregnant or pithy remarks have been preserved, and often printed. Of these Tenison has selected 36, to supply the loss of those collected by Bacon. And to these he has added 73 sentences collected out of Bacon's own writings, mostly from the Essays. The title 'Ornamenta Rationalia' comprehends both these collections, and not only the first of them, as it is made to do by Mr. Montagu, and in all the common editions of Bacon's works.

The 'Short Notes for Civil Conversation' are taken, with the Essay on Death already mentioned, from the *Remains*, published in 1648. They consist of only nine short paragraphs or observations, of which the following is the third:—

In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly than hastily; because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes, besides unseemliness, drives a man either to a nonplus or unseemly stammering, harping upon that which should follow; whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory, [and] addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, besides a seemliness of speech and countenance.

SECTION IV.

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS.

called Bacon's Theological writings the
l, as far as is known, are his *Meditationes*
ligious Meditations, which we have both in
English; the Latin copy having appeared,
entioned, along with the Essays as first
597; the English, with the second edition
dated 1598. They were probably origi-
in Latin; but the English version may also
vn. The Latin title is preserved in both
litions.

utiones Sacræ are twelve short compositions
nd with the other Essays, except that they
us subjects. When the Essays were ex-
later editions, many things that were added
om the *Meditationes Sacræ*, which were
m all the editions after that of 1606. One
new Essays are indeed almost the same
ıd previously appeared as Meditations.
s originally published under that title were
ısferred to the *Advancement of Learning*.
f the Meditations are, 1. Of the Works
ın; 2. Of the Miracles of our Saviour;
ıocency of the Dove, and the Wisdom of
4. Of the Exaltation of Charity; 5. Of
n of Cares; 6. Of Earthly Hope; 7.
; 8. Of Impostors; 9. Of the seve-
ıposture; 10. Of Atheism; 11. Of Here-
the Church and the Scripture. Each
is headed by a text of Scripture, on
act a brief comment, generally very inge-
er propounding a new interpretation of the
ng the subject in a peculiar and striking

Although depth of secrecy and making way, "qualis est via navis in mari,"* (which the French calleth "sourdes menées," when men set things in work without opening themselves at all,) be sometimes both prosperous and admirable; yet many times "Dissimulatio errores parit, qui dissimulatorem ipsum illaqueant;"† and, therefore, we see the greatest politicians have in a natural and free manner professed their desires, rather than been reserved and disguised in them: for so we see that Lucius Sylla made a kind of profession "that he wished all men happy or unhappy as they stood his friends or enemies." So Cæsar, when he went first into Gaul, made no scruple to profess "that he had rather be first in a village than second at Rome." So again, as soon as he had begun the war, we see what Cicero saith of him, "Alter (meaning of Cæsar) non recusat, sed quodammodo postulat, ut, ut est, sic appelletur tyrannus."‡ So we may see, in a letter of Cicero to Atticus, that Augustus Cæsar, in his very entrance into affairs, when he was a darling of the senate, yet in his harangues to the people would swear, "Ita parentis honores consequi liceat,"§ which was no less than the tyranny; save that, to help it, he would stretch forth his hand towards a statue of Cæsar's that was erected in the same place: and men laughed, and wondered, and said, "Is it possible?" or, "Did you ever hear the like?" and yet thought he meant no hurt; he did it so handsomely and ingeniously. And all these were prosperous: whereas Pompey, who tended to the same ends, but in a more dark and dissembling manner, as Tacitus saith of him, "Occultior, non melior,"‖ wherein Sallust concurreth, "ore probo, animo inverecundo,"¶ made it his design, by infinite secret engines, to cast the state into an absolute anarchy and confusion, that the state might cast itself into his arms for necessity and protection, and so the sovereign power be put upon him, and he never seen in it: and when he had brought it, as he thought, to that point, when he was chosen consul alone, as

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* Like the way of a ship in the sea.

† Deceit begets errors which entrap the deceiver.

‡ The other does not refuse, but rather demands to be called the tyrant that he is.

§ So may I obtain the honours of my illustrious relative.

‖ More *cautious*, but not better.

¶ *With probity* on his lips and depravity in his soul.

But herein is a twofold excess; the one when the chain or thread of our cares is extended and spun out to an over great length, and unto times too far off, as if we could bind the divine Providence by our provisions, which, even with the heathen, was always found to be a thing insolent and unlucky; for those which did attribute much to fortune, and were ready at hand to apprehend with alacrity the present occasions, have for the most part in their actions been happy; but they who in a compass wisdom have entered into a confidence that they had belayed all events, have for the most part encountered misfortune. The second excess is when we dwell longer in our cares than is requisite for due deliberating or firm resolving; for who is there amongst us that careth no more than sufficeth either to resolve of a course or to conclude upon an impossibility, and doth not still chew over the same things, and tread a maze in the same thoughts, and vanisheth in them without issue or conclusion. Which kind of cares are most contrary to all divine and human respects.

And here is the Sixth, "Of Earthly Hope:"—

"*Better is the sight of the eye, than the apprehension of the mind.*"—Pure sense, receiving everything according to the natural impression, makes a better state and government of the mind, than these same imaginations and apprehensions of the mind; for the mind of man hath this nature and property even in the gravest and most settled wits, that from the sense of every particular, it doth as it were bound and spring forward, and take hold of other matters, foretelling unto itself that all shall prove like unto that which beateth upon the present sense; if the sense be of good, it easily runs into an unlimited hope, and into a like fear when the sense is of evil, according as is said

"The oracle of hopes doth oft abuse."

And that contrary,

"A froward soothsayer is fear in doubts."

But yet of fear there may be made some use, for it prepareth patience and awaketh industry:

"No shape of ill comes new or strange to me,
All sorts set down, yea, and prepared be."

But hope seemeth a thing altogether unprofitable; for to what end serveth this conceit of good? Consider and note a

little: if the good fall out less than thou hopest; good thou
it be, yet less because it is, it seemeth rather loss than ben
through thy excess of hope. If the good prove equal and p
portionable in event to thy hope, yet the flower thereof by
hope is gathered, so as when it comes the grace of it is g
and it seems used, and therefore sooner draweth on sati
Admit thy success prove better than thy hope, it is true a
seems to be made: but had it not been better to have g
the principal by hoping for nothing, than the increas
hoping for less; and this is the operation of hope in goo
tunes; but in misfortunes it weakeneth all force and vig
the mind; for neither is there always matter of hope,
there be, yet if it fail but in part, it doth wholly overthr
constancy and resolution of the mind; and besides, th
doth carry us through, yet it is a greater dignity of
bear evils by fortitude and judgment, than by a kind
senting and alienation of the mind from things present
future, for that it is to hope. And therefore it w
lightness in the poets to fain hope to be as a counter-
human diseases, as to mitigate and assuage the fury
of them, whereas indeed it doth kindle and enrage
causeth both doubling of them and relapses. Notwi
we see that the greatest number of men give themsel
their imaginations of hope and apprehensions of th
such sort, that ungrateful towards things past, and
unmindful of things present, as if they were ever c
beginners, they are still in longing for things to co
all men walking under the sun, resort and gather t
person, which was afterwards to succeed: thi
disease, and a great idleness of the mind."

But perhaps you will ask the question, whe
better, when things stand in doubtful terms, t
best, and rather hope well than distrust; specia
hope doth cause a greater tranquillity of mind
Surely I do judge a state of mind which in a
pectations is settled and floateth not, and do
good government and composition of the affec
of the principal supporters of man's life: bu
and repose of the mind, which only rides at a
I do reject as wavering and weak. Not th
venient to foresee and pre-suppose out of a
conjecture, as well the good as the evil, tha
fit our actions to the probabilities and
event, so that this be a work of the unde

ment, with a due bent and inclination of the affection. But which of you hath so kept his hopes within limits, as when it is so that you have out of a watchful and strong discourse of the mind set down the better success to be in apparency the more likely; you have not dwelt upon the very muse and forethought of the good to come, and giving scope and favour unto your mind to fall into such cogitations as into a pleasant dream? And this it is which makes the mind light, frothy, unequal, and wandering. Wherefore all our hope is to be bestowed upon the heavenly life to come: but here on earth the purer our sense is from the infection and tincture of imagination, the better and wiser soul.

"The sum of life to little doth amount,
And therefore doth forbid a longer count."

The Eighth, "Of Impostors," is very short:—

"*Whether we be transported in mind, it is to Godward; or whether we be sober, it is to youward.*"—This is the true image and true temper of a man, and of him that is God's faithful workman; his carriage and conversation towards God is full of passion, of zeal, and of tramisses; thence proceed groans unspeakable, and exultings likewise in comfort, ravishment of spirit, and agonies; but contrariwise, his carriage and conversation towards men is full of mildness, sobriety, and appliable demeanour. Hence is that saying, "I am become all things to all men," and such like. Contrary it is with hypocrites and impostors, for they in the church and before the people set themselves on fire, and are carried as it were out of themselves, and becoming as men inspired with holy furies, they set heaven and earth together; but if a man did see their solitary and separate meditations and conversation, whereunto God is only privy, he might, towards God, find them not only cold and without virtue, but also full of ill-nature and leaven; "Sober enough to God, and transported only towards men."

We add the Tenth, "Of Atheism," as an example of the manner in which parts of these Meditations were afterwards worked up into Essays. The reader may compare the following with the Sixteenth Essay, which has the same title:—

"*The fool hath said in his heart there is no God.*"—First, *it is to be noted, the Scripture* saith, "The fool hath said in

Notwithstanding, for the more public part of government, which is Laws, I think good to note only one deficience; which is, that all those which have written of laws have written either as philosophers or as lawyers, and none as statesmen. As for the philosophers, they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths; and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light, because they are so high. For the lawyers, they write according to the states where they live, what is received law, and not what ought to be law: for the wisdom of a lawmaker is one, and of a lawyer is another. For there are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams: and like as waters do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountains. Again, the wisdom of a lawmaker consisteth not only in a platform of justice, but in the application thereof; taking into consideration by what means laws may be made certain, and what are the causes and remedies of the doubtfulness and incertainty of law; by what means laws may be made apt and easy to be executed, and what are the impediments and remedies in the execution of laws; what influence laws touching private right of meum and tuum have into the public state, and how they may be made apt and agreeable: how laws are to be penned and delivered, whether in texts or in acts, brief or large, with preambles or without; how they are to be pruned and reformed from time to time, and what is the best means to keep them from being too vast in volumes, or too full of multiplicity and crossness: how they are to be expounded, when upon causes emergent and judicially discussed, and when upon responses and conferences touching general points or questions; how they are to be pressed, rigorously or tenderly; how they are to be mitigated by equity and good conscience, and whether discretion and strict law are to be mingled in the same courts, or kept apart in several courts; again, how the practice, profession, and erudition of law is to be censured and governed; and many other points touching the administration, and, as I may term it, animation of laws. Upon which I insist the less, because I purpose, if God give me leave, having begun a work of this nature in aphorisms, to propound it hereafter, noting it in the mean time for deficient.

In the *De Augmentis* he begins (as the passage *is translated by Wats*):—"I come now to the Art

and of largest and most universal understanding, have not only in cunning made their profit in seeming religious to the people, but in truth have been touched with an inward sense of the knowledge of Deity, as they which you shall evermore note to have attributed much to fortune and providence. Contrariwise, those who ascribed all things to their own cunning and practices, and to the immediate and apparent causes, and as the prophet saith, "Have sacrificed to their own nets," have been always but petty counterfeit statesmen, and not capable of the greatest actions. Lastly, this I dare affirm in knowledge of nature, that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but on the other side, much natural philosophy and wading deep into it will bring about men's minds to religion. Wherefore atheism every way seems to be joined and combined with folly and ignorance, seeing nothing can be more justly allotted to be the saying of fools than this, *There is no God.*

The following is the Twelfth Meditation, "Of the Church and the Scriptures:"—

"*Thou shalt protect them in thy tabernacle from the contradiction of tongues.*"—The contradiction of tongues doth everywhere meet with us out of the tabernacle of God, therefore whithersoever thou shalt turn thyself thou shalt find no end of controversies, except thou withdraw thyself into that tabernacle. Thou wilt say it is true, and that it is to be understood of the unity of the church. But hear and note. There was in the tabernacle the ark, and in the ark the testimony or tables of the law: what dost thou tell me of the husk of the tabernacle without the kernel of the testimony? the tabernacle was ordained for the keeping and delivering over from hand to hand of the testimony. In like manner, the custody and passing over of the Scriptures is committed unto the Church, but the life of the tabernacle is the testimony.

The most considerable of Bacon's theological writings are his pieces entitled "An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England," and "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England." In his Life (cxl.) *Mr. Montagu tells us* that he produced these "two *publications" both* in the same year 1606. But it is

clear from the discourses themselves that the one was written a long time before the other. They appear to have been first published in 1640 or 1641. There is a copy of the "Considerations" in the British Museum in small quarto with the date 1640; and in one of the volumes of the King's Pamphlets, preserved in the same collection, is a copy, in the same size, of the "Advertisement," with the title of "A Wise and Moderate Discourse concerning Church Affairs; as it was written long since by the famous author of those Considerations, which seem to have some reference to this; now published for the common good; imprinted in the year 1641." This description would seem to imply that the "Considerations" had been originally prefixed; and it will be found on examining the pamphlet that the beginning is evidently wanting, for the above title, besides that it is not in capitals as if it were intended to stand at the commencement of the publication, is printed not on the first but on the second leaf of the sheet. The Discourse which it heads had probably been added to a second edition of the "Considerations;" and it would not appear to have been published anonymously, as Blackburn and Mr. Montagu assert. There are MS. copies in the Museum both of the Advertisement and the Considerations; of the latter at least more than one copy. Both tracts were afterwards authenticated by being inserted by Dr. Rawley in the *Resuscitatio* (1657); and they may be considered to be alluded to in the following paragraph of the Preface to that collection:—"It is true that, for some of the pieces herein contained, his lordship did not aim at the publication of them, but at the preservation only, and prohibiting them from perishing; so as to have been reposed in some private shrine or library. But now, for that, through the loose keeping of his lordship's papers whilst he lived, divers surreptitious copies have been taken, which have since employed the press with sundry corrupt and mangled editions, whereby nothing hath been more difficult than to find the Lord Saint Alban *in the Lord Saint* Alban, and which have *presented (some of them)* rather a fardle of nonsense

than any true expressions of his lordship's happy vein, I thought myself, in a sort, tied to vindicate these injuries and wrongs done to the monuments of his lordship's pen, and at once, by setting forth the true and genuine writings themselves, to prevent the like evasions for the time to come."

The Considerations appear to have been addressed to King James very soon after his accession;* and the author there speaks of having long held the same opinions, "as may appear," he adds, "by that which I have many years since written of them, according to the proportion nevertheless of my weakness." There can hardly be a doubt that these words refer to the Advertisement, which must therefore have been written long before the end of the reign of Elizabeth. The manner in which it is spoken of might very well be taken to carry it back to 1590, when Bacon was only about thirty; but even if we should assign it to a date two or three years later, it would still be his earliest known composition. It is a very able and striking discourse, remarkable both for the writing and for the thought or reasoning, and curious for a display of theological learning, a familiarity with the original authorities in that department of scholarship, which in our degenerate day would be thought to do honour to a bishop, and which we might safely defy the united force of all the inns of court to match. It commences thus:—

It is but ignorance, if any man find it strange, that the state of religion, especially in the days of peace, should be exercised and troubled with controversies: for as it is the condition of the Church militant to be ever under trials, so it cometh to pass, that when the fiery trial of persecution ceaseth, there succeedeth another trial, which, as it were, by contrary blasts of doctrine, doth sift and winnow men's faith, and proveth whether they know God aright; even as that other of afflictions disco-

* The heading of a copy in Ayscough MS. 4263, describes them as "dedicated to his Most Excellent Majesty at his first coming in:" (the last five words, however, being in a different hand from the rest of the title).

would do towards a suspected and discredited witness; but that faith which was accounted to Abraham for righteousness was of such a point as whereat Sarah laughed, who therein was an image of natural reason.

Howbeit, if we will truly consider it, more worthy it is to believe than to know as we now know. For in knowledge man's mind suffereth from sense; but in belief it suffereth from spirit, such one as it holdeth for more authorised than itself, and so suffereth from the worthier agent. Otherwise it is of the state of man glorified; for then faith shall cease, and we shall know as we are known.*

Wherefore we conclude that sacred Theology (which in our idiom we call Divinity) is grounded only upon the word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of nature: for it is written, "Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei;"† but it is not written, "Cœli enarrant voluntatem Dei."‡ But of that it is said, "Ad legem et testimonium: si non fecerint secundum verbum istud,"§ &c. This holdeth not only in those points of faith which concern the great mysteries of the Deity, of the creation, of the redemption, but likewise those which concern the law moral truly interpreted: "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; be like to your heavenly Father, that suffereth his rain to fall upon the just and unjust." To this it ought to be applauded, "Nec vox hominem sonat:"‖ It is a voice beyond the light of nature. So we see the heathen poets, when they fall upon a libertine passion, do still expostulate with laws and moralities, as if they were opposite and malignant to nature; "Et quod natura remittit, invida jura negant."¶ So said Dendamis, the Indian, unto Alexander's messengers; "That he had heard somewhat of Pythagoras, and some other of the wise men of Græcia, and that he held them for excellent men: but that they had a fault, which was, that they had in too great reverence and veneration a thing they called law and

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* A translation of the greater part of the passage in the *De Augmentis*, corresponding to this, has been already given in vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

† The heavens declare the glory of God.

‡ The heavens declare the will of God.

§ To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them

‖ Nor does the voice sound like that of a mere mortal.

¶ *What nature grants us, envious laws deny.*

from their evasions, and to take them in their labyrinths; so as it is rightly said, "illis temporibus, ingeniosa res fuit, esse Christianum;" in those days it was an ingenious and subtle thing to be a Christian.

Neither are they concerning the great parts of the worship of God, of which it is true, that "non servatur unitas in credendo, nisi eadem adsit in colendo;" there will be kept no unity in believing, except it be entertained in worshipping; such as were the controversies of the east and west churches touching images, and such as are many of those between the church of Rome and us: as about the adoration of the sacrament, and the like; but we contend about ceremonies and things indifferent, about the external policy and government of the church; in which kind, if we could but remember that the ancient and true bonds of unity are "one faith, one baptism," and not one ceremony, one policy; if we would observe the league amongst Christians, that is penned by our Saviour, "he that is not against us is with us;" if we could but comprehend that saying, "differentiæ rituum commendant unitatem doctrinæ;" the diversities of ceremonies do set forth the unity of doctrine; and that "habet religio quæ sunt æternitatis, habet quæ sunt temporis;" religion hath parts which belong to eternity, and parts which pertain to time: and if we did but know the virtue of silence and slowness to speak, commended by St. James, our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together: but most especially, if we would leave the over-weening and turbulent humours of these times, and revive the blessed proceeding of the Apostles and fathers of the primitive church, which was, in the like and greater cases, not to enter into assertions and positions, but to deliver counsels and advices, we should need no other remedy at all: "si eadem consulis, frater, quæ affirmas, consulenti debetur reverentia, cum non debeatur fides affirmanti;" brother, if that which you set down as an assertion, you would deliver by way of advice, there were reverence due to your counsel, whereas faith is not due to your affirmation. St. Paul was content to speak thus, "Ego, non Dominus," I, and not the Lord: "Et, secundum consilium meum;" according to my counsel. But now men do too lightly say, "Non ego, sed Dominus;" Not I, but the Lord: yea, and bind it with a heavy denunciation of his judgments, to terrify the simple, which have not sufficiently understood out of Solomon, that "*the causeless curse* shall not come."

A wish is then expressed that "there were an end *increase made of* this immodest and deformed man-

ner of writing lately entertained, whereby matter of religion is handled in the style of the stage"—in evident allusion to the Martin Mar-Prelate controversy, which began in 1589, a circumstance which may help to settle the date of the discourse.

To leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults, and to turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance, to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man: "Non est major confusio, quam serii et joci;" there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest. The majesty of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous, are things as distant as things may be. Two principal causes have I ever known of atheism; curious controversies and profane scoffing: now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect will make no small progression.

Bacon objects, however, to the vain policy of attempting to suppress the Puritan or anti-hierarchical pamphlets.

And indeed we see it ever falleth out, that the forbidden writing is always thought to be certain sparks of truth that fly up into the faces of those that seek to choke it, and tread it out; whereas a book authorized is thought to be but "temporis voces," the language of the time. But in plain truth I do find, to mine understanding these pamphlets as meet to be suppressed as the other. First, because as the former sort deface the government of the Church in the persons of the bishops and prelates, so the other doth lead into contempt the exercises of religion in the persons of sundry preachers; so as it disgraceth an higher matter, though in the meaner person.

And he concludes this part of his subject as follows:—

As it were to be wished that these writings had been abortive, and never seen the sun; so the next is, since they be come abroad, that they be censured, by all that have understanding and conscience, as the intemperate extravagancies of some light *persons. Yea farther,* that men beware, except *they mean to adventure to deprive* themselves of all sense of *religion, and to pave their own* hearts, and make them as the

highway, how they may be conversant in them, and much more how they delight in that vein; but rather to turn their laughing into blushing, and to be ashamed, as of a short madness, that they have in matters of religion taken their disport and solace. But this, perchance, is of these faults which will be soonest acknowledged; though I perceive, nevertheless, that there want not some who seek to blanch and excuse it.

He then proceeds:—

But to descend to a sincere view and consideration of the accidents and circumstances of these controversies, wherein either part deserveth blame or imputation, I find generally, in causes of Church matters, that men do offend in some or all of these five points.

The first is, the giving occasion unto the controversies: and also the inconsiderate and ungrounded taking of occasion.

The next is, the extending and multiplying the controversies to a more general opposition or contradiction than appeareth at the first propounding of them, when men's judgments are least partial.

The third is, the passionate and unbrotherly practices and proceedings of both parts towards the persons each of others, for their discredit and suppression.

The fourth is, the courses holden and entertained on either side, for the drawing of their partisans to a more straight union within themselves, which ever importeth a farther distraction of the entire body.

The last is, the undue and inconvenient propounding, publishing and debating of the controversies. In which point the most palpable error hath been already spoken of, as that, which through the strangeness and freshness of the abuse first offereth itself to the conceits of all men.

Now concerning the occasion of the controversies, it cannot be denied, but that the imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the Church, have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions. For whilst the bishops and governors of the Church continue full of knowledge and good works; whilst they feed the flock indeed; whilst they deal with the secular states in all liberty and resolution, according to the majesty of their calling, and the precious care of souls imposed upon them, so long the *Church is* "situated" as it were "upon a hill;" no man *maketh question of it*, or seeketh to depart from it; but when *these virtues in the fathers* and leaders of the Church have lost *their light, and that they* wax worldly, lovers of themselves, and

f men, then men begin to grope for the Church lark; they are in doubt whether they be the succes- Apostles, or of the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they es' chair, yet they can never speak, "tanquam aucto- ibentes," as having authority, because they have lost tation in the consciences of men, by declining their the way which they trace out to others; so as men continually have sounding in their ears this same xire," Go not out; so ready are they to depart from h upon every voice. And therefore it is truly noted it writeth as a natural man, that the humility of the for a great time, maintain and bear out the irreligion and prelates.

is is the double policy of the spiritual enemy, either rfeit holiness of life to establish and authorise errors; uption of manners to discredit and draw in question l things lawful. This concerneth my lords the nto whom I am witness to myself, that I stand af- I ought. No contradiction hath supplanted in me nce that I owe to their calling; neither hath any de- r calumny imbased mine opinion of their persons. me of them, whose names are most pierced with these s, to be men of great virtues; although the disposi- e times, and the want of correspondence many ways, to frustrate the best endeavours in the edifying of the

And for the rest, generally, I can condemn none. udge of them that belong to so high a Master; neither wo witnesses." And I know it is truly said of Fame,

"Pariter facta, atque infecta canebat."*

econd occasion of controversies, is the nature and f some men. The Church never wanteth a kind of hich love the salutation of Rabbi, master; not in or compliment, but in an inward authority which over men's minds, in drawing them to depend upon ions, and to seek knowledge at their lips. These the true successors of Diotrephes, the lover of pre- , and not lord bishops. Such spirits do light upon rt of natures, which do adhere to these men; "quo- a in obsequio;"† stiff followers and such as zeal mar-

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ings done *relates, not* done she feigns; and mingles *th with lies."—Dryden's Fourth Aeneid.*
r glory is in obedience.

vellously for those whom they have chosen for their masters. This latter sort, for the most part, are men of young years, and superficial understanding, carried away with partial respects of persons, or with the enticing appearance of godly names and pretences: "Pauci res ipsas sequuntur, plures nomina rerum, plurimi nomina magistrorum;" few follow the things themselves, more the names of the things, and most the names of their masters.

The third occasion of controversies I observe to be, an extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the Church already acknowledged and convicted. This was the cause that produced the heresy of Arius, grounded especially upon detestation of Gentilism, lest the Christian should seem, by the assertion of the equal divinity of our Saviour Christ, to approach unto the acknowledgment of more gods than one. The detestation of the heresy of Arius produced that of Sabellius; who holding for execrable the dissimilitude which Arius pretended in the Trinity, fled so far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the distinction of persons; and to say, they were but only names of several offices and dispensations. Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of the Church have sprung up of this root; while men have made it as it were their scale, by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion; taking it by the farthest distance from the error last condemned. These be "posthumi heresium filii;" heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies that are extinct and amortised.

This manner of apprehension doth in some degree possess many in our times. They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and evil, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the church of Rome, be it ceremony, be it policy, or government; yea, be it other institutions of greater weight, that is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that church; and that is ever polluted and blemished, which participateth in any appearance with it. This is a subtle and dangerous conceit for men to entertain; apt to delude themselves, more apt to delude the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This surely, but that a notorious condemnation of that position was before our eyes, had long since brought us to the re-baptisation of children baptised according to the pretended catholic religion: for I see that which is a matter of much like reason, which is the re-ordaining of priests, is a matter already resolutely maintained. It is very meet that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know, that it is a consideration of much

greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether in general demolition of the institution of the church of Rome, there were not, as men's actions are imperfect, some good purged with the bad, rather than to purge the Church, as they pretend, every day anew; which is the way to make a wound in the bowels as is already begun.

The fourth and last occasion of controversies he declares to be the partial affectation and imitation of foreign churches; and then he proceeds to trace the growth and progress of the controversy actually disturbing the Church:—

It may be remembered that, on that part which calls for reformation, was first propounded some dislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possess rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle and monastical continuance within the universities, by those who had livings to be resident upon; and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn the government of bishops as an hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman church, and to except to sundry institutions in the Church, as not sufficiently delivered from the pollutions of former times. And lastly, they are advanced to define of an only and perpetual form of policy in the Church; which without consideration of possibility, and foresight of peril, and perturbation of the Church and State, must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Here they stay. Others, not able to keep footing on so steep ground, descend farther; that the same must be entered into and accepted of the people, at their peril, without the attending of the establishment of authority. And so in the mean time they refuse to communicate with us, reputing us to have no Church. This has been the progression of that side: I mean of the generality. For I know, some persons, being of the nature, not only to love extremities, but also to fall to them without degrees, were at the highest strain at the first.

But the defenders of the Church, he shows, had not kept one tenor neither. Besides they had taken far too high a ground in regard to the matters in dispute.

It is very hard to affirm that the discipline which they *say we want is one of the essential* parts of the worship of God,

and not to affirm withal that the people themselves, upon peril of salvation, without staying for the magistrate, are to gather themselves into it. I demand, if a civil state should receive the preaching of the word and baptism, and interdict and exclude the sacrament of the Lord's supper, were not men bound, upon danger of their souls, to draw themselves to congregations wherein they might celebrate this mystery, and not to content themselves with that part of God's worship which the magistrate had authorised? This I speak, not to draw them into the mislike of others, but into a more deep consideration of themselves: "Fortasse non redeunt, quia suum progressum non intelligunt."

Again, to my lords the bishops I say that it is hard for them to avoid blame, in the opinion of an indifferent person, in standing so precisely upon altering nothing. "Leges, novis legibus non recreatæ, acescunt;" laws, not refreshed with new laws, wax sour. "Qui mala non permutat, in bonis non perseverat;" without change of ill a man cannot continue the good. To take away many abuses supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth them. "Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est, æque ac novitas;" a contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation. A good husband is ever pruning in his vineyard or his field; not unseasonably indeed, not unskilfully, but lightly; he findeth ever somewhat to do. We have heard of no offers of the bishops of bills in parliament; which, no doubt, proceeding from them to whom it properly belongeth, would have everywhere received acceptation. . . . . .

I pray God to inspire the bishops with a fervent love and care of the people, and that they may not so much urge things in controversy as things out of controversy, which all men confess to be gracious and good: and thus much for the second point.

The next point which he takes up is the unbrotherly proceedings of both parties. This charge, he observes, chiefly touches that side having most power to do injury.

The wrongs of them which are possessed of the government of the Church towards the other may hardly be dissembled or excused: they have charged them as though they denied tribute to Cæsar, and withdrew from the civil magistrate the obedience which they have ever performed and taught. They have sorted and coupled them with the "family of love," whose

found in the *Advancement* is either contradicted or even by implication retracted or abandoned in the *De Augmentis;* the few omissions are of passages, which, on whatever account their retention may have been thought objectionable, make no part of the exposition of the author's philosophical views, and seem to have been discarded only on the principle indicated in his letter, already quoted, to the King, in which he says that he had been his own *index expurgatorius*, in order that the work might be read in all places.* The substance, too, of the *Advancement*, there is reason to believe, had been for the greater part excogitated, and to some extent even reduced to the shape in which we actually have it, a considerable time before it was published. In a letter sent to his friend Matthew with the printed volume, Bacon, as we have seen, speaks of the First Book as having been seen by Matthew in a completed state, it may have been years before. But, however this may be, there is at any rate a perfect or nearly perfect consistency throughout the whole course of Bacon's writings, in so far as they relate to what is commonly understood by his system of philosophy, whether they may have come from his pen in the earlier portion, in the middle, or towards the close of his life. His views are of course more fully developed in those of them that are of later date; but even in the earliest, if we do not find the seeds of all his subsequent speculations, we can detect nothing which entitles us to infer that his opinions had ever undergone any change. There is every reason to believe that his chaplain Rawley only states the fact when he tells us that it was while he was still at the University, and as yet only in his sixteenth year, that he fell into that dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, in which he continued to his dying day.† It may be reasonably supposed, however, to have been not till a somewhat later date that he arrived at those other views which are regarded as constituting his own philosophy. He has himself, indeed, noted when it was that these new views first assumed any thing of distinctness

* *See ante, page 39.*

† See vol. i. p. 11.

and to be separate from others." And he objects to their systematic depreciation of men as pious and preachers as scriptural as themselves.

Now for their own manner of preaching, what is it? Surely they exhort well and work compunction of mind, and bring men well to the question, "Viri fratres, quid faciemus?"* But that is not enough, except they resolve the question. They handle matters of controversy weakly, and "obiter,"† and as before a people that will accept of anything. In doctrine of manners there is little but generality and repetition. The word, the bread of life, they toss up and down, they break it not: they draw not their directions down "ad casus conscientiæ," that a man may be warranted in his particular actions whether they be lawful or not; neither indeed are many of them able to do it, what through want of grounded knowledge, what through want of study and time. It is a compendious and easy thing to call for the observation of the Sabbath-day, or to speak against unlawful gain; but what actions and works may be done upon the Sabbath, and what not; and what courses of gain are lawful, and in what cases: to set this down, and to clear the whole matter with good distinctions and decisions, is a matter of great knowledge and labour, and asketh much meditation and conversing in the Scriptures, and other helps which God has provided and preserved for instruction.

Again, they carry not an equal hand in teaching the people their lawful liberty, as well as their restraints and prohibitions; but they think a man cannot go too far in that that hath a show of a commandment.

They forget that there are sins on the right hand as well as on the left; and that the word is double-edged, and cutteth on both sides, as well the profane transgressions as the superstitious observances. Who doubteth but that it is as unlawful to shut where God hath opened, as to open where God hath shut; to bind where God hath loosed, as to loose where God hath bound? Amongst men it is commonly as ill taken to turn back favours as to disobey commandments. In this kind of zeal, for example, they have pronounced generally, and without difference, all untruths unlawful; notwithstanding that the midwives are directly reported to have been blessed for *their excuse;* and Rahab is said by faith to have concealed

* *Men and brethren,* what shall we do? † By the way.

ies; and Solomon's selected judgment proceeded upon a
lation; and our Saviour, the more to touch the hearts of
wo disciples with an holy dalliance, made as if he would
passed Emmaus. . . . . .

nother point of great inconvenience and peril is, to en-
the people to hear controversies, and all kinds of doctrine.
ay say no part of the counsel of God is to be suppressed,
the people defrauded; so as the difference which the
postle maketh between milk and strong meat is confounded;
d his precept that the weak be not admitted unto questions
nd controversies taketh no place.

But most of all is to be suspected, as a seed of farther inconvenience, their manner of handling the Scriptures; for whilst they seek express Scripture for everything, and that they have, in a manner, deprived themselves and the Church of a special help and support, by embasing the authority of the fathers, they resort to naked examples, conceited inferences and forced allusions, such as do mine into all certainty of religion.

Another extremity is the excessive magnifying of that which, though it be a principal and most holy institution, yet hath its limits, as all things else have. We see wheresoever, in a manner, they find in the Scriptures the word spoken of, they expound it of preaching; they have made it, in a manner, of the essence of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, to have a sermon precedent; they have, in a sort, annihilated the use of liturgies and forms of divine service, although the house of God be denominated of the principal, "domus orationis," a house of prayer, and not a house of preaching. As for the life of the good monks and hermits in the primitive church, I know they will condemn a man as half a papist if he should maintain them as other than profane because they heard no sermons. In the mean time, what preaching is, and who may be said to preach, they move no question; but, as far as I see, every man that presumeth to speak in chair is accounted a preacher. But I am assured that not a few that call hotly for a preaching ministry deserve to be the first themselves that should be expelled. All which errors and misproceedings they do fortify and intrench by an addicted respect to their own opinions, and an impatience to hear contradiction or argument; yea, I know some of them that would think it a tempting of God to hear or read what may be said against them; if there could be a "Quod bonum est tenete,"* without "Omnia probate,"† going before. . . . . .

* *Hold to that which is good.* † Prove all thi

I know the work of exhortation doth chiefly rest upon these men, and they have zeal and hate of sin: but again, let them take heed that it be not true which one of their adversaries said, that they have but two small wants, knowledge and love. And so I conclude this point. . . . .

Lastly, whatsoever be pretended, the people is no meet arbitrator, but rather the quiet, modest, private assemblies and conferences of the learned. "Qui apud incapacem loquitur, non disceptat, sed calumniatur."* The press and pulpit would be freed and discharged of these contentions; neither promotion on the one side, nor glory and heat on the other, ought to continue those challenges and cartels at the cross and other places; but rather all preachers, especially all such as be of good temper, and have wisdom with conscience, ought to inculcate and beat upon a peace, silence, and surceance. Neither let them fear Solon's law, which compelled in factions every particular person to range himself on the one side; nor yet the fond calumny of neutrality; but let them know that is true which is said by a wise man, that neuters in contentions are either better or worse than either side.

Its moderation and impartiality of tone would scarcely, it is to be feared, recommend this paper to any party at the time when it was written; and Bacon, upon further consideration or upon advising with his friends, probably saw good reason for suppressing it. Nor would it have been very acceptable to either side at a much later date even than that at which it was actually published, when the great struggle between the established church and the nonconformists was renewed with more earnestness than ever in the next century. Any chance that such an exhortation has of being listened to is only when men are beginning to think of a contest; and it has not much chance then. So long as the state of things is or seems to be tolerably tranquil, the dominant side rejects all such counsel as uncalled for and almost treacherous; and when the storm has fairly begun it soon drowns or makes men deaf to all sounds but its own. At no time indeed is such advice as Bacon here gives calculated to produce immediately much of a popular impression; it

* *He who speaks to* an incompetent auditor, does not dis*course, but utters* calumnies.

may after a long while work itself into the general mind; but at first it finds only an individual here and there disposed to receive it, and they are those by whom it is least needed. It was addressed without effect to the inflamed and angry tempers of the two parties on the eve of the civil war; after about another half-century it appears that the excellent Archbishop Sancroft collated and corrected both the Advertisement and the Considerations with great care, probably with the view of republishing them in aid of his favourite scheme of a comprehension of the Dissenters. They were first printed as we now have them from the copies left by him in Blackburne's edition of Bacon's works, in 4 vols. folio, 1730.

The discourse entitled "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England" is longer and still more elaborate than the "Advertisement;" but it consists in part of a repetition of some things in that earlier paper, and, from going more into a detailed examination of the then existing circumstances of the Church, is not throughout of so much interest for all times and seasons. It is addressed, as already mentioned, to King James, and commences thus:—

The unity of your Church, excellent Sovereign, is a thing no less precious than the union of your kingdoms; being both works wherein your happiness may contend with your worthiness. Having therefore presumed, not without your Majesty's gracious acceptation, to say somewhat on the one, I am the more encouraged not to be silent on the other: the rather because it is an argument that I have travelled in before. But Solomon commendeth a word spoken in season; and as our Saviour, speaking of the discerning of seasons, saith, "When you see a cloud rising in the west, you say it will be a shower:" So your Majesty's rising to this monarchy in the west parts of the world, doth promise a sweet and fruitful shower of many blessings upon this Church and commonwealth; a shower of that influence as the very first dews and drops thereof have already laid the storms and winds throughout Christendom; reducing the very *face of Europe to a* more peaceable and amiable countenance. *But to the purpose.*

It is very true, that these ecclesiastical matters are things

not properly appertaining to my profession; which I was not so inconsiderate but to object to myself; but finding that it is many times seen that a man that standeth off, and somewhat removed from a plot of ground, doth better survey it and discover it than those which are upon it, I thought it not impossible but that I, as a looker-on, might cast mine eyes upon some things which the actors themselves, especially some being interested, some led and addicted, some declared and engaged, did not or would not see. And knowing, in my conscience, whereto God beareth witness, that the things which I shall speak, spring out of no vein of popularity, ostentation, desire of novelty, partiality to either side, disposition to intermeddle, or any the like leaven; I may conceive hope, that what I want in depth of judgment may be countervailed in simplicity and sincerity of affection. But of all things this did most animate me; that I found in these opinions of mine, which I have long held and embraced, as may appear by that which I have many years since written of them, according to the proportion nevertheless of my weakness, a consent and conformity with that which your Majesty hath published of your own most Christian, most wise, and moderate sense, in these causes; wherein you have well expressed to the world, that there is infused in your sacred breast, from God, that high principle and position of government,—That you ever hold the whole more dear than any part.

An eulogium upon James follows, in part the same with that afterwards inserted in the beginning of the *Advancement of Learning;* and then, before entering upon the special matters in dispute, two objections are taken up which directly confront and oppose themselves to reformation; the first, that it is against good policy to innovate anything in church matters; the other, that all reformation must be after one platform, or plan. Here is part of what is advanced touching the first:—

For the first of these, it is excellently said by the prophet, "State super vias antiquas, et videte, quænam sit via recta et vera, et ambulate in eâ."* So as he doth not say, "State super vias antiquas et ambulate in eis."† For it is true, that with all *wise* and moderate persons, custom and usage obtaineth that re-

* *Stand fast in the old ways, and see what is righteous and good, and walk in that.*

† *Stand fast in the old ways, and walk in them.*

reference as it is sufficient matter to move them to make a stand, and to discover, and take a view; but it is no warrant to guide and conduct them; a just ground, I say, it is of deliberation, but not of direction. But on the other side, who knoweth not that time is truly compared to a stream that carrieth down fresh and pure waters into that salt sea of corruption which environeth all human actions. And therefore if man shall not by his industry, virtue, and policy, as it were with an oar, row against the stream and inclination of time; all institutions and ordinances, be they never so pure, will corrupt and degenerate. But not to handle this matter common-place like, I would only ask, why the civil state should be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws, made every third or fourth year in parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief; and contrariwise the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration now for these five-and-forty years and more? If any man shall object, that if the like intermission had been used in civil causes also, the error had not been great: surely the wisdom of the kingdom hath been otherwise in experience for three hundred years' space at least. But if it be said to me, that there is a difference between civil causes and ecclesiastical, they may as well tell me that churches and chapels need no reparations, though castles and houses do: whereas commonly, to speak truth, dilapidations of the inward and spiritual edifications of the Church of God are in all times as great as the outward and material. Sure I am that the very word and style of reformation used by our Saviour, "Ab initio non fuit sic,"* was applied to church matters, and those of the highest nature, concerning the law moral. . . . .

There remaineth yet an objection, rather of suspicion than of reason; and yet such as I think maketh a great impression in the minds of very wise and well affected persons, which is, that if way be given to mutation, though it be in taking away abuses, yet it may so acquaint men with sweetness of change as it will undermine the stability even of that which is sound and good. This surely had been a good and true allegation in the ancient contentions and divisions between the people and the senate of Rome; where things were carried at the appetites of multitudes, which can never keep within the compass of any moderation: but, these things being with us to have an orderly passage, under a king who hath a royal

* *It hath not been so from the beginning.*

power and approved judgment, and knoweth as well the measure of things as the nature of them; it is surely a needless fear. For they need not doubt but your Majesty, with the advice of your council, will discern what things are intermingled like the tares amongst the wheat, which have their roots so enwrapped and entangled, as the one cannot be pulled up without endangering the other; and what are unmingled but as the chaff and the corn, which need but a fan to sift and sever them. So much therefore for the first point, of no reformation to be admitted at all.

In regard to the second point, that there should be but one form of discipline in all churches, Bacon admits that it is a matter about which volumes have been compiled, and that cannot therefore be fully argued in brief space; but, he adds, "I, for my part, do confess, that in revolving the Scriptures I could never find any such thing; but that God had left the like liberty to the Church government as he had done to the civil government; to be varied according to time, and place, and accidents, which nevertheless his high and divine providence doth order and dispose." He then proceeds to the particular questions of controversy, or rather of reformation; and considers, in succession, the Government of Bishops; the Liturgy, Ceremonies, and Subscription; the demand for a Preaching Ministry; the alleged abuse of Excommunication; Non-Residents, and Pluralities; the provision to be made for sufficient Maintenance of the Clergy. Upon all these subjects the inclination of his opinion is, as in the former paper, for a middle course, as the most likely to prove generally satisfying and comprehensive, and for a sacrifice of mere forms and other non-essentials to conscientious scruples. Yet he is far from approving of all the notions and demands of the opponents of the established system. It will be sufficient that we give what he says on a Preaching Ministry:—

To speak of a learned ministry: it is true that the worthiness *of the pastors* and ministers is of all other points of religion *the most summary; I* do not say the greatest, but the most *effectual towards the rest*: but herein, to my understanding,

The old and the new, the wrong and the right way of proceeding are thus stated in the 19th aphorism:

There are and can be but two ways of investigating and discovering truth. The one from sense and particulars flies to the most general axioms, and from those principles and their never questioned truth judges of and derives intermediate axioms; and this is the way in use. The other raises axioms from sense and particulars, by ascending continuously and step by step, so that the most general axioms are arrived at in the last stage; which is the true way, but untried.

When the intellect is left to itself it takes the first way, after the order observed in logic. A man of a sober, patient, and grave disposition may, even with his understanding left to itself (especially if it be not impeded by the received doctrines) sometimes try the other way; but he will not advance far in it. The difference between the two methods, it is then pointed out in the 22nd aphorism, lies wholly in the way in which the mind ascends from the senses and from particulars to general truths. They both begin with the former and end with the latter; but in the one experiments and particulars are only cursorily glanced at, in the other they are considered carefully and after a certain plan; the one sets out with the establishment or assumption of a number of abstract and useless general principles; the other rises by degrees to those which are in reality the best known to nature. There is no small difference between the *Idola*, or false images, of the human mind, and the ideas of the divine mind; that is, between certain vain opinions, and the true signatures and impressions made upon created things, as really discovered. The axioms in common use, it is remarked in the 25th aphorism, were all derived from a very scanty experience wholly gathered by the unassisted hand,* and from a small number of particular

* But we are not sure that this is what Bacon means by "ex tenui et manipulari experientia," literally, from an experience scanty and held in the hand. Mr. Wood's translation is, "from a *scanty* handful, as it were, of experience;" Mr. *Glassford's*, "from a slender and manipular experience."

quarter of an hour or better, and in the whole some two hours; and so the exercise being begun and concluded with prayer, and the president giving a text for the next meeting, the assembly was dissolved. And this was, as I take it, a fortnight's exercise: which, in my opinion, was the best way to frame and train up preachers to handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, that hath been practised. For we see orators have their declamations, lawyers have their moots, logicians their sophisms, and every practice of science hath an exercise of erudition and initiation before men come to the life; only preaching, which is the worthiest, and wherein it is most danger to do amiss, wanteth an introduction, and is ventured and rushed upon at the first. But unto this exercise of the prophecy I would wish these two additions: the one, that after this exercise, which is in some sort public, there were immediately a private meeting of the same ministers, where they might brotherly admonish the one the other, and especially the elder sort the younger, of anything that had passed in the exercise, in matter or manner, unsound and uncomely: and in a word, might mutually use such advice, instruction, comfort, or encouragement, as occasion might minister; for public reprehension were to be debarred. The other addition that I mean is, that the same exercise were used in the universities for young divines before they presumed to preach, as well as in the country, for ministers. For they have in some colleges an exercise called a common-place, which can in no degree be so profitable, being but the speech of one man at one time. And if it be feared that it may be occasion to whet men's speeches for controversies, it is easily remedied, by some strict prohibition, that matters of controversy tending any way to the violating or disquieting the peace of the Church, be not handled or entered into; which prohibition, in regard there is ever to be a grave person president or moderator, cannot be frustrated. The second consideration is, whether it were not convenient there should be a more exact probation and examination of ministers; namely, that the bishops do not ordain alone, but by advice; and then that ancient holy order of the Church might be revived; by the which the bishop did ordain ministers but at four set times of the year; which were "Quatuor tempora;" which are now called Ember-weeks; it being thought fit to accompany so high an action with general fasting and prayer, and sermons and all holy exercises; and *the names likewise of* those that were to be ordained, were pub*lished some days before* their ordination; to the end exceptions *might be taken, if just* cause were. The third consideration is,

t if the case of the Church of England be, that were a com-
tation taken of all the parochian churches, allowing the union
such as were too small and adjacent, and again a computa-
n to be taken of the persons who were worthy to be pastors;
l upon the said account if it fall out that there are many
re churches than pastors, then of necessity recourse must be
l to one of these remedies; either that pluralities must be
owed, especially if you can by permutation make the bene-
es more compatible; or that there be allowed preachers to
ve a more general charge, to supply and serve by turn
rishes unfurnished: for that some churches should be pro-
ded of pastors able to teach, and others wholly destitute,
emeth to me to be against the communion of saints and
ristians, and against the practice of the primitive Church.

There is an unfinished Dialogue of Bacon's, entitled "An Advertisement touching an Holy War, written in e year 1622," which is partly of a theological cha-
cter; but it may be said to relate more directly to reign politics, and we shall therefore reserve it till we me to his political writings, among which it has been mmonly reckoned.

His remaining theological compositions are only a few ort pieces. The first is his "Confession of Faith," st published in a quarto pamphlet of twelve pages, in 41; then in the *Remains*, 1648; then by Rawley, in e *Resuscitatio*, 1657. Of its authenticity, therefore, ere can be no doubt. It exists also in various manu-ripts in the British Museum: one copy (Birch MS. 263) Mr. Montagu conceives to be in Bacon's own and-writing. In the *Remains* the Confession is stated have been written by him about the time when he was olicitor-General (A.D. 1607-1612). It is admitted to a perfectly orthodox exposition of the leading doc-ines of the Christian faith, as held by the Church of ngland; and it has all Bacon's usual luminousness and rce of expression. The following are perhaps its most oticeable particulars:—He declares his belief, that, after s creation in the divine image, "Man made a total efection from God, presuming to imagine that the com-andments and *prohibitions* of God were not the rules of *od and evil, but that good* and evil had their own prin-*les and beginnings*, and lusted after the knowledge o

those imagined beginnings; to the end to depend no more upon God's will revealed, but upon himself and his own light as a God; than the which there could not be a sin more opposite to the whole law of God." Upon the subject of the Incarnation his statement is, "that the Word did not only take flesh, or was joined to flesh, but was made flesh, though without confusion of substance or nature; so as the Eternal Son of God and the ever-blessed Son of Mary was one person; so one, as the blessed Virgin may be truly and catholicly called Deipara, the Mother of God; so one, as there is no unity in universal nature, not that of the soul and body of man, so perfect." Another article is, "That the Church hath no power over the Scriptures to teach or command any thing contrary to the written word, but is the ark wherein the tables of the first Testament were kept and preserved; that is to say, the Church hath only the custody and delivery over of the Scriptures committed unto the same; together with the interpretation of them, but such only as is conceived from themselves." This is a very distinct and fair statement of the right of interpretation as claimed by the Church of England, and of the difference upon that point between the English Church and the Church of Rome, which latter asserts the right of interpreting absolutely and without any restriction, from tradition or by mere authority as well as from lights furnished by the Scriptures themselves. The following are the concluding articles:—

That there is also an holy succession in the prophets of the New Testament and Fathers of the Church, from the time of the apostles and disciples which saw our Saviour in the flesh, unto the consummation of the work of the ministry; which persons are called from God by gift, or inward anointing; and the vocation of God followed by an outward calling and ordination of the Church.

I believe that the souls of such as die in the Lord are blessed, and rest from their labours, and enjoy the sight of God, yet so, as they are in expectation of a farther revelation of their glory in the last day. At which time all flesh of man shall arise and *be changed, and* shall appear and receive from Jesus Christ *eternal judgment;* and the glory of the saints shall then be full; *and the kingdom* shall be given up to God the father: from

[illegible] three all things shall continue for ever in that being and state, which then they shall receive. So as there are three times, if times they may be called, or part of eternity. The first, the time before beginnings, when the Godhead was only, without the being of any creature: the second, the time of the mystery, which continueth from the creation to the dissolution of the world: and the third, the time of the revelation of the sons of God; which time is the last, and is everlasting without change.

The next of these pieces that falls to be noticed is entitled "The Characters of a Believing Christian, in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions." It is said to have been first published by itself in 1645; it is included in the collection of *Remains* published in 1648; a collated copy is stated to have been found among the papers of Archbishop Sancroft; but it does not appear in the *Resuscitatio*; it is nowhere noticed either by Rawley or Tenison; and no manuscript of it is known to exist. In these circumstances its authenticity has been doubted. We do not see any thing either in the style or in the spirit and intention of the paper which should make it unlikely to have been written by Bacon.* He has

* But if any reader would see all the evidence stated at full or more than full length, he may resort to Mr. Montagu's Preface to the Seventh Volume of his edition of Bacon's Works, from p. xxvi. to p. xl. inclusive. This is altogether one of the most remarkable of Mr. Montagu's Prefaces, perhaps the most remarkable of them all. To the usual inundation and tumult of digressive matter, all but swamping the material or pertinent facts, is in this instance added the peculiarity of a sudden termination of the disquisition, without explanation or apology, after only the first third part of the proposed ground has been gone over: we have the Theological Tracts, designated Section First, or at least four of the eight, described and discussed with the most diffuse minuteness of detail, the last four merely noticed all in half a page and then the Miscellaneous pieces, and the Judicial Charges and Tracts, forming the Second and Third Divisions, quietly omitted, as if some leaves were torn out of the volume. As a typographical curiosity, too, this Preface is probably without its match in modern literature. Nearly the whole of *the seventeen* volumes of this standard edition of *the Works of Bacon* appear to have been printed from unread *proofs, but throughout this* Preface the compositor has exerte

elsewhere distinctly avowed his opinion that reason faith are not only different, but in a certain sense opp the one to the other. A remarkable passage in the ginning of the Ninth Book of the *De Augmentis Sci arum*, might almost seem to have been written for a troduction to these Paradoxes :—" *Prærogativa Dei t hominem complectitur*, &c.," that is, "The prerog of God comprehends the whole man, and stretches our reason not less than over our will ; so that man mus nounce himself, and draw near to God, in his univ being. Wherefore, as we are bound to obey the d law, although our will struggle against it, in like ma we must believe the word of God even when it shock reason. For if we believe only such things as are ag able to our reason, we assent to the matter, not t author ; which is no more than what we are wont t even to a suspected witness . . . . . By how much divine mystery is the more revolting and incredibl

himself with no common skill and success to turn nearly third or fourth sentence into a puzzle. Let the reader f stance try what he can make of the following:—[This tri thus noticed by Archbishop Tenison in the "Baconiana." Confession of Faith," written by him in English, and t into Latin by Doctor Rawley ; upon which there was correspondence between Dr. Maynwaring and Dr. Rawl the archbishop, in describing the letters to Lord Bacon, "The Second is, a letter from Dr. Maynwaring to Dr. Ra concerning his lordship's 'Confession of Faith.']—Or of beginning of one of the notes:—[Blackburn, in the fourt lume of his edition of Bacon, A.D. 1730, p. 438, says, "A bishop Sancroft has reflected some credit on them by a ca review, having in very many instances corrected and pre them for the press : among the other unquestioned writin his lordship, I annex some of the passages from Black where Archbishop Sancroft is mentioned.] The public of this standard edition began, a little to the surprise o subscribers, with the *Second* volume and when the Firs lowed it appeared with cancels for no fewer than twenty- pages in different parts of its predecessor ; but after this str *illustration it seems* to have been thought that the reader r *as well be left to make* the necessary corrections in the suc *ing volumes for* himself.

ch the more honour do we render to God in believ-
; it, and so much the nobler is the victory of our
th. . . . . And indeed, if we will truly consider it,
is a higher use of the mind to believe than to know,
we can know in this state of existence. For in know-
ng we are acted upon by sense, which is reflected from
aterial objects; but in believing, by spirit, which is the
worthier agent. It is otherwise in the state of glory;
for then faith shall cease, and we shall know even as we
are known."* Read with this explanation, the Paradoxes
are perfectly consistent with every thing else that Bacon
has written; they contain no impiety or infidelity, but
are in fact only a statement of the manner in which the
subject *must* have presented itself to him when he brought
his ingenious, refluing, antithetical mind to bear upon it.
There are thirty-four of them in all; but the following
may suffice for a sample:—

1. A Christian is one that believes things his reason cannot comprehend; he hopes for things which neither he nor any man alive ever saw: he labours for that which he knoweth he shall never obtain; yet in the issue, his belief appears not to be false; his hope makes him not ashamed; his labour is not in vain.

6. He praises God for his justice, and yet fears him for his mercy. He is so ashamed as that he dares not open his mouth before God; and yet he comes with boldness to God, and asks him any thing he needs. He is so humble as to acknowledge himself to deserve nothing but evil; and yet believes that God means him all good. He is one that fears always, yet is as bold as a lion. He is often sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; many times complaining, yet always giving of thanks. He is most lowly-minded, yet the greatest aspirer; most contented, yet ever craving.

24. He is often tossed and shaken, yet is as Mount Sion he is a serpent and a dove; a lamb and a lion; a reed and cedar. He is sometimes so troubled, that he thinks nothing be true in religion; yet if he did think so, he could not at be troubled. He thinks sometimes that God hath no mercy him, yet resolves to die in the pursuit of it. He believes,

* This is an *extension of* a passage near the end of the S *Book of the Advancement* of Learning.

Abraham, against hope, and though he cannot answer God's logic, yet, with the woman of Canaan, he hopes to prevail with the rhetoric of importunity.

33. His death makes not an end of him. His soul which was put into his body, is not to be perfected without his body; yet his soul is more happy when it is separated from his body, than when it was joined unto it: And his body, though torn in pieces, burnt to ashes, ground to powder, turned to rottenness, shall be no loser.

34. His advocate, his surety shall be his judge; his mortal part shall become immortal; and what was sown in corruption and defilement shall be raised in incorruption and glory; and a finite creature shall possess an infinite happiness. Glory be to God.

Of Bacon's firm belief not only in the general truth of Christianity, but in all its most mysterious doctrines as commonly received, no doubt can be entertained by any mind that has come without prejudice to the perusal of his writings. He has indeed been charged in modern times by some controversialists of the ultra-Roman party with employing so many professions of faith and piety merely to mask his real convictions from the vulgar eye, while he has at the same time, it is pretended, in other passages either allowed the truth to escape him inadvertently, or purposely taken care to make himself sufficiently intelligible to the more discerning reader. But this is the mere virulence and lunacy of party hatred. The whole strain of what Bacon has written, it may be safely affirmed, without the exception of a single sentence, testifies to his mind being made up in favour of the truth of Revelation. And that not from mere education, or use and wont, but from reflection and examination for himself. He was evidently a great reader of theological works; he displays a familiar acquaintance with the learning both of ecclesiastical history and of polemics, as well as with the Scriptures; and at the same time all his expositions and arguments have the unmistakeable air of having mingled with and taken their colour from his own mind. Besides, it is to misconceive Bacon's character *both intellectual* and moral, to suppose him to have been *a person likely, in* the age in which he lived, to diverge

e crowd into doubt or infidelity. He was as
o have tried to raise a rebellion in the land on
question of practical politics. And his genius was
natical and sanguine, not at all sceptical; what it
ghted in was the building up and embellishing of
ems of opinion; it would have been far more apt in
age to employ itself in inventing new supports for such
system as Christianity—so stimulating to both the
son and the imagination—than in searching with cold
taphysical subtlety for insufficiency or weakness in
se upon which men commonly relied.

Among his theological works are inserted four Prayers,
longest of which was first published in the *Remains*
348), and is there entitled "A Prayer made and used
the late Lord Chancellor." But another first printed
the Second Part of the *Resuscitatio* (1661), and there
itled "A Prayer or Psalm made by my Lord Bacon,
ancellor of England," is far more interesting, both as
composition and from the circumstances in which it
pears to have been written. Mr. Montagu has hinted
uspicion of its possible non-authenticity, founded on
loubt whether the Second Part of the *Resuscitatio*,
hough published in the name and during the life of
wley, nevertheless may not contain some matter of
ich Bacon was not the author and which may have
en introduced by the bookseller without the sanction
its professed editor. But fortunately there exists in
e British Museum (Ayscough MS. 4263), a copy of
is Prayer in the handwriting of Rawley's amanuensis,
ing most probably the copy from which it was printed
the *Resuscitatio*. This is more satisfactory than the
ertion in No. 267 of the Tatler, understood to be by
ddison, that the Prayer, with the title we have given,
was found amongst his lordship's papers, written with
s own hand:" the heading in question is certainly not
at Bacon himself would naturally have prefixed to it.
he Prayer must have been composed, as will be per-
ived, after he had ceased to be Chancellor, or at least
er the *storm before which* he fell had burst upon him.
is a composition of eminent beauty, combining elev

tion with pathos perhaps in as high a degree as any thing that was ever written:—

Most gracious Lord God, my merciful Father, from my youth up, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter. Thou, O Lord, soundest and searchest the depths and secrets of all hearts: thou acknowledgest the upright of heart: thou judgest the hypocrite: thou ponderest men's thoughts and doings as in a balance: thou measurest their intentions as with a line: vanity and crooked ways cannot be hid from thee.

Remember, O Lord, how thy servant hath walked before thee: remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy assemblies: I have mourned for the divisions of thy Church: I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine which thy right hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee, that it might have the first and the latter rain; and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods. The state and bread of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes: I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart: I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men. If any have been my enemies, I thought not of them; neither hath the sun almost set upon my displeasure; but I have been as a dove, free from superfluity of maliciousness. Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more. I have sought thee in courts,* fields, and gardens; but I have found thee in thy temples.

Thousands have been my sins, and ten thousands my transgressions: but my sanctifications have remained with me, and my heart, through thy grace, hath been an unquenched coal upon thine altar. O Lord, my strength, I have since my youth met with thee in all my ways; by thy fatherly compassions, by thy comfortable chastisements, and by thy most visible providence. As thy favours have increased upon me, so have thy corrections; so as thou hast been always near me, O Lord; and ever as my worldly blessings were exalted, so secret darts from thee have pierced me; and when I have ascended before men, I have descended in humiliation before thee. And now, when I thought most of peace and honour, thy hand is heavy upon me, and hath humbled me according to thy former loving-

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* *The common copies,* and also the MS., have "the courts;" *which, however, is evidently* inadmissible.

ess; keeping me still in thy fatherly school, not as a ard, but as a child. Just are thy judgments upon me for sins, which are more in number than the sands of the sea, t have no proportion to thy mercies. For what are the sands the sea to the sea, earth, heavens? And all these are nothing thy mercies.* Besides my innumerable sins, I confess fore thee, that I am debtor to thee for the gracious talent of y gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, r put it, as I ought, to exchangers, where it might have made st profit, but misspent it in things for which I was least fit: so may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of y pilgrimage. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for my Saour's sake, and receive me into thy bosom, or guide me in y ways.

Two other short Prayers were first printed in the *Baniana* (1679). One is there stated to have been called y Bacon himself "The Student's Prayer;" it is a transtion from one of the paragraphs of the Preface published with the *Novum Organum* in 1620:—

To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we pour rth most humble and hearty supplications; that he remembering the calamities of mankind, and the pilgrimage of this ur life, in which we wear out days few and evil, would please open to us new refreshments out of the fountains of his goodess, for alleviating of our miseries. This also we humbly and arnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are ivine; neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, nd the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulty, or intellectual night, may arise in our minds towards divine ysteries. But rather, that by our mind thoroughly cleansed nd purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and per-

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* In Mr. Montagu's and all the common editions the reading s "For what are the sands of the sea, earth, heavens, and all hese are nothing to thy mercies." For this nonsense the copy n the Tatler substitutes "for what are the sands of the sea? Earth, heavens, and all these are nothing to thy mercies." The MS. in the Museum has been injured, and is partially obliterated; but the reading *given in* the text (we believe for the first *ime), though some of the* writing has become very faint, may *ill be detected.*

fectly given up to the divine oracles, there may be given unto faith the things that are faith's. Amen.

The other is stated to have been entitled by Bacon "The Writer's Prayer:" it is translated from the concluding paragraph of the exposition of the entire plan of the *Instauratio Magna* (Distributio Operis) which was also prefixed to the *Novum Organum* on its first publication:—

Thou, O Father, who gavest the visible light as the first-born of thy creatures, and didst pour into man the intellectual light as the top and consummation of thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work, which coming from thy goodness, returneth to thy glory. Thou, after thou hadst reviewed the works which thy hands had made, beheldest that every thing was very good, and thou didst rest with complacency in them. But man, reflecting on the works which he had made, saw that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and could by no means acquiesce in them. Wherefore, if we labour in thy works with the sweat of our brows, thou wilt make us partakers of thy vision and thy sabbath. We humbly beg that this mind may be stedfastly in us; and that thou, by our hands, and also by the hands of others, on whom thou shalt bestow the same spirit, wilt please to convey a largess of new alms to thy family of mankind. These things we commend to thy everlasting love, by our Jesus, thy Christ, God with us. Amen.

Lastly, there is "The Translation of Certain Psalms into English Verse," first published by Bacon himself in a 4to. pamphlet, in 1628, and reprinted in the Second Part of the *Resuscitatio* (1661). In a Dedication to his "Very good friend, Mr. George Herbert (the well-known sacred poet)," Bacon describes these performances as the poor exercise of his sickness, meaning, according to Tenison, a sickness which he had had in this year 1625. The Psalms which he versifies are the First, the Twelfth, the Ninetieth, the Hundred and Fourth, the Hundred and Twenty-sixth, the Hundred and Thirty-seventh, *and the Hundred* and Forty-ninth. The translation, *or paraphrase, which* he produces of the First, will be a *sufficient specimen*:—

Who never gave to wicked reed *
A yielding and attentive ear;
Who never sinners' paths did tread,
Nor sat him down in scorner's chair;
But maketh it his whole delight
On law of God to meditate;
And therein spendeth day and night:
That man is in a happy state.

He shall be like the fruitful tree
Planted along a running spring,
Which, in due season, constantly
A goodly yield of fruit doth bring:
Whose leaves continue always green,
And are no prey to winter's pow'r:
So shall that man not once be seen
Surprised with an evil hour.

With wicked men it is not so,
Their lot is of another kind:
All as the chaff, which to and fro
Is toss'd at mercy of the wind.
And when he shall in judgment plead,
A casting sentence bide he must:
So shall he not lift up his head
In the assembly of the just.

For why? the Lord hath special eye
To be the godly's stay at call:
And hath given over, righteously,
The wicked man to take his fall.

ıttempt, it will be perceived, is not very success- it is one in which Milton has failed, as well as and it may therefore be concluded that there is ıg in this old Hebrew poetry not very pliable to nmels of English metre, at least of the more or artificial kind. Perhaps what the genius of chiefly wanted for such a task was more of natural eness and spontaneous fervour; and there Bacon deficient. But the latter, with all his wonderful ce and *promptitude of* fancy, and also his lofti-

* Counsel.

ness and grandeur of conception, was essentially a rhetorician, not a poet. He wanted sensibility in all its forms. If he was a deep thinker, of depth of feeling he certainly had no capacity. There is no passion in anything he has written, any more than there was ever anything high-spirited in his conduct. His verses might have had the coloured light of poetry, but they would have had none of its fire. And, perhaps, in other respects also his nature, both moral and intellectual, wanted the unity and completeness, the harmonious combination of opposite endowments, necessary for "the vision and the faculty divine" which makes a great poet.

SECTION V.

THE HISTORICAL WORKS.

himself in his Latin Letter to Father Fulten towards the close of his life, classed togeral and his Historical works; and they come der the same division. They are distinguished general character from his other writings: hilosophical or Scientific works on the one his Letters, and other remains chiefly re- e events of his own life or of his own time, . Under these three heads all his writings veniently enough arranged. His Moral and works are full of narrative or historical pas- Historical works of moral disquisition and re- istory, in truth, is only ethical and economical in a narrative form, the actual exemplification iples and precepts of moral wisdom.

principal and indeed only considerable histo- s his 'History of the Reign of King Henry ,' first published, in a folio volume, in 1622. ys Tenison, "was the first book which he fter his retirement from an active life." We y had occasion to quote his Letter to the e 21st of April, 1621, announcing his inten- ing it.

er Letter to the King, dated the 8th of Oc- ems to speak of it as already finished: "I he says, "have presumed to entreat your ook over the book, and correct it, or at least hat you would have amended; but, since you *to send for the* book, I will hope for it." It *have seen from* the Letter of Sir Thomas *en perused by* his majesty in manuscript

before the 7th of January of the following year. The author presents printed copies of his work to the king and Buckingham in Letters dated from Gorhambury the 20th of March, 1622.* In a Letter to Meautys, dated the 21st, he expressly speaks of it as having been three months in the king's hands. When it appeared in print, it was introduced by a short Dedication, without date, to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles I.). The first translation of it appears to have been that into French, which was published in 8vo. at Paris in 1627. The Latin version was first published at London in 1638, in folio, in the collection of pieces, entitled 'Francisci Baconi, Baronis, &c., Moralium et Civilium Tomus—ab ipso honoratissimo auctore, praeterquam in paucis, Latinitate donatus; Cura et fide Guilielmi Rawley, &c.' to which we have already had occasion to refer. This title-page would seem to entitle us to conclude that the History of Henry the Seventh had been turned into Latin by Bacon himself; since, from its extent, it certainly cannot well come under the description of the few things in the volume excepted from the general statement that he had been his own translator. Rawley also, in his Life of Bacon, expressly mentions the translation into Latin of this History as among "the fruits and productions of his last five years." And in the Dedication of the last edition of the Essays to the Duke of Buckingham, as we have seen, Bacon himself speaks of

* Mr. Montagu, in his bibliographical Preface to the History (*Works*, vol. iii.), throws the whole statement into confusion by making it appear as if the letter of October, 1621, had been writen *subsequently* to those of March, 1622 (or 1621, according to the then mode of reckoning). Throughout his edition, as far as we have observed, Mr. Montagu's attention is never by any chance once awakened to the circumstance that in Bacon's time the year did not end till the 24th of March; and the quantity of perplexity, contradiction, and unintelligibility occasioned in every part of his labours by this single inadvertency is past all describing. In the present instance, the substance of the Letters ought to have prevented their misarrangement.

having now also translated his History into Latin. In the first instance, however, as would appear from his Letter to Mr. Toby Matthew, quoted in a preceding section, he had contemplated getting the History as well as the Essays translated by another hand.

One biographer of Bacon after another has spoken of the History of Henry the Seventh as a performance in which Bacon's ability and eloquence almost deserted him, or at least as a work markedly and indisputably inferior to everything else of any considerable pretension that he has left us. No race of writers so repeat and parrot one another as the common tribe of biographers—so take both facts and opinions upon trust. And, in the case especially of a voluminous writer, it is from his biographers and not from himself that the popular notion of him is almost exclusively derived. The vulgar judgment upon Bacon's Henry the Seventh, we may with perfect safety affirm, can only have come out of the work not having been read by the generality of those who have written about it. No probable dulness or insensibility in the critic could otherwise have either originated or taken up so false a notion. It is simply a fact, which will not bear disputing, that this History of Bacon's is, in the first place, one of the most characteristic of his works, and one which he has evidently executed most *con amore* and with his whole heart and soul in what he was about; and, secondly, that it is one of the most animated, graphic, and altogether felicitous historical pieces in the language. The list of our historical works of eminent merit, indeed, is so short that it would not be much to ask, what else have we of the same kind that is better or so good; but we may observe that, when it first appeared, the best judges could find only one other work, Camden's Latin Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth, to compare with it; and nobody who knows the two will now admit that respectable but not brilliant performance to be even an example of the same kind of writing. If Bacon's Henry the Seventh had any worthy precursor it was Sir Thomas More's Richard *the Third, of* which it is in fact the continuation. *But that is* merely a fragment. And, after

or axioms. And as for the experience of which some had availed themselves—denominated chance when merely fallen in with, experiment when sought out—it had been nothing but a loose broom (*scopae dissolutae*), so to speak, and a mere groping such as men take to in the night, trying everything if perchance they may discover the right road; whereas it would be much better and wiser either to wait for day, or to kindle a light and then to proceed on their way. The true order of experience first kindles a light, and then by that light shows the way, beginning with an orderly and well digested, not a preposterous or erratic course of experimenting, and thence educing axioms, and again from the established axioms new experiments, seeing that not even the divine word operated upon the mass of things without order.

Another source of mischief had been the opinion, or inveterate, though empty and pernicious, imagination, that the dignity of the human mind is lowered by its being long and much engaged with experiments and particular facts, which are subjected to the senses and confined to matter. And then follow the 84th and 85th Aphorisms, which Mr. Glassford thus translates:—

84. Again, men have been stayed and almost enchanted from a progress in knowledge by a reverence of antiquity, and the authority of men who are of great account in philosophy, and in consequent consent with them. And of consent we have spoken above.

But for antiquity, the opinion which men cherish concerning it is altogether negligent, and scarcely congruous even to the name. For the old age and grandevity of the world are to be truly counted as antiquity; which are properly to be ascribed to our times, not to the younger age of the world, such as it was with the ancients. Since that age, in respect to us, indeed, is ancient * and greater, but in respect to the world itself was new and lesser. And, in reality, as we look for a greater acquaintance with human affairs, and a more mature judgment,† from an old than from a young man, on account of his experience,‡

* *Mr. Glassford* has "is, in repect to us, indeed, ancient."

† *Mr. Glassford* has "matureness of judgment."

‡ *Mr. Glassford* has "of experience."

and the variety and abundance of the things which he has seen, and heard, and considered, just so it is fit, also, that much greater things be expected from our age (if it knew its strength, and would endeavour and apply) than from the old times; as being a more advanced age of the world, and enlarged and accumulate with numberless experience and observations.

Neither is it to be accounted for nothing, that, through distant navigations and peregrinations (which in our times have become so frequent), very many things in nature have been laid open and discovered, by which new light may be cast upon philosophy. Nay, it would be disgraceful to men, if tracts of the material globes (that is, of countries, and seas, and stars) were in our times immeasurably disclosed and illustrated, but* the boundaries of the intellectual globe were confined within the discoveries and straits of the ancients.†

Then, as touching authorities, it is the greatest pusillanimity to defer infinitely to authors, and yet from Time, the author of these, and so of all authority, to withhold his due. For Truth is rightly said to be the daughter of Time, not of authority. Thus it is no wonder if these spells of antiquity, authority, and consent have so tied the faculties of men, that (like those maleficiate and bewitched) they may not hold converse with things themselves.

85. Nor is it only the admiration of antiquity, and authority, and agreement, which has constrained the industry of men to rest in what has been already discovered, but an admiration also of the works themselves which have already been furnished in abundance to mankind. For if any shall bring under his review the variety of things, and that most beautiful apparatus which by the mechanic arts has been collected and introduced for man's use and adornment, he will certainly incline coming over to an admiration rather of the wealth of humanity ‡ than to a sense of its poverty; not at all adverting, that the earliest observations of man, and works of nature (which are like the soul and first motive to all that variety), are neither many, nor drawn from any depth; all the rest belonging § only to men's perseverance, and the subtile and ordered motion of the hand or of

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* Mr. Glassford has "yet."

† Mr. Glassford has "of the old" (with what intended meaning we do not understand). The Latin (*veterum*) is quite clear.

‡ *Mr. Glassford has* "of human wealth."

§ *Pertinere.*—Mr. Glassford has "having relation."

men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the House of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel to the number of three thousand men, ill armed but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave permission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in; which the duke upon his approach to Lord Lovel's camp did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret; and his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed; the two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon. Which place upon view of their privilege in the King's Bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

Then follows the story of the first Pretender, Lambert Simnell:—

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which *we have are so* naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for *the nature of it, for* it hath fallen out often, but for the manner *and circumstance of it,* especially in the beginnings. Therefore *we shall* make our judgment upon the things themselves,

as they give light one to another, and as we can dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the House of York; which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did, nevertheless, not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad, whether by error or the cunning of malcontents, that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living: which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark: the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtle priest called Richard Simon, that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishopric, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterwards, for he had changed his intention in the manage, the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor *that it should come* into the mind of such an abject *fellow to enterprise so great* a matter; for high conceits do *sometimes come streaming* into the imaginations of bas

persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance: that this priest being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player either in gesture or fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth, that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, to be Duke of Clarence, but yet created him Earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side; and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts is, that it was the queen-dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen-dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands *and estate;* and this by a close council, without any legal pro*ceeding, upon far-fetched* pretences, that she had delivered her *two daughters out of sanctuary* to King Richard, contrary to promise. *Which proceeding* being even at that time taxed for

orous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very robable there was some greater matter against her, which the king upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the House of York, was slain in Stoke-field, the king opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, Duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such time as it was voiced, that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely, upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should show it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage plays and masks, to show it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the House of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the House of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore, *through this neglect*, upon the coming of Simon *with his pretended Plantagenet* into Ireland, all things were *prepared for revolt and sedition*, almost as if they had been se-

and plotted beforehand.—Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard, Earl of Kildare, and deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed, that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles, and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the House of York; partly out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George, Duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemity to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed king in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth; there being not a sword drawn in King Henry his quarrel.

Henry's first proceeding, for reasons which are somewhat mysterious, was the seclusion of the queen dowager, his mother-in-law, in the nunnery of Bermondsey:—

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first from a distressed suitor, and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had *endured* a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary *depriving of the crown.* She was also very happy, in that she *had by him fair issue;* and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his

easures to the very end. She was much affectionate to her n kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in e lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparage-ment to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood joined also the king's favourite, the Lord Hast-ings; who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes: but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the king's commandment buried with the king her husband, at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

A page or two farther on we are introduced to another female member of the House of York, destined to figure conspicuously in the sequel, the Lady Margaret of Burgundy:—

Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, by whom, having no children of her own, she did, with singular care and tenderness, intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband; which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This Princess, having the spirit of a man and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless, and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house, and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions *should aim and shoot*, insomuch as all the counsels *of his succeeding troubles* came chiefly out of that quiver. *And she bare such a mortal* hatred to the house of Lancaster

and personally to the King, as she was noways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece as the means of the King's ascent to the crown, and assurance therein.

The cause of the Pretender had been taken up in England, most probably with a view to ulterior objects of his own, by John Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister, a man of great wit and courage; two thousand Germans had come over under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experienced captain; and the rebels in these circumstances determined to leave Ireland, and to strike their great blow in England. "The King, in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their king; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it." And here is the narrative of the bloody issue as it was determined near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, on the 16th of June, 1487:—

The Earl, nothing dismayed, came forward that day unto a little village called Stoke and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The King next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champain. The Earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day than the manner of the fight. They say that the King divided his army into three battails, whereof the vant-guard only, well *strengthened with wings*, came to fight: that the fight was fierce *and obstinate and lasted* three hours before the victory inclined *either way, save that judgment* might be made by that the *King's vant-guard of itself* maintained fight against the whole

power of the enemies (the other two battails remaining out of action), what the success was like to be in the end—that Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side: neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but, being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them, insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains, that is, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton, all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field was, of the enemy's part, four thousand at the least, and of the King's part, one half his vant-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest, his tutor. For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded, and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon, but, being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen, so that, in a kind of "mattacina" of human fortune, he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more—the King loving to seal up his own dangers.

Passing over many other things, all brilliantly related, we will now proceed to the more famous story of the second Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, first heard of in 1492:—

At this time the King began again to be haunted with spirits, by the *magic and curious arts* of the Lady Margaret, who raised *up the ghost of Richard*, Duke of York, second son to King *Edward the Fourth, to* walk and vex the King. This was

finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel, better done and worn upon greater hands, being graced after with the wearing of a King of France and a King of Scotland, not of a Duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnell, there was not much in him more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth of whom we are now to speak was such a mercurial as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this, being one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was, in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered and related at the full—although the King's manner of showing things by pieces and by dark lights hath so muffled it, that it hath been left almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the King's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion that Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnell would draw, at one time or other, some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance, for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and Dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit Richard, Duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the King called him, *such a land-loper, as it* was extreme hard to hunt out his nest *and parents. Neither* again could any man, by company or *conversing with him,* be able to say or detect well what he was, *he did so flit from place to* place. Lastly, there was a circum-*ance, which is mentioned* by one that wrote in the same time,

ry likely to have made somewhat to the matter, which King Edward the Fourth was his godfather. Which, as ewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip an a house, and might make a man think that he might have in him some base blood of the house of York; so mat, though that were not, it might give the occasion to , in being called King Edward's godson, or, perhaps in King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts in his head. ter he had none, for ought that appears, as Lambert Sim- ad, until he came unto the Lady Margaret, who instructed

me, therefore, it came to pass: there was a townsman of any, that had borne office in that town, whose name was Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catharine de Faro, o business drew him to live for a time with his wife at don, in King Edward the Fourth's days. During which e had a son by her, and, being known in the Court, the ng, either out of a religious nobleness because he was a cou- ; or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to god-father to his child, and named him Peter. But after- rds, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was com- only called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Per- n. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when ey did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. ut yet he had been so much talked of by that name, as it uck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tour- ay. There he was placed in the house of a kinsman of his, alled John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down etween Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders for good time, living much in English company and having the nglish tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely outh, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Mar- aret into her presence. Who, viewing him well, and seeing at he had a face and personage that would bear a noble for- me, and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour, thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a Duke of York. She kept him y her a great while, but with extreme secrecy. The while she nstructed him by many Cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture, teaching him how he should keep state, nd yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she *informed him of all the* circumstances and particulars that *oncerned the person of* Richard, Duke of York, which he was

to act, describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the King and Queen, his pretended parents; and of his brother and sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the King's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape, she knew they were things, that a very few could control. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters, warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest, but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness, and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises, setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown if things went well, and a sure refuge to her Court if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland, for there had the like meteor strong influence before. The time of the apparition to be when the King should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew that whatsoever should come from her would be held suspected. And therefore if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe, for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal, with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time, with some privado *of her own,* to have an eye upon him, and there he was to *remain, and to expect her* further directions. In the meantime *she omitted not to prepare* things for his better welcome and *accepting, not only in the* kingdom of Ireland, but in the court

of France. He continued in Portugal about a year, and by that time the King of England called his Parliament, as hath been said, and declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the Duchess, to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive, at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made his confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the Duke of Clarence that had been there before. And after, that he was Richard the Third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth. But that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear, upon the Holy Evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the Duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained unto her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles, the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner. And imparting unto his friends in Ireland, for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed *presently into* France. When he was come *to the court of France, the* king received him with great *honour, saluted and styled* him by the name of the Duke of

York: lodged him and accommodated him in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more, and amongst the rest this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was, indeed, his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French king's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boloign, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was laboured to do, for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin, on his part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up underhand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the Duchess of Burgundy, pretending that, having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour, noways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The Duchess, on the other part, made it as new strange to see him, pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise, by the example of Lambert Simnell, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff, though, even in that, she said, she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported, with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance, receiving him as if he were risen from death to life, and inferring that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it, not as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver, but contrariwise, that it did show manifestly unto the world that he was some great matter, for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace, being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, wanting to himself, either in gracious or

princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself, insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be, and from a liar to a believer. The duchess, therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving the delicate title of the white rose of England, and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court, likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity, and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his Government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain and the peace with France were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore, they said, that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth with things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of the speakers; they being like running weeds that have no certain root, or like footings up and down impossible to be traced. But after awhile these ill humours drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons, *which were Sir William* Stanley, lord chamberlain of *the king's household, the* Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mount-

fort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly but two, Sir Robert Clifford and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent, indeed, from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of monies from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret, who, after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard, Duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king, on his part, was not asleep, but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but show fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected: but, for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two: the one to lay open the abuse, the other to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse there were but two ways: the first, to make it manifest to the world that the Duke of York was indeed murdered, the other to prove that, were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the Duke of York: Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard; John Dighton and Miles Forrest, his servants, the two butchers or tormentors, and the priest of the Tower that buried them. Of which four, Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out, to this effect: that King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused. Whereupon the king directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the King's

ce. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired
by night, attended by his two servants afore-named,
d chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at
, and sent these two villains to execute the murder.
nothered them in their bed, and, that done, called
ter to see their naked dead bodies, which they had
That they were buried under the stairs, and some
pon them. That when the report was made to
d, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel
, but took exception to the place of their burial,
se for them that were king's children. Whereupon,
it, by the king's warrant renewed, their bodies
d by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him
e which, by means of the priest's death soon after,
known. Thus much was then delivered abroad,
ct of those examinations; but the king, neverthe-
o use of them in any of his declarations, whereby,
those examinations left the business somewhat per-
l as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded
er-yard for other matters of treason. But John
o, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forth-
iberty, and was the principal means of divulging
. Therefore, this kind of proof being left so naked,
d the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of
this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and
ito Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and
eigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to
m, and some under other pretences, to learn, search,
r all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's
h, person, travels up and down, and in brief to
al as it were of his life and doings. He furnished
ployed men, liberally with money, to draw on and
lligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise
what they found, and, nevertheless, still go on.
one advertisement and discovery called up another,
l other new men, where the business did require it.
nployed in a more special nature and trust, to be
in the main countermine. These were directed to
emselves into the familiarity and confidence of the
rsons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what
ey had, and correspondents, either here in England
nd how far every one engaged, and what new ones
afterwards to try or board. And as this for the
for the actions themselves, to discover to the

bottom, as they could, the utmost of Perkin's and the
spirators, their intentions, hopes, and practices. These l
best-be-trust spies had some of them further instruction
practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Pe
by making remonstrance to them how weakly his enterprise
hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king
had to deal; and to reconcile them to the king with promi
pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the
to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert
ford, and to win him, if they could, being the man
knew most of their secrets, and who, being won away, w
most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner breal
knot.

There is a strange tradition that the king, being lost
wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had
intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers g
men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with
contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's
name, amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, accor
to the custom of those times. These espials plied their ch
so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive,
was likewise well informed of the particular correspon
conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were
vealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assi
to the king, and industrious and officious for his service.
king, therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence,
great satisfaction touching a number of particulars,
divulged and spread abroad the imposture and jugglin
Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances the
throughout the realm; not by proclamation, because th
were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or
less, but by court fames, which commonly print better
printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to
an ambassage unto Archduke Philip into Flanders, for
abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he emplc
Sir Edward Poynings and Sir William Warham, doctor of
canon law. The archduke was then young, and governec
his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience,
Dr. Warham spake in this manner:

"My lords, the king our master is very sorry that, Engl
and your country here of Flanders having been countec
man and wife for so long a time, now this country of
others should be the stage where a base counterfeit should
the part of a King of England; not only to his grace's dis

ishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign
s. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin
high offence by all laws, but to counterfeit the living
s of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifications, except
ould be that of a Mahomet, or an Antichrist, that coun-
it divine honour. The king hath too great an opinion of
sage council, to think that any of you is caught with this
e, though way may be given by you to the passion of some,
thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of
death of Duke Richard, which the king hath upon record,
in and infallible, because they may be thought to be in the
g's own power, let the thing testify for itself. Sense and
ason no power can command. Is it possible, trow you, that
ing Richard should damn his soul and foul his name with so
hominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you
hink that men of blood, that were his instruments, did turn to
ity in the midst of their execution? Whereas, in cruel and
avage beasts, and men also, the first draught of blood doth yet
make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know that
the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with an
halter about their neck; so that if they perform not they are
sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard
their own lives for sparing another's? Admit they should have
saved him, what should they have done with him? Turn him
into London streets, that the watchmen or any passenger that
should light upon him might carry him before a justice, and so
all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them
secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of care,
charge, and continual fear. But, my lords, I labour too much
in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good
friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle.
And because he is a great prince, if you have any good poet
here, he can help him with notes to write his life; and to parallel
him with Lambert Simnell, now the king's falconer. And
therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships, it is the strangest
thing in the world that the Lady Margaret, excuse us if we name
her, whose malice to the king is both causeless and endless,
should now, when she is old, at the time when other women give
over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters; being not
the births of nine or ten months but of many years. And
whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not
able to help themselves, she bringeth forth tall striplings, able,
soon after *their coming into the* world, to bid battle to might
kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We wou

to God that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The king's request unto the archduke and your lordships might be, that, according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the king may justly expect more from an ancient confederate, than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh this request unto you to deliver him up into his hands; pirates and impostors of this sort being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the law of nations."

Perkin afterwards obtained the countenance and assistance of King James the Fourth of Scotland, who gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman of his own, "and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue." In the winter of 1496-7, the Scottish King made an inroad into the northern counties of England, carrying his protégé along with him. Scarcely was this trouble over when an insurrection broke out in Cornwall against the levying of a subsidy which had been granted by the parliament:—

The Cornish being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardy in a barren country, and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tinners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments; and said it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier, of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who, by telling *his neighbours* commonly upon any occasion that the law was *on their side*, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man

immediately, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion never break the peace. He told the people, that tax-wars not to be granted, nor levied in this case; that wars of Scotland; for that the law had provided another way, by service of scavage, for those journeys; much less was all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to pull off the people. And therefore that it was good they should stand now like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt go and deliver the king a strong petition for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's screens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the king's service. The people upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them, with great gladness and cries of joy, accepted as their general: they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish *people, who, in effect,* led their leaders, had a mind *to be led into Kent, fancying* that the people there would

with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had showed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid, which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them, so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham, threatening either to bid battle to the king, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves there to find no less fear than wealth....

When therefore the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the king knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to despatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing, but wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts; the first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some cornets of horse and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; whereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the for-

the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that which is towards London. The third part of his battle likewise great and brave forces, he retained about him, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or continue the victory; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for this purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of them, specially at the first, upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult: as it useth to be with wealthy populous cities, especially those which for greatness and long quiet queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their palaces or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt against sort of people, with whom there was no composition or agreement, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be hasty together upon rapine and spoil. And although they heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and paid by the way as they went; yet they doubted much that could not last, but rather make them more hungry, and of more appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side: giving themselves wild and panic fears continually. Nevertheless both Tate the old mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their duties stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. The king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience of wars to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles, before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to find the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet out of fear; the rather for the confidence they reposed, as was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and Bedigny; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jaspar, Duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick and died after.

It was the two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought: *though the* king had, by all the art he could *have given out a false day*, as if he prepared to give the

rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves, as at the receipt, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should fight that day, the Lord D'Aubigny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-bridge, where they fought manfully; but being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army at that time, hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain without resistance. The Lord D'Aubigny charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like, by accident, to have brandled the fortune of the day: for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting in the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons showed no want of courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three leaders the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men: their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a tailor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornish men were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said creation, as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open *edict, give the goods* of all the prisoners unto those that had *taken them; either to* take them in kind or compound for them

as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and he at Tower-hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after-times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror; but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

The following extracts give us the conclusion of the story of Perkin:—

The King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people whom he might not hold in any long discontent; and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side; but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words,

that he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland. . . . .

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity, by that time the Cornish rebels who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a piece, were come down into their country, had rather emboldened them than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind; and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtilest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three: Herne, a mercer that had fled for debt; Skelton, a tailor; and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they could never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For, these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon *people; and therefore* advised him to sail over with all possible *speed into Cornwall*; which accordingly he did, having in his *company four small* barks, with some six score or seven score *fighting men.* He arrived in September at Whitsand-Bay,

and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard, Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts. . . . Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornish men were become, like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of his siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight he fled with three-score horse to Bewdley in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary-men, leaving his Cornish men to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the rebels, they, being *destituted of their head*, without stroke stricken, sub-

mitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to safe life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Catharine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said, that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life and many years after. The name of the white rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty. . . . .

The king did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the Lord Darcy, and others, commissioners, for the fining of all such as were of any value, or had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin, or the Cornish men, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought unto the king's court, but not to the king's presence; though the king, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in shew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a sycophant, or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along: that one might know afar off where the owl *was by the flight of* birds; some mocking, some wondering, *some cursing, some prying* and picking matter out of his *countenance and gesture* to talk of: so that the false honour

and respects, which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill, to the Tower, and from thence back again unto Westminster, with the chums of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance of Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy habit than an holy place, and clad himself like an hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad; wherein the king did himself no right; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother, and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of anything concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the Duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before; but the king chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. . . .

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir. For deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coasts. But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Sheen (which had the privilege of Sanctuary), and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought an holy man, and much reverenced in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the *king were again* more hot than ever, to have the *king take him forth* and hang him. But the king, that had

an high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised, bid, "Take him forth, and set the knave in the stocks;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the palace court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. . .

But it was ordained, that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin, after he had been awhile in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number; Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape; but knowing well, that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought these servants would look upon, though not upon himself; and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the Earl's consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their master, the lieutenant, secretly, in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the Earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait, to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford; a young man taught and set on by an Augustin *friar,* called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk *came forwards* into Kent, where they did not only privily and *underhand* give out that this Wilford was the true Earl of *Warwick,* but also the friar, finding some light credence in the

people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate from the Earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason, before it had gotten any manner of strength: and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was, indeed, but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of oyer and determiner, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land, within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

We can only, in addition, afford room for the conclusion of the work, containing the character of King Henry:—

This king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders—a wonder for wise men. He had parts both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a common-place as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen; he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy; and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret, which *showed that his works* in public were dedicated rather *to God's glory than his own.* He professed always to love and

seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treatise, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active, and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid war; therefore would he make offers and fames of wars till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war: for his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never infortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory; the wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands; that of Britain by accident of the duke's death; the insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate; the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person; sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws, which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will; for it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so he would also let down his prerogative to his parliament; for mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party; save also that the council-table intermeddled too much with "meum" and "tuum." For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning; but in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a merciful prince; as in whose time there were but three of the nobility that suffered—the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Audley; though the first two were, instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but a scum

of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons with severe executions, which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure: and, as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other, for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low; some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts; but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was magnificent; but his rewards were very limited, so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others.

He was of an high mind, and loved his own will and his own way, as one that revered himself and would reign indeed. Had he *been a private man* he would have been termed proud; *but in a wise prince it* was but keeping of distance, which

indeed he did towards all, not admitting any near or full approach neither to his power or to his secrets, for he was governed by none. His queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little; for any person agreeable to him for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth, he had none; except we should account for such persons Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open; but rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them. Yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies or emulations upon foreign princes, which are frequent with many kings, he never had many, but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here, which were attending the court in great number, whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness, but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world; which, though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all seemed admirable to every one, so that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him: such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad; wherein he did not only use his interest in *the liegers* here, and his pensioner, which he had both in the *court of Rome and other* the courts of Christendom, but the *industry and vigilancy* of his own ambassadors in foreign *rts: for which purpose* his instructions were ever extreme,

year of rest, in which he did not obtain at her Majesty's hands some notable addition, either of honour or profit.

But he, on the other side, making these her Majesty's favours nothing else but wings for his ambition, and looking upon them not as her benefits but as his advantages, supposing that to be his own metal which was but her mark and impression, was so given over by God, who often punisheth ingratitude by ambition, and ambition by treason, and treason by final ruin, as he had long ago plotted it in his heart to become a dangerous supplanter of that seat whereof he ought to have been a principal supporter; in such sort as now every man of common sense may discern not only his last actual and open treasons, but also his former more secret practices and preparations towards those his treasons, and that without any gloss or interpreter, but himself and his own doings.

For first of all the world can now expound why it was that he did aspire, and had almost attained unto a greatness like unto the ancient greatness of the "præfectus prætorio" under the emperors of Rome, to have all men of war to make their sole and particular dependence upon him; that with such jealousy and watchfulness he sought to discountenance any one that might be a competitor to him in any part of that greatness, that with great violence and bitterness he sought to suppress and keep down all the worthiest martial men which did not appropriate their respects and acknowledgements only towards himself. All which did manifestly detect and distinguish, that it was not the reputation of a famous leader in the wars which he sought, as it was construed a great while, but only power and greatness to serve his own ends, considering he never loved virtue nor valour in another but where he thought he should be proprietary and commander of it, as referred to himself.

So likewise those points of popularity which every man took notice and note of, as his affable gestures, open doors, making his table and his bed so popularly places of audience to suitors, denying nothing when he did nothing, feeding many men in their discontentments against the queen and the state, and the like; as they were ever since Absalom's time the forerunners of treasons following, so in him they were either the qualities of a nature disposed to disloyalty, or the beginnings and conceptions of that which afterwards grew to shape and form.

But as it were a vain thing to think to search the roots and first motions of treasons, which are known to none but God that

thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years' reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence, he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first as he was beholding to the other two.

He was a prince sad, serious, and full of thoughts and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons. As, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey, set on, as it was thought, by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth; whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions, but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them, whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another: neither did he at sometimes weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the Duke of York should be saved and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing, because he would have more reason not to reign in right of his wife. He was affable and both well and fair spoken, and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words where he desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any worth in the French tongue; yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them; and yet by his *instructions* to Marsin and Stile, touching the Queen of Naples, *it seemeth he could* interrogate well touching beauty. He did *by pleasures as great* princes do by banquets, come and look a *little upon them*, and turn away. For never prince was more

maintained and continued by supplies, were not sufficient to bring the prosecutions there to period. The second, that the axe had not been put to the root of the tree, in regard there had not been made a main prosecution upon the arch-traitor Tyrone in his own strength, within the province of Ulster. The third, that the prosecutions before time had been intermixed and interrupted with too many temporizing treaties, whereby the rebel did ever gather strength and reputation to renew the war with advantage. All which goodly and well-sounding discourses, together with great vaunts that he would make the earth tremble before him, tended but to this, that the queen should increase the list of her army, and all proportions of treasure and other furniture, to the end his commandment might be the greater. For that he never intended any such prosecution may appear by this, that even at the time before his going into Ireland, he did open himself so far in speech to blunt his inwardest counsellor, "That he did assure himself that many of the rebels in Ireland would be advised by him:" so far was he from intending any prosecution towards those in whom he took himself to have interest. But his ends were two; the one to get great forces into his hands; the other to oblige the heads of the rebellion unto him, and to make them of his party. These two ends had in themselves a repugnancy; for the one imported prosecution, and the other treaty; but he that meant to be too strong to be called to account for anything, and meant besides, when he was once in Ireland, to engage himself in other journeys that should hinder the prosecution in the north, took things in order as they made for him: and so first did nothing, as was said, but trumpet a final and utter prosecution against Tyrone in the north, to the end to have his forces augmented.

And in the same strain the account proceeds to the close. For example, in the narrative of the misguided earl's last insane attempt in London, which brought him to the scaffold, we are told that he and his adviser Cuffe had "set down between them the ancient principle of traitors and conspirators, which was to prepare many and to acquaint few; and, after the manner of miners, to make ready *their powder*, and place it, and then give *fire but in the instant.*" And all Essex's movements *re throughout set* in the most unfavourable light, ar *ie worst construction* put upon them.

somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop, in pontifical habit, did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband; neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said, "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for." But that that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian as well as of a great king, in living exercised and dying repentant; so as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

Other expressions of Bacon's, as well as these last words, indicate sufficiently his own estimation of this remarkable work. In a letter, for instance, sent with a presentation copy to the Queen of Bohemia, he writes—"If King Henry the Seventh were alive again, I hope verily he would not be so angry with me for not flattering him, as well pleased in seeing himself so truly described in colours that will last and be believed." So in another letter written about the same time or shortly after to Bishop Andrews, he says, "Now being, as I am, no more able to do my country service, it remained unto me to do it honour, which I have endeavoured to do in my work of the reign of King Henry the Seventh." And we have seen his anxiety to have the work translated into Latin, in the hope, as he expresses it in his letter to Matthew, that, since he had lost much time with his own age, he might thereby recover it with posterity.

This was not the only historical work in which the *spirited and hopeful old* man engaged after his loss of *office. We have also from* his pen the commencement of *a History of the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, first printed

in the *Miscellany Works*, published by Rawley, in 4to., at London, in 1629. "This work," says Tenison, "he undertook upon the motion of King Charles the First, but, a greater king not lending him time, he only began it; for that which we have of it was, it seems, but one morning's work." It appears, however, that the work was actually commenced, or at least undertaken, while Charles was still prince. Writing to Buckingham, then at Madrid, on the 21st of February, 1623, we find him thus expressing himself:—"I beseech your lordship, of your nobleness, vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his highness, who I hope ere long will make me leave King Henry the Eighth, and set me on work in relation of his highness's adventures." And in a letter sent to the prince, with a copy of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, in the latter part of the same year, he writes—"For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your highness, I did so despair of my health this summer, as I was glad to choose some such work as I might compass within days; so far was I from entering into a work of length. Your highness's return hath been my restorative. When I shall wait upon your highness, I shall give you a farther account." The fragment that remains is striking, but very short, and can scarcely be all that was prepared.

And there is a longer fragment, entitled *The Beginning of the History of Great Britain* (or of the kingdom from the union of the crowns), which is also very spirited. This is evidently the performance about which we have a letter in the *Resuscitatio* (Part I. 3rd edit. p. 26), headed 'A Letter to the King, upon the sending unto him a Beginning of an History of his Majesty's Times.' The letter is without date, but it was probably written in 1624. The portion of the work sent with the letter is described as "but a leaf or two.*

* But Mr. Montagu is quite mistaken in supposing that another longer letter in the same collection (pp. 24, 25), headed 'A *Letter to the Lord* Chancellor touching the History *of Britain,' which he quotes* in his bibliographical Preface, with

There are two short biographical sketches, or rather characters, by Bacon, one of Julius Cæsar, the other of Augustus, which may be classed with his historical writings. Both were written by him in Latin; and the ori-

all Stephens's annotations, to the extent of nearly half a dozen pages, relates to the same work. The History of Great Britain there spoken of is another project altogether—a history of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland *before* the accession of James. "I conceived," Bacon writes, "it would be honour for his majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so it were joined in history *for the times past*, and that one just and complete history were compiled of both nations." The letter is undated; but it was evidently written not at the close, but in the earlier part of James's reign; and the lord chancellor to whom it is addressed was not, as Mr. Montagu appears to assume, Bacon's successor in the great seal, Williams (who, by the bye, never had the title of chancellor), but his predecessor, Lord Ellesmere. Instead of having been written by Bacon at the end of his life and after his loss of office, it was most probably written before he had even become Solicitor-General. There is no allusion in it to his ever having held any public employment. "For all this while," he says towards the close, "I assure myself I cannot be mistaken by your lordship, as if I sought an office or employment for myself; for no man knows better than your lordship, that, if there were in me any faculty thereunto, yet neither my course of life nor profession would permit it." So that he does not even propose himself for the writer of the work. And would he have spoken of himself as known to have no faculty for historical writing, after the publication of his Henry the Seventh? But to put the point beyond dispute, it is only necessary to observe that a considerable part of the letter, recounting the course of events from the time of Henry the Eighth, is evidently the germ of a remarkable passage in the second book of the Advancement of Learning, which was published in 1605. The letter was therefore written in or before that year. Since this note was written, we find the letter, for the first time correctly *printed* from the original, in Mr. Collier's learned and valuable "*Catalogue of the Library* at Bridgewater House," 4to., Lon., *1837; and the date turns* out to be "Gray's Inn, 2nd April, *1605.*"

ginals were first published by Rawley, in the *Opuscula Varia Posthuma*, 8vo. Lond. 1658. English translations of both had been given by Rawley the year before in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio*. And there are also two pieces on Queen Elizabeth; one written in English, the other in Latin; and a shorter piece entitled *The Praise of Henry Prince of Wales*. The following are extracts from the English eulogy on Elizabeth, first published by Stephens in 1734, with the title of 'Mr. Bacon's Discourse in the Praise of His Sovereign:'—

No praise of magnanimity, nor of love, nor of knowledge, can intercept her praise, that planteth and nourisheth magnanimity by her example, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenity of her times. And if these rich pieces be so fair unset, what are they set, and set in all perfection? Magnanimity no doubt consisteth in contempt of peril, in contempt of profit, and in meriting of the times wherein one liveth. For contempt of peril, see a lady that cometh to a crown after the experience of some adverse fortune, which for the most part extenuateth the mind, and maketh it apprehensive of fears. No sooner she taketh the sceptre into her sacred hands, but she putteth on a resolution to make the greatest, the most important, the most dangerous alteration that can be in a state, the alteration of religion. This she doth, not after a sovereignty established and continued by sundry years, when custom might have bred in her people a more absolute obedience; when trial of her servants might have made her more assured whom to employ; when the reputation of her policy and virtue might have made her government redoubted, but at the very entrance of her reign, when she was green in authority, her servants scant known unto her, the adverse part not weakened, her own part not confirmed. Neither doth she reduce or reunite her realm to the religion of the states about her, that the evil inclination of the subject might be countervailed by the good correspondence in foreign parts: but contrariwise, she introduceth a religion exterminated and persecuted both at home and abroad. Her proceeding herein is not by degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encouraged thereto by the strength she found in leagues and alliances with great and potent confederates? No, but *she found her realm in* wars with her nearest and mightiest *neighbours. She stood* single and alone, and in league only

with one, that after the people of her nation had made his wars, left her to make her own peace: one that could never be by any solicitation moved to renew the treaties; and one that since hath proceeded from doubtful terms of amity to the highest acts of hostility. Yet, notwithstanding the opposition so great, the support so weak, the season so improper; yet, I say, because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought up; a religion that freed her subjects from pretence of foreign powers, and, indeed, the true religion; she brought to pass this great work with success worthy so noble a resolution. See a queen that, when a deep and secret conspiracy was plotted against her sacred person, practised by subtile instruments, embraced by violent and desperate humours, strengthened and bound by vows and sacraments, and the same was revealed unto her (and yet the nature of the affairs required farther ripening before the apprehension of any of the parties), was content to put herself into the guard of the Divine Providence, and her own prudence, to have some of the conspirators in her eyes, to suffer them to approach to her person, to take a petition of the hand that was conjured for her death; and that with such majesty of countenance, such mildness and serenity of gesture, such art and impression of words, as had been sufficient to have represt and bound the hand of a conspirator if he had not been discovered. Lastly, see a queen, that when her realm was to have been invaded by an army, the preparation whereof was like the travel of an elephant, the provisions whereof were infinite, the setting forth whereof was the terror and wonder of Europe; it was not seen that her cheer, her fashion, her ordinary manner was anything altered: not a cloud of that storm did appear in that countenance wherein peace doth ever shine; but with excellent assurance, and advised security, she inspired her council, animated her nobility, redoubled the courage of her people, still having this noble apprehension, not only that she would communicate her fortune with them, but that it was she that would protect them, and not they her: which she testified by no less demonstration than her presence in camp. Therefore, that magnanimity that neither feareth greatness of alteration, nor the views of conspirators, nor the power of enemy, is more than heroical. . . . .

The opulency of the peace such, as if you have respect, to *take one* sign for many, to the number of fair houses that have *been built since* her reign, as Augustus said "that he had *received the city of* brick, and left it of marble;" so she may say, *she received it a* realm of cottages, and hath made it a realm

of palaces: the state of traffic great and rich: the customs, notwithstanding these wars and interruptions, not fallen: many profitable trades, many honourable discoveries: and lastly, to make an end where no end is, the shipping of this realm so advanced, and made so mighty and potent, as this island is become, as the natural site thereof deserved, the lady of the sea; a point of so high consequence, as it may be truly said, that the commandment of the sea is an abridgment or a quintessence of a universal monarchy. . . .

Lastly, to touch the mighty general merit of this queen, bear in mind that her benignity and beneficence hath been as large as the oppression and ambition of Spain. For to begin with the church of Rome, that pretended apostolic see is become but a donative cell of the King of Spain; the vicar of Christ is become the King of Spain's chaplain; he parteth the coming in of the new Pope for the treasuse of the old: he was wont to exclude but some two or three cardinals, and to leave the election of the rest; but now he doth include, and present directly some small number, all incapable and incompatible with the conclave, put in only for colour, except one or two. The states of Italy, they be like little quillets of freehold being intermixed in the midst of a great honour or lordship. France is turned upside down, the subject against the king, cut and mangled infinitely, a country of Rodomonts and Roytelets, farmers of the ways: Portugal usurped by no other title than strength and vicinity: the Low Countries warred upon, because he seeketh not to possess them, for they were possessed by him before, but to plant there an absolute and martial government, and to suppress their liberties: the like at this day attempted upon Arragon: the poor Indies, whereas the Christian religion generally brought enfranchisement of slaves in all places where it came, in a contrary course are brought from freemen to be slaves, and slaves of most miserable condition: sundry trains and practices of this king's ambition in Germany, Denmark, Scotland, the east towns, are not unknown. Then it is her government, and her government alone, that hath been the sconce and fort of all Europe, which hath let this proud nation from overrunning all. If any state be yet free from his factions erected in the bowels thereof; if there be any state under his protection upon whom he usurpeth not; if there be any subject to him that enjoyeth moderate liberty, upon whom he tyrannizeth not; let them all know, it is by the mercy of this renowned queen, that standeth between *them and their misfortunes*. These be some of the *beams of noble and radiant* magnanimity, in contempt of peril

which so manifestly, in contempt of profit which so many admire, and in merit of the world which so many include in themselves; set forth in my simplicity of speech, with much loss of lustre, but with near approach of truth; as the sun is seen in the water. . . . .

If this be presumption, let him bear the blame that owneth the verses. What shall I speak of her rare qualities of compliment; which as they be excellent in the things themselves, so they have always besides somewhat of a queen: and as queens use shadows and veils with their rich apparel, methinks in all her qualities there is somewhat that flieth from ostentation, and yet inviteth the mind to contemplate her more.

What should I speak of her excellent gift of speech, being a character of the greatness of her conceit, the height of her degree, and the sweetness of her nature? What life, what edge is there in those words and glances wherewith at pleasure she can give a man long to think; be it that she mean to daunt him, to encourage him, or to amaze him! How admirable is her discourse, whether it be in learning, state, or love! What variety of knowledge, what rareness of conceit, what choice of words, what grace of utterance! Doth it not appear, that though her wit be as the adamant of excellences, which draweth out of any book ancient or new, out of any writing or speech, the best; yet she refineth it, she enricheth it far above the value wherein it is received? And is her speech only that language which the child learneth with pleasure, and not those which the studious learn with industry? Hath she not attained, besides her rare eloquence in her own language, infinitely polished since her happy times, changes of her language both learned and modern? So that she is able to negotiate with divers ambassadors in their own languages; and that with no disadvantage unto them, who I think cannot but have a great part of their wits distracted from their matters in hand to the contemplation and admiration of such perfections. What should I wander on to speak of the excellences of her nature, which cannot endure to be looked on with a discontented eye: of the constancy of her favours, which maketh service as a journey by land, whereas the service of other princes is like an embarking by sea. For her royal wisdom and policy of government, he that shall note and observe the prudent temper she useth in *admitting access*; of the one side maintaining the majesty of *her degree*, and on the other side not prejudicing herself by *looking to her estate* through too few windows: her exquisite *judgment in choosing* and finding good servants, a point be-

yond the former: her profound discretion in assigning and appropriating every of them to their aptest employment: her penetrating sight in discovering every man's ends and drifts: her wonderful art in keeping servants in satisfaction, and yet in appetite: her inventing wit in contriving plots and overturns: her exact caution in censuring the propositions of others for her service: her foreseeing events: her usage of occasions;—he that shall consider of these, and other things that may not well be touched, as he shall never cease to wonder at such a queen, so he shall wonder the less, that in so dangerous times, when wits are so cunning, humours extravagant, passions so violent, the corruptions so great, the dissimulations so deep, factions so many, she hath notwithstanding done such great things, and reigned in felicity.

To speak of her fortune, that which I did reserve for a garland of her honour; and that is, that she liveth a virgin, and hath no children; so it is that which maketh all her other virtues and acts more sacred, more august, more divine. Let them leave children that leave no other memory in their times. "Brutorum æternitas, soboles." Revolve in histories the memories of happy men, and you shall not find any of rare felicity but either he died childless, or his line spent soon after his death, or else was unfortunate in his children. Should a man have them to be slain by his vassals, as the posthumus of Alexander the Great was? or to call them his imposthumes, as Augustus Cæsar called his? Peruse the catalogue: Cornelius Sylla, Julius Cæsar, Flavius Vespasianus, Severus, Constantinus the Great, and many more. "Generare et liberi, humana: creare et operari, divina." .....

In the Low Countries, the Lammas-day, the retreat of Ghent, the day of Zutphen, and the prosperous progress of this summer; the bravado in Portugal, and the honourable exploits in the aid of the French king, besides the memorable voyages in the Indies; and lastly, the good entertainment of the invincible navy, which was chased till the chasers were weary, after infinite loss, without taking a cock-boat, without firing a sheep-cot, sailed on the mercies of the wind and the discretion of their adventures, making a perambulation or pilgrimage about the northern seas, and ignobling many shores and points of land by shipwreck; and so returned home with scorn and dishonour much greater than the terror and expectation of their setting forth.

These virtues and perfections, with so great felicity, have made her the honour of her times, the admiration of the world,

the suit and aspiring of greatest kings and princes, who yet durst never have aspired unto her, but as their minds were raised by love.

But why do I forget that words do extenuate and embase matters of so great weight? Time is her best commender, which never brought forth such a prince, whose imperial virtues contend with the excellency of her person; both virtues contend with her fortune, and both virtue and fortune contend with her fame.

"Orbis amor, famæ carmen, cœlique pupilla;
Tu decus omne tuis, tu decus ipsa tibi!"

END OF VOL. I.

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and subtile parts of bodies, because the greater masses
follow the more general and universal forms.

5. *Constituent*, or *Handfilling* (*Manipular*
stances :—

For example, let the nature sought be memory
means of exciting and helping the memory; the co
instances will here be, first, order, or distribution, an
for artificial memory. Order, or distribution, manifest
the memory; and places for artificial memory may
places in a proper sense, as a door, a window, a corne
familiar and known persons; or any other things at
provided they be placed in a certain order; as animal
words, letters, characters, historical personages, &c.,
some of these are more, and some less fit for the purpo
such kind of places greatly help the memory, and rai
above its natural powers. Again; verse is easier le
remembered than prose.

And this collection, or packet, of the three above-m
instances, viz. order, artificial place, and verse, consti
species of help for the memory: and this species of h
be justly called the prevention of endless search. For
person endeavours to recollect, or call a thing to min
has no previous notion or perception of what he is in
he casts about, and tries every track, as it were with
but if he has any previous notion, this infinity of searc
sently cut short; and the memory is brought to hun
home. But in the three instances above mentioned, t
clear and certain previous notion contained. For in
there is required somewhat agreeable to order; in the
an image is required, that has some agreement, or rel
those fixed places; in the third, words that will stand i
so that infinity is thus cut off or prevented, and th
limited and restrained.

Other instances will give this second species; that
brings an intellectual thing to strike the sense (whic
method principally used in artificial memory), h
remembrance.

Other instances will give this third species; that tho
which make an impression by means of a strong
or passion, as by causing fear, surprise, blushing, deli
assist the memory.

Other instances will give this fourth species;

things sink the deepest, and dwell the longest in the memory, which are chiefly impressed upon a clear mind, that remains unprejudiced, either before or after the impression; as the things we learn in childhood, or think of just before going to sleep; as likewise all the first times that things are taken notice of.

Other instances will give this fifth species; that a multitude of circumstances, or, as it were, handles or holds to be taken, help the memory: as the making of many breaks in writing, or printing; reading or repeating aloud, &c.

Lastly; other instances will give the sixth species of help; that those things which are expected, and raise the attention, stick better than such as pass slightly over the mind: whence, if a man should read a writing twenty times over, he would not remember it so well, as if he should read it but ten times, with trying between whiles to repeat it; and consulting the copy where his memory failed.

Hence there are, as it were, six lesser forms of helps for the memory; viz. (1) the cutting off infinity; (2) reducing intellectual to sensible things; (3) impression by a strong passion; (4) impression upon a mind free and disengaged; (5) variety of handles, or occasions; and (6) expectation conceived.

6. *Conformable* or *Proportionate Instances* (*Instantiae Conformes* sive *Proportionatae*); called also *Parallels* or *Physical Similitudes.*

But this precept cannot be too frequently inculcated, that the procedure and method of mankind in their inquiries and endeavours to collect a natural history, must be entirely altered from the method at present in use; for men's curiosity and diligence have been hitherto principally employed in observing the variety of things, and explaining the precise differences of animals, vegetables, and fossils, the greatest part of which variety and differences are rather the sport of nature than matters of any considerable and solid use to the sciences. Such things, indeed, serve for delight, and sometimes contribute to practice, but afford little or no true information, or thorough insight into nature; human industry, therefore, must be bent upon inquiring into, and observing the similitudes and analogies of things, as well in their wholes as in their parts; for these are what unite nature, and begin to build up the sciences.

subject by the poll be fit to make a soldier, and not only certain conditions or degrees of men.

Fifthly, That it consisteth in the temper of the government fit to keep the subjects in good heart and courage, and not to keep them in the condition of servile vassals.

And, sixthly, That it consisteth in the commandment of the sea.

And let no man so much forget the subject propounded as to find strange that here is no mention of religion, laws, or policy. For we speak of that which is proper to the amplitude and growth of states, and not of that which is common to their preservation, happiness, and all other points of well-being.

The following is the commencement of what is said under the second article of the first head, "That there is too much ascribed to treasure or riches in the balancing of greatness:"—

Wherein no man can be ignorant of the idolatry that is generally committed in these degenerate times to money, as if it could do all things public and private; but, leaving popular errors, this is likewise to be examined by reason and examples, and such reason as is no new conceit or invention, but hath formerly been discerned by the sounder sort of judgments. For we see that Solon, who was no contemplative wise man, but a statesman and a lawgiver, used a memorable censure to Croesus, when he showed him great treasures and store of gold and silver that he had gathered, telling him that whensoever another should come that had better iron than he, he would be master of all his gold and silver. Neither is the authority of Machiavel to be despised, specially in a matter whereof he saw the evident experience before his eyes in his own times and country, who derideth the received and current opinion and principal of estate, taken first from a speech of Mutianus, the lieutenant of Vespasian, that money was the sinews of war, affirming that it is a mockery, and that there are no other true sinews of war but the sinews and muscles of men's arms; and that there never was any war wherein the more valiant people had to deal with the more wealthy, but that the war, if it were well conducted, did nourish and pay itself. And had he not reason so to think when he saw a needy and ill-provided army of the French, though needy rather by negligence than want of means, as the French manner oftentimes is, make their passage only by the repu-

7. *Singular Instances* (*Instantiae Monodicæ*); called also *Irregular* or *Heteroclite Instances.*

8. *Deviating Instances.*

9. *Frontier Instances* (*Instantiae Limitantes*); called also *Participles* (*Participia*), from participating of two different natures; as the participle in grammar is said to be so called from its participating of the nature both of the noun and the verb.

10. *Instances of Power*, or *of the Fasces*; called also the *Head-works* or *Hand-works* of Man (*Ingenia* sive *Manus Hominis*).

For example, paper, though a very common thing, is a singular instance of art. For if well observed, artificial matters are either merely wove with direct and transverse threads, as silk, cloth, linen, &c. or made of concreted juices, as brick, clay, glass, enamel, porcelain, and the like, which if well united shine, but if less united, prove hard, but bear no polish. And all these latter substances, made of concreted juices, are brittle, and do not hold tenaciously together. On the contrary, paper is a tenacious substance, that may be cut, or torn; so that it resembles, and in a manner rivals the skin, or membrane of some animal; the leaves of some plant; or the like production of nature: for 't is neither brittle, as glass; nor thready, as cloth; for though it has its fibres, yet it has no distinct threads; but exactly resembles the texture of natural matters: insomuch that the like can hardly be found again among artificial things; but it remains perfectly singular. And in artificial things, those, doubtless, are to be preferred which imitate and resemble nature the nearest; or which, the other hand, powerfully govern, invert, or change her.

Again; among instances of power, or the inventions of manual works of men, matters of dexterity, delusion, and diversion, are not to be rejected wholly: for some of these though of small use, and only ludicrous, may yet be ri information.

Lastly; neither are superstitious, and those commonly magical, matters, to be quite excluded: for although th this kind lie strangely buried, and deep involved in fal and fable; yet some regard should be had to discover v no natural operation is concealed in the heap: for e in fascination; the power of imagination; the sym consent of things at a distance; the communicati

pressions, from spirit to spirit, as well as from body to body; and the like.

11. *Accompanying* and *Hostile Instances* (*Instantiae Comitatus* atque *Hostiles*); called also *Instances of Fixed Propositions.*

12. *Subjunctive Instances*; called also *Ultimate Instances*, or *Instances of the Terminus.*

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14. *Instances of the Cross* (or *Crucial Instances*), a name taken from the crosses erected where two roads meet, to point out and declare their different directions; called also *Decisive* and *Judicial Instances*, and in some cases *Instances of the Oracle* and *of Command.*

They are of this kind, that when in the search of any nature, the understanding comes to an equilibrium, as it were, or stands suspended as to which of two or more natures the cause of the nature inquired after should be attributed or assigned, by reason of the frequent and common occurrences of several natures, then these Crucial instances show the true and inviolable association of one of these natures to the nature sought, and the uncertain and separable alliance of the other, whereby the question is decided, the former nature admitted for the cause, and the other rejected.

These instances therefore afford great light, and have a kind of over-ruling authority, so that the course of interpretation will sometimes terminate in them, or be finished by them. Sometimes, indeed, these Crucial Instances occur, or are found, among those already set down, but in general they are new, and expressly and purposely sought and applied, or after due time and endeavours, discovered, not without great diligence and sagacity. . . . .

Let the nature sought be the spontaneous motion of rotation; and in particular, whether the diurnal motion, whereby the sun and stars rise and set, to the sight, be a true motion of rotation in the heavenly bodies, or only apparent in them, and real in the earth. The following may be a Crucial Instance in this inquiry. If any motion, from east to west, is found in the ocean, though it be ever so languid and feeble, if the same motion be found somewhat quicker in the air, especially between the tropics, where, because of the larger circles, it will *be more perceptible*, if the same motion be found brisk and

strong in the lower comets, if the same motion be i
planets, so dispensed and proportioned, that the ne
to the earth, the slower it proves, and the far
quicker, but quickest of all in the sphere of th
then doubtless the diurnal motion should be rece
in the heavens, and the motion of the earth be reject
it would then be manifest that the motion from ea
perfectly cosmical, and by consent of the universe,
ing the greatest velocity in the greatest heights of t
gradually decreases, and at length terminates, an
nothing, in what is immoveable, viz. the earth.

On the other hand, let the nature inquired into b
motion of rotation, famous among astronomers, a
and contrary to the diurnal motion, viz. the motio
to east, which the astronomers attribute to the
sphere of the fixed stars, but Copernicus and h
assign likewise to the earth; and let it be sought wh
is any such motion in nature, or whether it be only
and supposed for the readiness and convenience of
and the sake of the beauty and regularity of a syste
make the celestial motions performed in perfect circ

This motion is by no means proved true and
higher celestial bodies, neither from hence, that a
not, in its diurnal motion, return to the same fixed
nor from hence, that the poles of the zodiac differ fro
of the world, which are the two things whereon this
founded. For the first phenomenon is well solved b
position of antecedence and dereliction, and the
spiral lines, so that the inequality of the revolution
declination to the tropics, may be rather modificati
same diurnal motion, than contrary motions, or
about different poles. And if we may here, for once
the vulgar, and leave the fictions of astronomers
schools (who in many cases, and without reason, offe
to the senses, and rather affect obscurities), we j
motion to be to the sense such as we have above de
from a model we once had purposely made of iron w
present it.

But it may be a crucial instance in this inquiry,
be found from any history worthy of credit, that there
met, which did not revolve in a manifest consent (th
so irregularly) with the visible diurnal motion; but
the opposite part of the heavens, for then it will
judge that some such motion, contrary to the visi

rotation, may exist in nature. But if nothing of this kind can be found, such a motion should not be embraced, but recourse be had to other crucial instances about it.

Again; suppose the nature sought was gravity, this will be the cross-road. Heavy and ponderous bodies must either have a natural tendency to the centre of the earth, on account of their proper mechanism, or else be attracted by the corporeal mass thereof, as by a collection of bodies of the same nature, and so be carried to it by consent.

If the latter be the cause, it will follow, that the nearer all heavy bodies approach to the earth, the stronger, and with the greater force and velocity they will tend to it; but the farther they are from it, the weaker and the slower, and this to a certain distance; whence, if they were removed so far from the earth, as that the virtue thereof could not act upon them, they would remain pendulous, like the earth itself, without falling.

And with regard hereto this may be a crucial instance. Take a clock that moves by weights, and another that moves by a steel spring; let them be exactly adjusted, that neither of them may go faster than the other; place the clock that goes with weights upon the top of some very high building; keep the other below; then carefully observe if the clock above move slower than usual, on account of the diminished virtue of its weight. Let the same experiment be made in the deepest mines, to show whether such a clock will not move faster there, for the contrary reason; and if the virtue of the weights shall be found diminished above, and increased below the surface of the earth, let the attraction of the terrestrial mass be received as the cause of weight or gravity.

15. *Instances of Divorce.*

Then follow five orders of Instances distinguished by the general name of *Instances of the Lamp*, or *of Primary Information;* as being such as assist the senses. The first strengthen, enlarge, and rectify the immediate actions of the senses; the second bring down the imperceptible to the perceptible ("non-sensibile ad sensibile"); the third indicate the continuous processes or series of those things and motions which (as most frequently happens) are *not* observed except in their termination or *entire course* ("exitu aut periodis"); the fourth substi-

tute something when the senses are in a state of
destitution; the fifth excite the attention and
the senses, and at the same time limit the su
things.

16. *Instances of the Door* or *of the Gate*
sive *Portae*), which are those that assist the in
actions of the senses. But among the senses,
place, in the furnishing of information, belongs
sight. And the helps that may be sought for t
appear to be of three kinds; namely, such as ma
it to see either things not previously seen;
greater distance than previously; or more exa
distinctly.

Of the first kind* are the newly invented mi
which show the latent, and otherwise invisible st
of bodies, and their secret textures and motions, re
increased in the magnitude of the object, by means w
exact figure and lineaments of the body of the minu
tures, such as flies, fleas, mites, &c., as also colours
tions, before invisible, may be seen in a delightful an
ing manner.† And here, as is usual in new an
discoveries, a superstitious observation has crept into t
of men, as if this invention of microscopes did hono
works of nature, but dishonour to the works of art, by
the one much finer than the other; whereas the trut
that natural textures are much more subtile than artifi
For these microscopes are only of use in the case of m

* Shaw omits a parenthesis here to the following
"not to speak of spectacles (*bis-oculi*), and the
trivances, which are able only to correct and alleviat
firmity of a vision not properly adjusted (*non bene d*
and therefore cannot be said to convey any additional
tion."

† Shaw here omits the following sentence:—"It is
that a straight line drawn with a pen or pencil is disc
such microscopes to be very unequal and tortuous;
neither the motions of the hand, although assisted b
nor the impression of ink or of colour, are in realit
although their inequalities are so minute that witho
of such microscopes they cannot be perceived."

jects, so that if Democritus had seen them, he would perhaps have rejoiced, and imagined a way was now discovered for rendering the atoms visible, which he pronounced to be no object of sight.

But the unsuitableness and insufficiency of these microscopes, except for very minute bodies (and then only when such minute bodies are not parts of larger), destroy the use of the invention; which, if it could be extended to large bodies, or to small particles of large bodies, in the piece, after the manner of making a piece of fine lawn appear like a net, so as that by this means the latent small particles and inequalities of gems, liquors, urine, blood, wounds, and many other things might be distinguished, great conveniences would doubtless arise from the discovery.

Of the second kind are telescopes, which were nobly attempted and discovered by Galileo; by means whereof, as by boats or little ships of intelligence, a nearer commerce may be opened and carried on with the celestial bodies. For by the help of these glasses, 1. The milky way appears to be a knot or cluster of little stars, perfectly separate and distinct, of which the ancients had but a bare suspicion. 2. And again, by their means it should seem that the planetary regions contain more stars besides the direct planets, and that the heavens may begin to be spangled with stars at a great distance below the sphere of the fixed stars, though with such only as are invisible without the help of telescopes. And again, 3. By their assistance we may behold the motion of those small stars, or satellites, about the planet Jupiter; from whence it may be conjectured that the revolutions of the stars have regard to several centres. 4. Again, by their means the luminous and opaque inequalities are more distinctly perceived and ascertained in the moon, from whence a geographical description might be made thereof. 5. And lastly, by means of these glasses, spots in the sun, and other things of that kind, appear to the sight; all which are, doubtless, noble discoveries, so far as they may be safely depended upon for real. But, indeed, I the rather incline to suspect them, because experience seems wholly to rest in these few particulars, without discovering, by the same means, numerous others, equally worthy of search and inquiry.*

* Galileo, some of whose telescopic discoveries are noticed

17. *Summoning Instances* (*Instantiae Citantes*); called also *Evoking Instances*. Here Bacon introduces one of his favourite doctrines, that of the living principle, or spirit, as he calls it, which he conceives to be contained even in bodies commonly considered to be dead.

Things escape the senses, either, 1, through the distance of the object, as to place; 2, through the interception of interposing bodies; 3, because the object is unfit to make an impression upon the sense; 4, because the object is not sufficient, in quantity, to strike the sense; 5, because the time is not proportionate, so as to actuate the sense; 6, because the percussion of the object is not endured by the sense; 7, and lastly, because an object before detained, and possessed the sense, so as to leave no room for a new motion. . . . .

But the reduction in the third and fourth ways regard numerous particulars, and ought on all sides to be collected in inquiries. Thus, for example, it appears that the air, the spirit, and things of that kind, which in their whole substance prove light and subtile, can neither be perceived nor touched, whence in the inquiry after such bodies, we must necessarily use reductions.

Suppose, therefore, the subjects of inquiry were the action and motion of the spirit included in tangible bodies; for every tangible body, with us, contains an invisible and untangible spirit, over which the body is drawn like a garment. And hence arise those three powerful springs, and that wonderful process, of the spirit in tangible bodies. For, 1, the spirit being discharged out of a tangible body, the body contracts and dries; 2, whilst detained, it makes the body tender, supple, and soft; and, 3, being neither totally discharged, nor totally held in, it informs, fashions, assimilates, ejects, organizes, &c. And all these are rendered sensible by visible effects.

For in every tangible, inanimate body, the included spirit first multiplies itself, and, as it were, feeds upon those tangible

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in this and two or three other passages in Bacon's writings, should have been excepted from the enumeration, at p. 24, of his contemporaries whom he never mentions. Yet we see he *had not* nearly so much faith in the *novum organum* of the illustrious Florentine as in his own.

parts which are most disposed and prepared for that purpose; and thus digests, works, and converts them into spirit, till at last they fly off together.

And this business of making and multiplying the spirit is brought down to the sense by the diminution of the weight of the body; for in all drying, part of the quantity goes off, which is not only the spirit that pre-existed in the body, but a part of the body itself that was before tangible, and is now newly converted into spirit, for the pure spirit has no gravity.

The emission, or exit, of this spirit is rendered sensible by the rusting of metals and other corruptions and putrefactions of that kind, which stop before they come to the rudiments of life; for in the more compact bodies the spirit finds no pores and passages through which to escape, and is therefore obliged to protrude the tangible parts, and drive them before it, so as to make them issue at the same time; whence proceed rust, and the like.

But the contraction of the tangible parts, after some of the spirit is discharged, upon which dryness ensues, is made sensible by the increased hardness of the body, but much more by the subsequent cracking or splitting of the body, and the contracting, wrinkling, and overwrapping of the parts. Thus the parts of wood crack or split asunder, and are contracted; skins wrinkle, and if the spirit be suddenly forced out by the heat of fire, they shrink so fast as to curl and roll themselves up, &c.

On the other hand, where the spirit is detained, and yet dilated and excited by heat or something analogous thereto (as happens in the more solid or tenacious bodies), then the body is either softened, as in the case of ignited iron, or flows, as in melted metals, or liquifies, as in dissolved rosin, wax, &c.; therefore these contrary operations of heat, hardening some bodies and liquifying others, are easily reconciled; because in the first case the spirit is driven out, but agitated and detained in the second; the latter being the proper action of heat and spirit, and the former the action of the tangible parts, succeeding upon the emission of the spirit.

But where the spirit is neither quite detained nor quite discharged, but only attempts and tries to force its prison, and readily meets with such tangible parts as will obey and yield to its motions, so that wherever the spirit leads they follow it, then it is that *an organical* body is formed, with its distinct

parts or limbs, and that all the vital actions ensue, as well in animals as vegetables.

18. *Instances of the Road* (*Instantiae Viae*); called also *Itinerating* or *Journeying*, and *Articulated* or *Jointed Instances* (*Itinerantes* et *Articulatae*).

19. *Instances of Supplement*, or *of Substitution*; called also *Instances* of *Refuge* (*Instantiae Refugii*).

20. *Lancing Instances* (*Instantiae Persecantes*), or *Instances of Democritus*; called also, for a different reason, *Twitching Instances* (*Instantiae Vellicantes*). To which are to be subjoined those called the *Limits of the Lancing* (*Metae Persecationis*); the consideration of which, however, is deferred to the head of the Supports of Induction (intended to form the next part of the treatise).

Such are the instances which assist the senses: those that remain are principally of use for operation or practice ("ad partem operativam"). They are seven in number, and are called by the general name of *Practical Instances*. Now there are two defects in practice. It either deceives, or it imposes too much trouble ("onerat nimis"). It deceives from the forces and activities of bodies being ill determined and measured. Now these forces and activities are circumscribed and measured in four ways; namely, by place, or by time, or by union of quantity ("per unionem quanti"), or by predominance of virtue. The four corresponding classes of instances are called *Mathematical Instances*, or *Instances of Measure*. Practice again is troublesome, either on account of the intermixture of useless things, or on account of the multiplication of instruments, or on account of the bulk of the material and of the substances which may be required for any work. The instances, therefore, that are to be prized here are such as either direct operation to those things which are of most consequence to mankind, or lessen the number of instruments, or the quantity of material. Hence three classes of instances, which are called by the general name of *Propitious* or *Benevolent Instances*.

pressions, from spirit to spirit, as well as from body to body; and the like.

11. *Accompanying* and *Hostile Instances* (*Instantiae Comitatus* atque *Hostiles*); called also *Instances of Fixed Propositions*.

12. *Subjunctive Instances;* called also *Ultimate Instances*, or *Instances of the Terminus*.

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They are of this kind, that when in the search of any nature, the understanding comes to an equilibrium, as it were, or stands suspended as to which of two or more natures the cause of the nature inquired after should be attributed or assigned, by reason of the frequent and common occurrences of several natures, then these Crucial instances show the true and inviolable association of one of these natures to the nature sought, and the uncertain and separable alliance of the other, whereby the question is decided, the former nature admitted for the cause, and the other rejected.

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Let the nature sought be the spontaneous motion of rotation; and in particular, whether the diurnal motion, whereby the sun and stars rise and set, to the sight, be a true motion of rotation in the heavenly bodies, or only apparent in them, and real in the earth. The following may be a Crucial Instance in this inquiry. If any motion, from east to west, is found in the ocean, though it be ever so languid and feeble, if the same motion be found somewhat quicker in the air, especially between the tropics, where, because of the larger circles, it will *be more perceptible*, if the same motion be found brisk and

has not only the vivid strength of whiteness, but also vastly exceeds the light of flame, as we find flame here in power and strength of radiancy. Nay, that immense velocity wherewith gross matter moves, in the diurnal rotation, renders this wonderfully swift motion of the rays of light, from the fixed stars, more probable. But what has the greatest weight with me is this, that if there should here be any considerable space of time between reality and sight, or the existence of the object, and its being seen, it must then happen that the sight would be frequently intercepted and confounded by clouds arising in the mean time, or by the like disturbances in the medium. And thus much for the simple mensuration of time.

23. *Instances of the How Much* (*Instantiae Quanti*); called also *Doses of Nature* (*Doses Naturae*).

24. *Instances of Struggle* (*Instantiae Luctae*); called also *Instances of Predominance*. Here Bacon enumerates and illustrates at great length the principal kinds of motions and active virtues or powers in nature; which he makes to be, 1. Motion of Resistance (*antitypiae*); 2. Of Connexion (*nexus*); 3. Of Liberty; 4. Of Matter (*hyles*); 5. Of Continuity (*continuationis*); 6. Of Acquisition (*ad lucrum*), or Of Need (*indigentiae*); 7. Of Greater Congregation; 8. Of Lesser Congregation; 9. The Magnetic Motion; 10. Of Avoidance (*fugae*); 11. Of Assimilation, or Self-multiplication, or Simple Generation; 12. Of Excitement; 13. Of Impression; 14. Of Configuration or Position (*situs*); 15. Of Penetration (*Per-transitionis*), or Motion according to the Passages (*secundum meatus*); 16. The Royal or Political Motion (by which the predominant and ruling parts in any body bridle, conquer, subjugate, and regulate the rest, and compel them to unite, to separate, to stand still, to move, to take their places, not according to their own inclinations, but with a reference to, and as may be most conducive to the welfare of, that ruling part); 17. The Spontaneous Motion of Rotation (with its nine different species, all likewise enumerated); 18. *Of Trepidation*; 19. Of Repose (*decubitus*), or of Aversion to Motion (*exhorrentiae motus*).

25. *Prompting Instances* (Instantiae Invitantes).

rotation, may exist in nature. But if nothing of this kind can be found, such a motion should not be embraced, but recourse be had to other crucial instances about it.

Again; suppose the nature sought was gravity, this will be the cross-road. Heavy and ponderous bodies must either have a natural tendency to the centre of the earth, on account of their proper mechanism, or else be attracted by the corporeal mass thereof, as by a collection of bodies of the same nature, and so be carried to it by consent.

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And with regard hereto this may be a crucial instance. Take a clock that moves by weights, and another that moves by a steel spring; let them be exactly adjusted, that neither of them may go faster than the other; place the clock that goes with weights upon the top of some very high building; keep the other below; then carefully observe if the clock above move slower than usual, on account of the diminished virtue of its weight. Let the same experiment be made in the deepest mines, to show whether such a clock will not move faster there, for the contrary reason; and if the virtue of the weights shall be found diminished above, and increased below the surface of the earth, let the attraction of the terrestrial mass be received as the cause of weight or gravity.

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made absolutely rebellious by the curse, but, in virtue of that denunciation, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," is at length, not by disputes or indolent magical ceremonies, but by various real labours, subdued and brought in some degree to afford the necessaries of life.

END OF VOL. II.

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jects, so that if Democritus had seen them, he would perhaps have rejoiced, and imagined a way was now discovered for rendering the atoms visible, which he pronounced to be no object of sight.

But the unsuitableness and insufficiency of these microscopes, except for very minute bodies (and then only when such minute bodies are not parts of larger), destroy the use of the invention; which, if it could be extended to large bodies, or to small particles of large bodies, in the piece, after the manner of making a piece of fine lawn appear like a net, so as that by this means the latent small particles and inequalities of gems, liquors, urine, blood, wounds, and many other things might be distinguished, great conveniences would doubtless arise from the discovery.

Of the second kind are telescopes, which were nobly attempted and discovered by Galileo; by means whereof, as by boats or little ships of intelligence, a nearer commerce may be opened and carried on with the celestial bodies. For by the help of these glasses, 1. The milky way appears to be a knot or cluster of little stars, perfectly separate and distinct, of which the ancients had but a bare suspicion. 2. And again, by their means it should seem that the planetary regions contain more stars besides the direct planets, and that the heavens may begin to be spangled with stars at a great distance below the sphere of the fixed stars, though with such only as are invisible without the help of telescopes. And again, 3. By their assistance we may behold the motion of those small stars, or satellites, about the planet Jupiter; from whence it may be conjectured that the revolutions of the stars have regard to several centres. 4. Again, by their means the luminous and opaque inequalities are more distinctly perceived and ascertained in the moon, from whence a geographical description might be made thereof. 5. And lastly, by means of these glasses, spots in the sun, and other things of that kind, appear to the sight; all which are, doubtless, noble discoveries, so far as they may be safely depended upon for real. But, indeed, I the rather incline to suspect them, because experience seems wholly to rest in these few particulars, without discovering, by the same means, numerous others, equally worthy of search and inquiry.*

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* Galileo, some of whose telescopic discoveries are noticed

And as for employments, it is no more but in indifferent hand, and execution of that verse:—

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur."

Another paper relating to the same subject, and also contained in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio*, is entitled 'Certain Articles or Considerations touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland; collected and dispersed for his Majesty's better service.' It commences as follows:—

Your Majesty being, I doubt not, directed and conducted by a better oracle than that which was given for light to Æneas, in his peregrination (antiquam exquirite matrem), hath a royal, and, indeed, an heroical, desire to reduce these two kingdoms of England and Scotland into the unity of their ancient mother kingdom of Britain. Wherein, as I would gladly applaud unto your Majesty, or sing aloud that hymn or anthem "Sic itur ad astra;" so, in a more soft and submissive voice, I must necessarily remember unto your Majesty that warning or caveat, "ardua, quae pulchra:" it is an action that requireth, yea, and needeth much, not only of your Majesty's wisdom, but of your felicity. In this argument I presumed, at your Majesty's first entrance, to write a few lines indeed scholastically and speculatively, and not actively or politically, as I held it fit for me at that time, when neither your Majesty was, in that your desire, declared, nor myself in that service used or trusted. But now that both your Majesty hath opened your desire and purpose with much admiration, even of those who gave it not so full an approbation; and that myself was, by the Commons graced with the first vote of all the Commons, selected for that cause: not in any estimation of my ability (for therein so wise an assembly could not be so much deceived), but in an acknowledgment of my extreme labours and integrity in that business, I thought myself every way bound both in duty to your Majesty, and in trust to that House of Parliament, and in consent to the matter itself, and in conformity to mine own travails and beginnings, not to neglect any pains that may tend to the furtherance of so excellent a work; wherein I will endeavour that that which I shall set down be nihil minus quam verba: for length and ornament of speech are to be used for persuasion of multitudes, and not for information of kings: especially such a king as is the only

instance that ever I knew to make a man of Plato's opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance; and that the mind of man knoweth all things, and demandeth only to have her own notions excited and awaked; which your Majesty's rare, and indeed singular, gift and faculty of swift apprehension and infinite expansion or multiplication of another man's knowledge by your own, as I have often observed, so I did extremely admire in Goodwin's cause; being a matter full of secrets and mysteries of our laws merely new unto you, and quite out of the path of your education, reading, and conference: wherein, nevertheless, upon a spark of light given, your Majesty took in so dexterously and profoundly as if you had been indeed anima legis, not only in execution but in understanding; the remembrance whereof, as it will never be out of my mind, so it will always be a warning to me to seek rather to excite your judgment briefly than to inform it tediously: and if in a matter of that nature, how much more in this, wherein your princely cogitations have wrought themselves and been conversant, and wherein the principal light proceeded from yourself.

Afterwards it is observed that the points wherein the two nations of England and Scotland stand already united are, 1. In Sovereignty; 2. In Subjection; 3. In Religion; 4. In Continent; 5. In Language; 6. In Leagues and Confederacies with foreign powers, "now, by the peace concluded with Spain"—an expression which determines the date of the paper to have been subsequent to August, 1604. "Yet notwithstanding," it is added, "there is none of the six points wherein the union is perfect and consummate; but every of them hath some scruple or rather grain of separation inwrapped and included in them." And then the exposition proceeds:—

For the sovereignty, the union is absolute in your Majesty and your generation; but if it should be so (which God, of his infinite mercy, defend), that your issue should fail, then the descent of both realms doth resort to the several lines of the several bloods royal.

For subjection, I take the law of England to be clear (what the law of Scotland is, I know not), that all Scottishmen, from the very instant that your Majesty's reign begun, are become

denizens, and the post-nati are naturalized subjects of England for the time forwards; for, by our laws, none can be an alien but he that is of another allegiance than our Sovereign Lord the King's. For there be but two sorts of aliens whereof we find mention in our law: an alien ami, and an alien enemy; whereof, the former is a subject of a state in amity with the king, and the latter a subject of a state in hostility; but whether he be one or other, it is an essential difference unto the definition of an alien if he be not of the King's allegiance: as we see it evidently in the precedent of Ireland, who, since they were subjects to the crown of England, have ever been inheritable and capable as natural subjects, and yet not by any statute or act of Parliament, but merely by the common law and the reason thereof. So, as there is no doubt, that every subject of Scotland was and is in like plight and degree, since your Majesty's coming in, as if your Majesty had granted particularly your letters of denization or naturalization to every of them, and the post-nati wholly natural. But then, on the other side, for the time backwards, and for those that were ante-nati, the blood is not by law naturalized, so as they cannot take it by descent from their ancestors without act of parliament. And therefore, in this point, there is a defect in the union of subjection.

For matter of religion, the union is perfect in points of doctrine; but in matter of discipline and government it is imperfect.

For the continent, it is true there are no natural boundaries of mountains, or seas, or navigable rivers; but yet there are badges and memorials of borders, of which point I have spoken before.

For the language, it is true the nations are unius labii, and have not the first curse of disunion, which was confusion of tongues, whereby one understood not another; but yet the dialect is differing, and it remaineth a kind of mark of distinction. But for that, tempori permittendum, it is to be left to time; for considering that both languages do concur in the principal office and duty of a language, which is to make a man's self understood, for the rest it is rather to be accounted, as was said, a diversity of dialect than of language; and, as I said in my first writing, it is like to bring forth the enriching of one language by compounding and taking in the proper and significant words of either tongue, rather than a continuance of two languages.

For leagues and confederacies, it is true that neither nation is now in hostility with any state wherewith the other nation is in amity, but yet so as the leagues and treaties have been concluded with either nation respectively, and not with both jointly, which may contain some diversity of articles of straitness of amity with one more than with the other.

But many of these matters may, perhaps, be of that kind as may fall within that rule, In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.

There is also in Stephens's Second Collection the commencement of a paper entitled 'The most humble Certificate of Return of the Commissioners of England and Scotland authorized to treat of an Union for the weal of both Realms, 2 Jac. I. [Prepared, but Altered.]' Bacon was in 1604 appointed one of the Commissioners for the Commons under the stat. 1 Jac. I. c. 2, to treat concerning a Union of the two kingdoms with other commissioners to be appointed by the parliament of Scotland;—a project, however, which came to no result at that time.

Along with these papers respecting a Union with Scotland may be mentioned another, also in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio*, entitled 'Certain Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland, Presented to his Majesty, 1606.' The date, however, ought certainly to be at least a year later; for Bacon speaks of himself as being now Solicitor-General, which he was not till June, 1607. After some introductory observations, the subject of the Plantation or Colonization of Ireland is thus taken up:—

For the excellency of the work, I will divide it into four noble and worthy consequences that will follow thereupon. The first of the four is honour, whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds of their nature wild and savage, to stand about him as in a theatre, forgetting their affections of fierceness of lust and of prey, and

listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp; and soon after called likewise the stones and the woods to remove and stand in order about him: which fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and plantation of kingdoms, when people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge and blood, and of dissolute life, and of theft, and of rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments: whereupon, immediately followeth the calling of stones for building and habitation, and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards, and enclosures, and the like.

This work, therefore, of all other most memorable and honourable your Majesty hath now in hand, specially if your Majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus in casting out desolation and barbarism.

The second consequence of this enterprize is the avoiding of an inconvenience which commonly attendeth upon happy times, and is an evil effect of a good cause. The revolution of this present age seemeth to incline to peace almost generally in these parts; and your Majesty's most Christian and virtuous affections do promise the same more specially to these your kingdoms. An effect of peace in fruitful kingdoms (where the stock of people, receiving no consumption nor diminution by war, doth continually multiply and increase) must, in the end, be a surcharge or overflow of people more than the territories can well maintain; which, many times insinuating a general necessity and want of means into all estates, doth turn external peace into internal troubles and seditions; now what an excellent diversion of this inconvenience is ministered by God's providence to your Majesty in this plantation of Ireland, wherein so many families may receive sustentation and fortunes; and the discharge of them also out of England and Scotland may prevent many seeds of future perturbations. So that it is as if a man were troubled for the avoidance of water from the place where he hath built his house, and afterwards, should advise with himself to cast those waters, and to turn them into fair pools or streams for pleasure, provision, or use. So shall your Majesty, in this work, have a double commodity in the avoidance of people here and in making use of them there.

The third consequence is, the great safety that is like to grow to your Majesty's estate in general by this act, in discomfiting all hostile attempts of foreigners, which the weakness of

that kingdom hath heretofore invited, wherein I shall not need to fetch reasons afar off, either for the general or particular; for the general, because nothing is more evident than that which one of the Romans said of Peloponnesus: Testudo intra tegumen tuta est; the tortoise is safe within her shell: but if she put forth any part of her body, then it endangereth not only the part that is so put forth, but all the rest; and so we see in armour, if any part be left naked, it puts in hazard the whole person; and in the natural body of man, if there be any weak or affected part, it is enough to draw rheums or malign humours unto it, to the interruption of the health of the whole body.

And for the particular, the example is too fresh that the indisposition of that kingdom hath been a continual attractive of troubles and infestations upon this estate; and though your Majesty's greatness doth, in some sort, discharge this fear, yet, with your increase of power, it cannot be but envy is likewise increased.

The fourth and last consequence is, the great profit and strength which is like to redound to your crown by the working upon this unpolished part thereof, whereof your Majesty (being in the strength of your years) are like, by the good pleasure of Almighty God, to receive more than the first fruits, and your posterity a growing and springing vein of riches and power. For this island being another Britain, as Britain was said to be another world, is endowed with so many dowries of nature (considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the ports, the rivers, the fishings, the quarries, the woods, and other materials; and especially the race and generation of men, valiant, hardy, and active), as it is not easy, no, not upon the Continent, to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man did join with the hand of nature. So, then, for the excellency of the work in point of honour, policy, safety, and utility, here I cease.

Under the second head, of the Means, the following observations are made respecting the buildings to be erected by the undertakers, as the persons were called who were to be induced to advance the necessary funds for the plantation:—

My opinion is, that the building be altogether in towns, to be compounded as well of husbandries as of arts. My reasons are:

'First, when men come into a country vast and void of all things necessary for the use of man's life, if they set up together in a place, one of them will the better supply the wants of another: work-folks of all sorts will be the more continually on work without loss of time; when, if work fail in one place, they may have it fast by; the ways will be made more passable for carriages to those seats or towns than they can be to a number of dispersed solitary places, and infinite other helps and easements scarcely to be comprehended in cogitation, will ensue in vicinity and society of people; whereas, if they build scattered, as is projected, every man must have a cornucopia in himself for all things he must use, which cannot but breed much difficulty and no less waste.

Secondly, it will draw out of the inhabited country of Ireland provisions and victuals, and many necessaries, because they shall be sure of utterance; whereas, in the dispersed habitations, every man must reckon only upon that that he brings with him, as they do in provisions of ships.

Thirdly, the charge of bawnes, as they call them, to be made about every castle or house, may be spared when the habitations shall be congregated only into towns.

And lastly, it will be a means to secure the country against future perils in case of any revolt and defection. For, by a slight fortification, of no great charge, the danger of any attempts of kierns and swordmen may be prevented: the omission of which point, in the last plantation of Munster, made the work of years to be but the spoil of days. And if any man think it will draw people too far off from the grounds they are to labour, it is to be understood that the number of the towns be increased accordingly, and likewise the situation of them be as in the centre, in respect of the portions assigned to them. For in the champaign countries of England, where the habitation useth to be in towns and not dispersed, it is no new thing to go two miles off to plough part of their grounds; and two miles compass will take up a good deal of country.

Another paper published in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio* is entitled 'Advice to the King touching Mr. Sutton's Estate.' Its object is to make out the impolicy of permitting the erection of the Charter-House, to which purpose Sutton had devoted his large fortune. It was probably written subsequently to the death of Sutton, which happened in 1611, after he had obtained

fore, his lordship manifesting himself not against the charity, but the manner of disposing it, it was not well done of those who have publicly defamed him by declaring their jealousies of bribery by the heir."

Respecting the very remarkable piece known as Bacon's 'Advice to Sir George Villiers,' Blackbourne says:—"I am to acquaint the reader that there are several copies of this performance:—the first, in 4to., as a single pamphlet, printed in 1661; the second, printed in Lloyd's *Worthies*, under the title of Buckingham, in the year 1670; and the third, in the *Cabala*. The second and third vary very little, inasmuch as they appear to be only two transcripts of one original; though they differ vastly from the first. But the worst circumstance in which they all agree is, that they are incorrect." As the copy in the *Cabala*, however, appeared in the second edition of that Collection published in 1663, as well as in the third published in 1691 (though not in the first published in 1654), it takes precedence over that given in Lloyd's *Worthies*. The title in the *Cabala* is, at full length:—'The Copy of a Letter conceived to be written to the late Duke of Buckingham when he first became a favourite to King James, by Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Alban; containing some advices unto the Duke for his better direction in that eminent place of the Favourite; drawn from him at the entreaty of the Duke himself by much importunity.' Blackbourne is puzzled by a passage which he conceives would imply that the paper had been written after the death of the Queen (in March, 1619); but the expression to which he refers—"when there is no queen or princess, *as now*"—may evidently be taken in two senses. The manner and substance, as well as the title, of the Letter show that it must have been addressed to Villiers in the early part of his career at court, or probably in 1615. It is upon the internal evidence, also, it must be confessed, that we are chiefly dependent in respect to the authorship; but it may be regarded as conclusive. Both the matter and the style have all the characteristics of

Bacon's mind and pen. Nor, unless we are to take exception to the mere recognition of such a place or office as that of the royal favourite, is there anything in the advice which Bacon here gives Villiers that can fairly be considered as discreditable to either. Among the most remarkable passages are some that occur only in the edition of 1661. One of these is:—"Remember, then, what your true condition is; the King himself is above the reach of his people, but cannot be above their censures; and you are his shadow, if either he commit an error, and is loth to avow it, but excuses it upon his ministers, of which you are first in the eye, or you commit the fault and have willingly permitted it, and must suffer for it: and so perhaps you may be offered a sacrifice to appease the multitude." Afterwards Villiers is thus addressed:—"You are as a new-risen star, and the eyes of all men are upon you; let not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor." And then the original edition of 1661 proceeds as follows:—

Remember well the great trust you have undertaken, you are as a continual sentinel always to stand upon your watch to give him true intelligence. If you flatter him you betray him; if you conceal the truth of those things from him, which concern his justice or his honour, although not the safety of his person, you are as dangerous a traitor to his state as he that riseth in arms against him. A false friend is more dangerous than an open enemy: kings are styled gods upon earth, not absolute, but *dixi, dii estis;* and the next words are *sed moriemini sicut homines*, they shall die like men, and then all their thoughts perish. They cannot possibly see all things with their own eyes nor hear all things with their own ears: they must commit many great trusts to their ministers. Kings must be answerable to God Almighty, to whom they are but vassals, for their actions and for their negligent omissions; but the ministers to kings, whose eyes, ears, and hands they are, must be answerable to God and man for the breach of their *duties*, in violation of their trusts, whereby they betray them. *Opinion* is a master-wheel in these cases: that courtier who obtained a boon of the emperor, that he might every morning at his coming into his presence humbly whisper him in the ear and say nothing, asked no unprofitable suit for himself, but

and our many safe and commodious ports and havens, in every of these kingdoms, are as the redoubts to secure them.

8. For the body of the ships, no nation of the world doth equal England for the oaken timber wherewith to build them; and we need not borrow of any other iron for spikes or nails to fasten them together; but there must be a great deal of providence used that our ship timber be not unnecessarily wasted.

9. But for tackling, as sails and cordage, we are beholden to our neighbours for them, and do buy them for our money; that must be foreseen and laid up in store against a time of need, and not sought for when we are to use them; but we are much to blame that we make them not at home; only pitch and tar we have not of our own.

10. For the true art of building of ships for burden and service both, no nation in the world exceeds us; ship-wrights and all other artisans belonging to that trade must be cherished and encouraged.

11. Powder and ammunition of all sorts we can have at home, and in exchange for other home commodities we may be plentifully supplied from our neighbours, which must not be neglected.

12. With mariners and seamen this kingdom is plentifully furnished; the constant trade of merchandising will furnish us at a need; and navigable rivers will repair the store, both to the navy royal and to the merchants, if they be set on work, and well paid for their labour.

13. Sea-captains, and commanders, and other officers must be encouraged, and rise by degrees, as their fidelity and industry deserve it.

The unfinished Dialogue entitled 'An Advertisement touching an Holy War, written in the year 1622,' was first published in the Second Part of the *Resuscitatio* (1670). It is preceded by an interesting Letter addressed 'To the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Counsellor of Estate to his Majesty,' which commences as follows:—

My Lord, Amongst consolations it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamity in others. For examples give a quicker impression than arguments, and besides, they certify us that which the Scripture also tendereth for satisfaction; that no new thing is happened unto us. This

they do the better, by how much the examples are liker in circumstances to our own case, and more especially, if they fall upon persons that are greater or worthier than ourselves. For as it savoureth of vanity to match ourselves highly in our own conceit, so on the other side it is a good sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.

In this kind of consolation I have not been wanting to myself, though as a Christian I have tasted (through God's great goodness) of higher remedies. Having therefore, through the variety of my reading, set before me many examples both of ancient and later times, my thoughts, I confess, have chiefly stayed upon three particulars as the most eminent and the most resembling. All three persons that had held chief place of authority in their countries, all three ruined not by war or by any other disaster, but by justice and sentence as delinquents and criminals; all three famous writers, insomuch as the remembrance of their calamity is now as to posterity but as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of their acts and works. And all three (if that were anything to the matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of rising again; for that they were every one of them restored with great glory, but to their further ruin and destruction, ending in a violent death. The men were Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, persons that I durst not claim affinity with, except the similitude of our fortunes had contracted it. When I had cast mine eyes upon these examples, I was carried on further to observe how they did bear their for unes, and principally how they did employ their times, being banished and disabled for public business; to the end that I might learn by them, and that they might be as well my counsellors as my comforters. Whereupon I happened to note how diversely their fortunes wrought upon them, especially in that point at which I did most aim, which was the employing of their times and pens. In Cicero I saw that during his banishment, which was almost two years, he was so softened and dejected as he wrote nothing but a few womanish epistles. And yet, in mine opinion, he had least reason of the three to be discouraged; for that although he was judged, and judged by the highest kind of judgment, in form of statute or law, that he should be banished, and his whole estate confiscated and seized, and his houses pulled down, and that it should be highly penal for any man to propound a repeal, yet his case

even then had no great blot of ignominy, for it was but a tempest of popularity which overthrew him. Demosthenes, contrarywise, though his case was foul, being condemned for bribery, and not simple bribery, but bribery in the nature of treason and disloyalty, yet nevertheless took so little knowledge of his fortune, as during his banishment he did much busy himself and intermeddle with matters of state, and took upon him to counsel the state (as if he had still been at the helm) by letters, as appears by some epistles of his which are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions and crimes, and banished into a solitary island, kept a mean, and though his pen did not freeze, yet he abstained from intruding into matters of business, but spent his time in writing books of excellent argument and use for all ages, though he might have made better choice sometimes of his dedications.

These examples confirmed me much in a resolution (whereunto I was otherwise inclined) to spend my time wholly in writing, and to put forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it is, that God hath given me, not as heretofore to particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity which will not break.

Most of the remainder of the Letter we have already had occasion to quote or refer to. Bacon goes on to state that, having not long since set forth a part of his *Instauration*, which is that one of his works that he most esteems, he thinks "to proceed in some new parts thereof." He had received from foreign countries many testimonies respecting that work going as far as he could expect at the first in so abstruse an argument; nevertheless he had just cause to doubt that it flew too high over men's heads; his purpose, therefore, was, though he should break the order of time, "to draw it down to the sense by some patterns of a Natural Story and Inquisition." He had also thought it good to procure a translation of his *Advancement of Learning* into the general language, that is, Latin, that it might serve as some preparative or key for the better opening of the *Instauration*, "because," as he explains, "it exhibits a mixture of new conceits and old, whereas the *Instauration* gives the new unmixed, otherwise than with

me little aspersion of the old for taste's sake." This
nslation, which was not without great and ample ad-
ions, and enrichment of the original English, espe-
ally in the Second Book, might stand, he held, in lieu
the First Part of the *Instauration*, and acquit the
omise he had made in regard to that portion of the
rk. "Again," he continues, "because I cannot
ogether desert the civil person [i.e. character] that I
ve borne; which if I should forget enough would
member; I have also entered into a work touching
ws, propounding a character of justice in a middle
m between the speculative and reverend discourses of
ilosophers and the writings of lawyers, which are
d and obnoxious to their particular law." He has
t no work, however, either completed or even com-
enced, to which this description is applicable. The
rpose that he had once had, he says, of making a par-
ular digest, or reconcilement, of the laws of his own
tion, he had laid aside, as being a work not to be
complished by his own unaided forces and pen. He
d thought also that he owed in duty something to his
untry, which he had ever loved; "insomuch," he
ys, "as, although my place hath been far above my
sert, yet my thoughts and cares concerning the good
ereof were beyond and over and above my place;" so
w, being as he was, no more able to do his country
vice, it remained to him to do it honour; and that he
d endeavoured to do in his *History of King Henry
e Seventh*. As for his *Essays*, and some other pieces
that nature, he counted them but as the recreations of
other studies, and as such it was his purpose to con-
ue them; "though I am not ignorant," he adds,
that those kind of writings would, with less pains and
ibracement perhaps, yield more lustre and reputation
my name than those other which I have in hand."
ie Letter concludes thus:—"But, revolving with my-
f my writings, as well those which I have pub-
hed as those which I have in hand, methought
y went all into the city, and none into the temple;
ere, because I have found so great consolation, I

desire likewise to make some poor oblation. Therefore I have chosen an argument mixed of religious and civil considerations; and likewise mixed between contemplative and active. For who can tell whether there may not be an *Exoriare aliquis?** Great matters, especially if they be religious, have, many times, small beginnings: and the platform may draw on the building. This work, because I was ever an enemy to flattering dedications, I have dedicated to your lordship, in respect of our ancient and private acquaintance; and because amongst the men of our times I hold you in special reverence. Your Lordship's loving friend, Fr. St. Alban."

By a holy war Bacon means a war or crusade against the Turks. The persons by whom the discussion is carried on are six in number; namely, Eusebius, a moderate divine; Gamaliel, a Protestant zealot; Zebedaeus, a Roman Catholic zealot; Martius, a military man; Eupolis, a politician; Pollio, a courtier. The most interesting part of the dialogue, so far as it goes, is the earlier part of it, which is as follows:—

There met at Paris, in the house of Eupolis, Eusebius, Zebedaeus, Gamaliel, Martius, all persons of eminent quality, but of several dispositions. Eupolis himself was also present, and while they were set in conference Pollio came in to them from court, and as soon as he saw them, after his witty and pleasant manner, he said:

Pollio.—Here be four of you, I think, were able to make a good world, for you are as differing as the four elements, and yet you are friends. As for Eupolis, because he is temperate and without passion, he may be the fifth essence. *Eupolis.*—If we five, Pollio, make the great world, you alone make the little, because you profess and practise both to

* In allusion to the dying imprecation of Dido, in the Fourth Æneid—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor," &c.

"Rise some avenger of our Libyan blood;
With fire and sword pursue the perjured brood."
Dryden.

er all things to yourself. *Pollio.*—And what do they that actise it and profess it not? *Eupolis.*—They are the less rdy and the more dangerous. But come and sit down with , for we were speaking of the affairs of Christendom at this y, wherein we would be glad also to have your opinion. *ollio.*—My Lords, I have journeyed this morning, and it is w the heat of the day, therefore your Lordship's discourses d need content my ears very well, to make them entreat ine eyes to keep open. But yet if you will give me leave to ake you when I think your discourses do but sleep, I will ep watch the best I can. *Eupolis.*—You cannot do us a eater favour. Only I fear you will think all our discourses be but the better sort of dreams, for good wishes without wer to effect are not much more. But, sir, when you came , Martius had both raised our attentions and affected us with me speech he had begun, and it falleth out well to shake off ur drowsiness, for it seemed to be the trumpet of a war. nd therefore, Martius, if it please you begin again, for the eech was such as deserveth to be heard twice, and I assure u your auditory is not a little amended by the presence of ollio. *Martius.*—When you came in, Pollio, I was saying eely to these lords, that I had observed how, by the space w of half a century of years, there had been (if I may speak) a kind of meanness in the designs and enterprises of hristendom. Wars with subjects, like an angry suit for a an's own that might be better ended by accord. Some petty quests of a town, or a spot of territory, like a farmer's purase of a close or nook of ground that lay fit for him. And lthough the wars had been for a Naples, or a Milan, or a Portgal, or a Bohemia, yet these wars were but the wars of heathens f Athens, or Sparta, or Rome) for secular interest or ambion, not worthy the warfare of Christians. The Church, ineed, maketh her missions into the extreme parts of the nations nd isles, and it is well; but this is *ecce unus gladius hic.* he Christian princes and potentates are they that are wanting the propagation of the faith by their arms. Yet our Lord at said on earth to the disciples, *Ite et praedicate*, said from eaven to Constantine, *In hoc signo vince.* What Christian ldier is there that will not be touched with a religious emution to see an order of Jesus, or of Saint Francis, or of Saint ugustine, do such service for enlarging the Christian rders, and an order of Saint Jago, or Saint Michael, or Saint eorge, only to robe and feast, and perform rites and ob-

servances? Surely the merchants themselves shall rise in judgment against the princes and nobles of Europe, for they have made a great path in the seas, unto the ends of the world, and set forth ships and forces of Spanish, English, and Dutch, enough to make China tremble, and all this for pearl or stone, or spices, but for the pearl of the kingdom of heaven, or the stones of the heavenly Hierusalem, or the spices of the Spouse's garden, not a mast hath been set up. Nay, they can make shift to shed Christian blood, so far off amongst themselves, and not a drop for the cause of Christ. But let me recall myself; I must acknowledge that within the space of fifty years, whereof I spake, there have been three noble and memorable actions upon the infidels, wherein the Christian hath been the invader. For where it is upon the defensive, I reckon it a war of nature and not of piety. The first was that famous and fortunate war by sea, that ended in the victory of Lepanto, which hath put a hook into the nostrils of the Ottomans to this day, which was the work chiefly of that excellent pope, Pius Quintus, whom I wonder his successors have not declared a saint. The second was the noble, though unfortunate expedition of Sebastian, King of Portugal, upon Afric, which was achieved by him alone, so alone, as left somewhat for others to excuse. The last was the brave incursion of Sigismund, the Transylvanian prince, the thread of whose prosperity was cut off by the Christians themselves, contrary to the worthy and paternal monitories of Pope Clement the Eighth. More than these I do not remember. *Pollio.*—No! What say you to the extirpation of the Moors of Valentia? At which sudden question Martius was a little at a stop, and Gamaliel prevented him, and said: *Gamaliel.*—I think Martius did well in omitting that action, for I, for my part, never approved it, and it seems God was not well pleased with that deed, for you see the King in whose time it passed (whom you Catholics count a saint-like and immaculate prince) was taken away in the flower of his age, and the author and great counsellor of that rigour (whose fortunes seem to be built upon the rock) is ruined; and it is thought by some, that the reckonings of that business are not yet cleared with Spain; for that numbers of those supposed Moors, being tried now by their exile, continue constant in the faith, and true Christians in all points save in the thirst of revenge. *Zebedæus.*—Make not hasty judgment, Gamaliel, of that great action which was as Christ's fan in those countries, except you

could show some such covenant from the crown of Spain as Joshua made with the Gibeonites, that that cursed seed should continue in the land. And you see it was done by edict, not tumultuously; the sword was not put into the people's hands. *Eupolis.*—I think Martius did omit it not as making any judgment of it either way, but because it sorted not aptly with action of war, being upon subjects, and without resistance. And let us, if you think good, give Martius leave to proceed in his discourse, for methought he spake like a divine in armour. *Martius.*—It is true, Eupolis, that the principal object which I have before mine eyes in that whereof I speak is piety and religion. But nevertheless, if I should speak only as a natural man, I should persuade the same thing. For there is no such enterprise at this day for secular greatness and terrene honour as a war upon infidels. Neither do I in this propound a novelty or imagination, but that which is proved by late examples of the same kind, though perhaps of less difficulty. The Castilians, the age before that wherein we lived, opened the new world, and subdued and planted Mexico, Peru, Chili, and other parts of the West Indies. We see what floods of treasure have flowed into Europe by that action, so that the cense or rates of Christendom are raised since ten times, yea, twenty times told. Of this treasure, it is true, the gold was accumulate and store treasure for the most part, but the silver is still growing. Besides infinite is the access of territory and empire by the same enterprise. For there was never an hand drawn that did double the rest of the habitable world before this, for so a man may truly term it, if he shall put to account as well that that is, as that which may be hereafter by the further occupation and colonizing of those countries. And yet it cannot be affirmed (if one speak ingenuously) that it was the propagation of the Christian faith that was the adamant of that discovery, entry, and plantation, but gold and silver, and temporal profit, and glory, so that what was first in God's providence was but second in man's appetite and intention. The like may be said of the famous navigations and conquests of Emanuel, King of Portugal, whose arms began to circle Afric and Asia, and to acquire not only the trade of spices, and stores, and musk, and drugs, but footing and places in those extreme parts of the East. For neither in this was religion the principal, but amplification and enlargement of riches and dominion. And the effect of these two enterprises is now such that both the East and the West Indies being met in

the crown of Spain, it is come to pass that as one saith in a brave kind of expression, the sun never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shines upon one part or other of them, which to say truly, is a beam of glory, though I cannot say it is so solid a body of glory wherein the crown of Spain surpasseth all the former monarchies. So as to conclude, we may see that in these actions upon Gentiles or Infidels, only or chiefly, both the spiritual and temporal, honour and good, have been in our pursuit and purpose conjoined. *Pollio.*—Methinks, with your favour, you should remember, Martius, that wild and savage people are like beasts and birds, which are *ferae naturae*, the property of which passeth with the possession, and goeth to the occupant, but of civil people it is not so. *Martius.*—I know no such difference amongst reasonable souls, but that whatsoever is in order to the greatest and most general good of people may justify the action, be the people more or less civil. But, Eupolis, I shall not easily grant that the people of Peru or Mexico were such brute savages as you intend, or that there should be any such difference between them and many of the infidels which are now in other parts. In Peru, though they were unparalleled people, according to the clime, and had some customs very barbarous, yet the government of the Incas had many parts of humanity and civility. They had reduced the nations from the adoration of a multitude of idols and fancies to the adoration of the sun. And as I remember, the Book of Wisdom noteth degrees of idolatry, making that of worshipping petty and vile idols more gross than simply the worshipping of the creature. And some of the prophets, as I take it, do the like in the metaphor of more ugly and bestial fornication. The Peruvians also, under the Incas, had magnificent temples of their superstition, they had strict and regular justice, they bare great faith and obedience to their kings, they proceeded in a kind of martial justice with their enemies, offering them their law, as better for their own good, before they drew their sword. And much like was the state of Mexico, being an elective monarchy. As for those people of the East (Goa, Calacute, Malacca), they were a fine and dainty people, frugal and yet elegant, though not military. So that if things be rightly weighed, the empire of the Turks may be truly affirmed to be more barbarous than any of these. A cruel tyranny, bathed in the blood of their emperors upon every succession, a heap of vassals and slaves, no nobles, no gentlemen, no free men, no inheritance of land,

) or ancient families, a people that is without natural
ı, and, as the Scripture saith, that regardeth not the
of women, and without piety or care towards their
ı, a nation without morality, without letters, arts, or
, that can scarce measure an acre of land, or an hour of
base and sluttish in buildings, diets, and the like, and
d a very reproach of human society, and yet this nation
ıde the garden of the world a wilderness, for that, as it
said concerning the Turks, where Ottoman's horse sets
people will come up very thin.

ched to this dialogue is a short fragment printed
nison in the *Baconiana*, entitled 'The Lord
ı Questions about the Lawfulness of a War for
)pagation of Religion.' Bacon's own heading of
)er appears to have been, 'Questions wherein I
)pinion, joined with arguments and authorities.'
ıaps the most spirited and eloquent of all Bacon's
l writings is his last, entitled 'Considerations
ıing a War with Spain, inscribed to Prince
ı, anno 1624.' It is printed in the Second Part
Resuscitatio. The war with Spain, into which
:eeded in plunging the country as soon as Charles
King in the beginning of the following year,
this moment the great object upon which Buck-
ı was bent; and the present tract was probably
ɔd at the instigation of the favourite, or at least
ıe view of aiding and gratifying him. But, what-
ɔ may think either of the motives by which Bacon
ıve been actuated or of the wisdom or true pa-
ı of the policy which he recommends, it is im-
ɔ to read the present paper without admiration of
liancy as a piece of writing, and of the vital force
ıoyancy with which the old man has filled it.
'Highness," it gracefully begins, "hath an im-
ıame. It was a Charles that brought the empire
to France; a Charles that brought it first into
why should not Great Britain have its turn?"
ın sets himself in the first place to maintain the
of the proposed war. It will be waged, he con-
not for the Palatinate only, though that may

be the more immediate object, "but for England, Scotland, Ireland, our King, our prince, our nation, all that we have." It is the overgrowing greatness of the Spaniards that is its true cause and justification:—

And to say truth, if one mark it well, this was in all memory the main piece of wisdom in strong and prudent counsels, to be in perpetual watch that the states about them should neither by approach, nor by increase of dominion, nor by ruining confederates, nor by blocking of trade, nor by any the like means, have it in their power to hurt or annoy the states they serve, and whensoever any such cause did but appear straightways to buy it out with a war, and never take up peace at credit and upon interest. It is so memorable, as it is yet as fresh as if it were done yesterday, how that triumvirate of kings, Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. of France, and Charles V. Emperor and King of Spain, were in their times so provident as scarce a palm of ground could be gotten by either of the three, but that the other two would be sure to do their best to set the balance of Europe upright again.

And the like diligence was used in the age before by that league wherewith Guiocardine beginneth his story, and maketh it as it were the calendar of the good days of Italy, which was contracted between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzo of Medici, Potentate of Florence, and Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, designed chiefly against the growing power of the Venetians, but yet so as the confederates had a perpetual eye one upon another that none of them should overtop. To conclude therefore, howsoever some schoolmen (otherwise reverend men, yet fitter to guide penknives than swords) seem precisely to stand upon it that every offensive war must be *ultio*, a revenge that presupposeth a precedent assault or injury, yet neither do they descend to this point which we now handle of a just fear, neither are they of authority to judge this question against all the precedents of time. For certainly as long as men are men (the sons, as the poets allude, of Prometheus, and not of Epimetheus), and as long as reason is reason, a just fear will be a just cause of a preventive war, but especially if it be part of the case that there is a nation that is manifestly detected to aspire to monarchy and new acquests, then other states assuredly cannot be justly accused for not staying for the first blow, or for not accepting Polyphemus' courtesy to be the last that shall be eaten up. . . . .

Is it nothing that the crown of Spain hath enlarged the bounds thereof within the last six score years much more than the Ottomans? I speak not of matches or unions, but of arms, occupations, invasions. Granada, Naples, Milan, Portugal, the East and West Indies, all these are actual additions to that crown. They had a mind to French Britain, the lower part of Picardy and Piedmont, but they have let fall their bit. They have to this day such a hovering possession of the Valtoline, as an hobby hath over a lark, and the Palatinate is in their talons, so that nothing is more manifest than that this nation of Spain runs a race still of empire, when all other states of Christendom stand in effect at a stay. Look then a little further into the titles whereby they have acquired and do now hold these new portions of their crown, and you will find them of so many varieties, and such natures, to speak with due respect, as may appear to be easily minted, and such as can hardly at any time be wanting. And therefore so many new conquests and purchases, so many strokes of the alarm-bell of fear, and awaking to other nations, and the facility of the titles which hand over head have served their turn, doth ring the peal so much the sharper and the louder.

Afterwards passing to the second part of his argument, he contends that, in every instance hitherto in which the two nations had encountered, England had come off with the advantage;—in the Netherlands in the year 1578, on that famous Lammas-day when the reputation of Don John of Austria was overthrown and buried, chiefly by the prowess and virtue of the English and Scottish troops under the conduct of Sir John Norris and Sir Robert Stuart; in 1580, when they were driven out of Ireland by Lord Grey, and the garrison which they had placed there in their Fort del Or compelled to yield themselves prisoners; in 1582, when Sir John Norris effected his memorable retreat from Ghent in spite of the opposition of the Prince of Parma and the entire Spanish army; in the expedition of Drake and Carlisle to the West Indies in 1585; in Drake's expedition to Cadiz in 1587—which last enterprise, Bacon says, he remembers, Drake, in the vaunting style of a soldier, would call the singeing of the King of Spain's beard. Then he proceeds:—

The enterprise of eighty-eight deserveth to be stood upon a little more fully, being a miracle of time. There armed from Spain in the year 1588 the greatest navy that ever swam upon the sea. For though there have been far greater fleets for number, yet for the bulk and building of the ships, with the furniture of great ordnance and provisions, never the like. The design was to make not an invasion only, but an utter conquest of this kingdom. The number of vessels were one hundred and thirty, whereof galliases and galleons seventy-two, goodly ships like floating towers or castles, manned with thirty thousand soldiers and mariners. This navy was the preparation of five whole years at the least. It bare itself also upon divine assistance, for it received special blessing from Pope Sixtus, and was assigned as an Apostolical mission, for the reducement of this kingdom to the obedience of the see of Rome. And in further token of this holy warfare, there were amongst the rest of these ships twelve called by the name of the twelve Apostles. But it was truly conceived that this kingdom of England could never be overwhelmed, except the land waters came in to the sea-tides. Therefore was there also in readiness, in Flanders, a mighty strong army of land-forces to the number of fifty thousand veteran soldiers, under the conduct of the Duke of Parma, the best commander next the French King, Henry the Fourth, of his time. These were designed to join with the forces at sea, there being prepared a number of flat-bottomed boats to transport the land-forces under the wing and protection of the great navy. For they made no account but that the navy should be absolute master of the seas. Against these forces there were prepared on our part to the number of near one hundred ships, not so great of bulk, indeed, but of a more nimble motion and more serviceable, besides a less fleet of thirty ships for the custody of the narrow seas. There were also in readiness at land two armies, besides other forces, to the number of ten thousand, dispersed amongst the coast towns in the southern parts. The two armies were appointed, one of them consisting of twenty-five thousand horse and foot, for the repulsing of the enemy at their landing, and the other twenty-five thousand for safeguard and attendance about the court and the Queen's person. There were also other dormant musters of soldiers throughout all parts of the realm, that were put in readiness but not drawn together. The two armies were assigned to the leading of two generals, noble persons, but both of them rather courtiers and assured

to the state, than martial men, yet lined and assisted with subordinate commanders of great experience and valour. The fortune of the war made this enterprise at first a play at base. The Spanish navy set forth out of the Groyne in May, was dispersed and driven back by weather. Our navy set forth somewhat later out of Plymouth, and bare up towards the coast of Spain to have fought with the Spanish navy, and partly by reason of contrary winds, partly upon advertisement that the Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass by towards the coast of England whilst we were seeking them afar off, returned likewise into Plymouth about the middle of July. At that time came more confident advertisement, though false, not only to the Lord Admiral but to the court, that the Spaniards could not possibly come forward that year, whereupon our navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of our men gone ashore. At which very time the Invincible Armada (for so it was called in a Spanish ostentation throughout Europe) was discovered upon the western coast. It was a kind of surprise, for that, as was said, many of our men were gone to land, and our ships ready to depart. Nevertheless the Admiral, with such ships only as could suddenly be put in readiness, made forth towards them, insomuch as of one hundred ships there came scarce thirty to work. Howbeit with them and such as came daily in, we set upon them and gave them the chace. But the Spaniards, for want of courage, which they call commission, declined the fight, casting themselves continually into roundels, their strongest ships walling in the rest, and in that manner they made a flying march towards Calais. Our men by the space of five or six days followed them close, fought with them continually, made great slaughter of their men, took two of their great ships, and gave divers others of their ships their death's wounds, whereof soon after they sank and perished, and in a word distressed them almost in the nature of a defeat, we ourselves in the meantime receiving little or no hurt. Near Calais the Spaniards anchored, expecting their land forces, which came not. It was afterwards alleged that the Duke of Parma did artificially delay his coming. But this was but an invention and pretension given out by the Spaniards, partly upon a Spanish envy against that duke being an Italian, and his son a competitor to Portugal, but chiefly to save the monstrous scorn and disreputation which they and their nation received by the success of that enterprise. Therefore their colours and

excuse forsooth were, that their general by sea had a limited commission not to fight until the land forces were come in to them, and that the Duke of Parma had particular reaches and ends of his own, underhand, to cross the design. But it was both a strange commission and a strange obedience to a commission for men in the midst of their own blood, and being so furiously assailed, to hold their hands contrary to the laws of nature and necessity. And as for the Duke of Parma, he was reasonably well tempted to be true to that enterprise by no less promise than to be made a feudatory or beneficiary king of England, under the seigniory in chief of the Pope, and the protection of the King of Spain. Besides, it appeared that the Duke of Parma held his place long after in the favour and trust of the King of Spain by the great employments and services that he performed in France; and again it is manifest that the duke did his best to come down and to put to sea: the truth was, that the Spanish navy, upon those proofs of fight that they had with the English, finding how much hurt they received, and how little hurt they did, by reason of the activity and low building of our ships and skill of our seamen, and being also commanded by a general of small courage and experience, and having lost at the first two of their bravest commanders at sea, Pedro de Valdez and Michael de Oquenda, durst not put it to a battle at sea, but set up their rest wholly upon the land enterprise. On the other side, the transporting of the land forces failed in the very foundation; for, whereas the Council of State made full account that their navy should be master of the sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the vessels of transportation, when it fell out to the contrary that the great navy was distressed, and had enough to do to save itself; and again, that the Hollanders impounded their land forces with a brave fleet of thirty sail, excellently well appointed;—things, I say, being in this state, it came to pass that the Duke of Parma must have flown if he would have come into England, for he could get neither bark nor mariner to put to sea; yet certain it is that the duke looked still for the coming back of the Armada, even at that time, when they were wandering and making their perambulation upon the northern seas. But, to return to the Armada, which we left anchored at Calais: from thence, as Sir Walter Raleigh was wont prettily to say, they were suddenly driven away with squibs, for it was no more but a stratagem of fire-boats, manless, and sent upon them by the favour of the wind in the night time,

that did put them in such terror as they cut their cables and left their anchors in the sea. After, they hovered some two or three days about Graveling, and there again were beaten in a great fight, at what time our second fleet, which kept the narrow seas, was come in and joined to our main fleet. Thereupon, the Spaniards entering into further terror, and finding also divers of their ships every day to sink, lost all courage, and, instead of coming up into the Thames mouth for London, as their design was, fled on towards the north to seek their fortunes, being still chased by the English navy at the heels, until we were fain to give them over for want of powder. The breath of Scotland the Spaniards could not endure, neither durst they as invaders land in Ireland, but only ennobled some of the coasts thereof with shipwrecks; and so going northwards as long as they had any doubt of being pursued, at last, when they were out of reach, they turned and crossed the ocean to Spain, having lost fourscore of their ships and the greater part of their men. And this was the end of that sea-giant, the Invincible Armada, which, having not so much as fired a cottage of ours at land, nor taken a cock-boat of ours at sea, wandered through the wilderness of the northern seas, and, according to the curse in the Scriptures, came out against us one way and fled before us seven ways: serving only to make good the judgment of an astrologer long before given, *octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus*, or rather to make good, even to the astonishment of all posterity, the wonderful judgments of God poured down commonly upon vast and proud aspirings. . . . . .

In the year 1591 was that memorable fight of an English ship called the Revenge, under the command of Sir Richard Greenvil, memorable, I say, even beyond credit, and to the height of some heroical fable. And though it were a defeat, yet it exceeded a victory, being like the act of Samson that killed more men at his death than he had done in the time of all his life. This ship for the space of fifteen hours sat like a stag among hounds at the bay, and was seized and fought with in turn by fifteen great ships of Spain, part of a navy of fifty-five ships in all; the rest, like abettors, looking on afar off. And amongst the fifteen ships that fought, the great St. Philippo was one, a ship of fifteen hundred ton, prince of the twelve sea-apostles, which was right glad when she was shifted off from the Revenge. This brave ship, the Revenge, being manned only with two hundred soldiers and mariners, whereof eighty lay

sick, yet nevertheless, after a fight maintained, as was said, of fifteen hours, and two ships of the enemy sunk by her side, besides many more torn and battered, and great slaughter of men, never came to be entered, but was taken by composition; the enemies themselves having in admiration the virtue of the commander and the whole tragedy of that ship. . . . . .

In the year 1601 followed the battle of Kinsale in Ireland. By this Spanish invasion of Ireland, which was in September that year, a man may guess how long time a Spaniard will live in Irish ground, which is a matter of a quarter of a year, or four months at most; for they had all the advantages in the world, and no man could have thought, considering the small forces employed against them, that they could have been driven out so soon. They obtained, without resistance, in the end of September the town of Kinsale; a small garrison of 150 English leaving the town upon the Spaniards' approach, and the townsmen receiving the foreigners as friends. The number of Spaniards that put themselves into Kinsale was 2000 men, soldiers of old bands, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, a man of good valour. The town was strong of itself, neither wanted there any industry to fortify it on all parts, and make it tenable according to the skill and discipline of Spanish fortification. At that time the rebels were proud, being encouraged upon former successes; for though the then deputy, the Lord Mountjoy, and Sir George Carew, President of Munster, had performed divers good services to their prejudice, yet the defeat they had given the English at Blackwater not long before, and their treaty, too much to their honour, with the Earl of Essex, was yet fresh in their memory. The Deputy lost no time, but made haste to have recovered the town before new succours came, and sat down before it in October, and laid siege to it by the space of three winter months or more, during which time sallies were made by the Spaniards, but they were beaten in with loss. In January came fresh succours from Spain, to the number of 2000 more, under the conduct of Alonzo d'Ocampo. Upon the comforts of these succours Tyrone and Odonnell drew up their forces together to the number of 7000, besides the Spanish regiments, and took the field, resolved to rescue the town and to give the English battle. So here was the case: an army of English of some 6000, wasted and tried with a long winter siege, engaged in the midst between an army of a greater number than themselves, fresh and in vigour, on the one side, and a town strong

in fortification and strong in men on the other. But what was the event? This, in few words: that after the Irish and Spanish forces had come on and showed themselves in some bravery, they were content to give the English the honour as to charge them first; and when it came to the charge, there appeared no other difference between the valour of the Irish rebels and the Spaniards, but that the one ran away before they were charged, and the other straight after. And again, the Spaniards that were in the town had so good memories of their losses in their former sallies, as the confidence of an army which came for their deliverance could not draw them forth again. To conclude, there succeeded an absolute victory for the English, with the slaughter of above 2000 of the enemy, the taking of nine ensigns, whereof six Spanish, the taking of the Spanish general d'Ocampo prisoner, and this with the loss of so few of the English as is scarce credible, being, as hath been rather confidently than credibly reported, but of one man, the cornet of Sir Richard Graeme, though not a few hurt. There followed immediately after the defeat a present yielding up of the town by composition, and not only so, but an avoiding, by express articles of treaty accorded, of all other Spanish forces throughout all Ireland, from the places and nests where they had settled themselves in greater strength, as in regard of the natural situation of the places, than that was of Kinsale; which were Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Beerhaven. Indeed they went away with sound of trumpet, for they did nothing but publish and trumpet all the reproaches they could devise against the Irish land and nation, insomuch as d'Aquila said in open treaty, that, when the Devil upon the mount did show Christ all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them, he did not doubt but the Devil left out Ireland, and kept it for himself.

There is a short paper in Stephens's Second Collection entitled 'Notes of a Speech concerning a War with Spain,' which appears in the greater part to be only a rough draught of the 'Considerations;' but the following rapid summary is distinguished both by its spirit and its finish:—

You do not find that for this age, take it for a hundred years, there was ever any encounter between Spanish and English of importance, either by sea or land, but the English came off with the honour: witness, the Lammas-day, the

retreat of Gaunt, the battle of Nieuport, and some others: but there have been some actions, both by sea and land, so memorable as scarce suffer the less to be spoken of. By sea, that of eighty-eight, when the Spaniards, putting themselves most upon their stirrups, sent forth that invincible armada which should have swallowed up England quick; the success whereof was, that, although that fleet swam like mountains upon our seas, yet they did not so much as take a cock-boat of ours at sea, nor fire a cottage at land, but came through our channel, and were driven, as Sir Walter Raleigh says, by squibs (fireboats he means) from Calais, and were soundly beaten by our ships in fight, and many of them sunk; and finally durst not return the way they came, but made a scattered perambulation, full of shipwrecks, by the Irish and Scottish seas, to get home again: just according to the curse of the Scripture, "that they came out against us one way, and fled before us seven ways." By land, who can forget the two voyages made upon the continent itself of Spain, that of Lisbon, and that of Cales; when, in the former, we knocked at the gates of the greatest city either of Spain or Portugal, and came off without seeing an enemy to look us in the face? And though we failed in our foundation, for that Antonio, whom we thought to replace in his kingdom, found no party at all, yet it was a true trial of the gentleness of Spain which suffered us to go and come without any dispute. And for the latter, of Cales, it ended in victory; we ravished a principal city of wealth and strength in the high countries, sacked it, fired the Indian fleet that was in the port, and came home in triumph; and yet to this day were never put in suit for it, nor demanded reasons for our doings. You ought not to forget the battle of Kinsale, in Ireland, what time the Spanish forces were joined with the Irish—good soldiers as themselves, or better—and exceeded us far in numbers, and yet they were soon defeated, and their general, d'Avila, taken prisoner; and that war, by that battle, quenched and ended.

And it is worthy to be noted how much our power in those days was inferior to our present state. Then, a lady old and owner only of England, entangled with the revolt of Ireland, and her confederates of Holland much weaker and in no conjuncture. Now, a famous king, and strengthened with a prince of singular expectation, and in the prime of his years, owner of the entire isle of Britain, enjoying Ireland populate and quiet, and infinitely more supported by confederates of

ɔe Low Countries, Denmark, divers of the princes of Ger-ɔany, and others. As for the comparison of Spain, as it was ɔen and as it is now, you will for good respects forbear to ɔeak; only you will say this, that Spain was then reputed to ave the wisest council of Europe, and not a council that will ome at the whistle of a favourite.

The remaining pieces that come under the head of Bacon's Political Writings are the following:—'Speech n Parliament, 39 of Elizabeth [1597], upon the motion ɔf Subsidy,' printed in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio* 1657); 'A Proclamation drawn for his Majesty's First Coming in [1603], prepared but not used,' in Stephens's Second Collection (1734); 'A Draught of a Proclamation ouching his Majesty's Style, 2do Jacobi [1604], pre-ɔared, not used,' in Stephens's Second Collection; 'A Speech made by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, chosen by he Commons to present a Petition touching Purveyors; delivered to his Majesty in the Withdrawing-Chamber it Whitehall, in the Parliament held 1mo et 2do Jacobi 1603], the First Session,' in the First Part of the *Resus-citatio;* 'A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, n the Honourable House of Commons, 5to Jacobi [Feb. 4th, 1607], concerning the article of the General Na-uralization of the Scottish Nation,' in the First Part of he *Resuscitatio;* 'A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, in the Lower House of Parliament, by occasion ɔf a motion concerning the Union of Laws' [1606 or 1607?], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'A Re-ɔort made by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, in the House ɔf Commons, of a Speech delivered by the Earl of Salis-ɔury, and another Speech delivered by the Earl of North-ampton, at a Conference concerning the Petition of the Merchants upon the Spanish Grievances, Parliament 5to Jacobi' [1607], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'A Certificate to his Majesty, touching the Projects of Sir Stephen Proctor relating to the Penal Laws,' in Ste-phens's Second Collection; 'A Speech used to the King by his Majesty's Solicitor, being chosen by the Com-mons as their mouth and messenger for the presenting toh is Majesty the Instrument or Writing of their

Grievances, in the Parliament 7 Jacobi' [1609], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'A Speech of the King's Solicitor, used unto the Lords at a Conference, by commission from the Commons, moving and persuading the Lords to join with the Commons in Petition to the King to obtain liberty to treat of a Composition with his Majesty for Wards and Tenures, in the Parliament 7 Jacobi' [1609], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'A Frame of Declaration for the Master of the Wards at his First Sitting,' in Stephens's Second Collection; 'Directions for the Master of the Wards to observe for his Majesty's better service and the general good' [issued after February 1611], in Stephens's Second Collection; 'A Speech of the King's Solicitor, persuading the House of Commons to desist from farther question of receiving the King's Messages by their Speaker, and from the body of the Council, as well as from the King's person, in the Parliament 7 Jacobi' [1609], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'An Argument of Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Solicitor, in the Lower House of Parliament, proving the King's Right of Impositions on Merchandises Imported and Exported' [must have been delivered in 1610, but evidently imperfect], in Stephens's Second Collection; 'A Brief Speech in the end of the Session of Parliament 7 Jacobi [1609], persuading some supply to be given to his Majesty, which seemed then to stand upon doubtful terms, and passed upon this Speech,' in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio;* 'A Certificate to the Lords of the Council, upon information given touching the Scarcity of Silver at the Mint, and reference to the two Chancellors and the King's Solicitor' [between A.D. 1607 and 1612], in Stephens's Second Collection; 'A Speech delivered by the King's Attorney, Sir Francis Bacon, in the Lower House, when the House was in great heat, and much troubled about the Undertakers; which were thought to be some able and forward gentlemen, who, to ingratiate themselves with the King, were said to have undertaken that the King's business should pass in that House as his Majesty could wish; in the Parliament 12 Jacobi' [1614], in the First Part of the Resus-

citatio; 'His Lordship's Speeches in the Parliament, being Lord Chancellor, to the Speaker's Excuse, and to the Speaker's Oration' [1621], in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio.*

Most of these Speeches are strongly marked with the impression of Bacon's peculiar intellect, and there is scarcely one of them that does not contain something interesting or striking; but the limits to which we are confined make any further account of them impossible in the present work.

Nor with regard to Bacon's LETTERS can we do more than merely enumerate the several published collections of them in the order of their appearance. All Bacon's Letters that have yet seen the light have been originally given, we believe, in the following publications:—1. 'Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra,' Part I., 4to. Lon. 1654; 2. The Same, Part II., 4to. Lon. 1654; 3. 'Resuscitatio,' Part I., fol. Lon. 1657; 4. 'A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Mathews, Knt.,' 8vo. Lon. 1660; 5. 'Cabala,' Second Edition, fol. Lon. 1663; 6. 'Resuscitatio,' Part II., fol. Lon. 1670 and 1671; 7. 'Baconiana,' 8vo. Lon. 1679; 8. 'Cabala,' Third Edition, folio. Lon. 1691; 9. Stephens's First Collection, 4to. Lon. 1702; 10. Stephens's Second Collection, 4to. Lon. 1734; 11. 'Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices, &c., of Francis Bacon, Lord Viscount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England; by Thomas Birch, D.D.,' 8vo. Lon. 1763. The Letters that have been collected from these various sources may amount to somewhere about seven hundred in all; but many others still remain in manuscript. Bacon's Letters are all deserving of preservation, either for the worth of the matter in them on its own account, or for the illustration they throw upon his other writings, upon the character of his mind, upon the history of his life, or upon that of his age; and we have reason to believe that the world may ere long expect an edition of all of them that can now be recovered, from a gentleman in the highest degree qualified to do justice to the task he has undertaken. That publication,

we have no doubt, will be recognised when it appears as by far the most important contribution that has yet been made to the biography of Bacon; while it will also furnish an example, the first we have yet had, of the manner in which his writings ought to be edited.

Bacon left no descendants. "Children," says his chaplain Rawley, "he had none; which, though they be the means to perpetuate our names after our deaths, yet he had other issues to perpetuate his name, the issues of his brain; in which he was ever happy and admired, as Jupiter was in the production of Pallas. Neither did the want of children detract from the good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he prosecuted with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments, besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal, which she wore unto her dying day, being twenty years and more after his death." In the Latin this last statement is—"Addita etiam trabea honoraria maritali, quam viginti plus annos post obitum ejus gestavit; totidem enim annis honoratissimo marito superstes fuit." The phraseology is somewhat ambiguous; but what the worthy chaplain designates the robe of honour with which Bacon invested his wife, and which he adds she wore to her dying day, must be, we suppose, the rank of a peeress to which she was raised by her marriage. It deserves to be noticed that Rawley, in this sketch which he gives of the life of his illustrious patron, passes over what is called his fall without so much as an allusion to anything of the kind having ever happened; evincing much more delicacy and sensibility upon that point than Bacon himself. And it is remarkable that Bayle, writing nearly a century after it occurred, had not with all his inquisitiveness heard of the catastrophe that terminated the political career of the "Great Lord Chancellor of Learning as well as of Law;" * so

* Who was the original author of this often-repeated expression? In a preface of considerable length, prefixed to a little volume entitled 'The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth and her Times, with other Things, by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Bacon, Viscount St. Alban,' 12mo, Lon.,

completely, out of his own country, had his philosophical renown filled the ears of men to the exclusion of all other speech respecting him. On the subject of Bacon's relations with his wife Rawley would seem to have practised something of the same affectionate and reverential *reticence* as on that of his delinquencies as a politician. At least it would appear from his will that the conjugal love and respect with which he prosecuted his consort during their intermarriage must have received some very decided shock before he left the world. In the beginning of the will he heaps devises and legacies upon his "loving wife,"—"all which," he says, characteristically, "I here set down, not because I think it too much, but because others may not think it less than it is;" but in the end we are suddenly startled by the following emphatic intimation of a change of mind:—"Whatsoever I have given, granted, confirmed, or appointed to my wife in the former part of this my will, I do now, for just and great causes, utterly revoke and make void, and leave her to her right only." It has not been generally noticed that Lady Bacon was a sister of the first wife of Mervin, fourteenth Baron Audley and second Earl of Castlehaven, who suffered death as a felon in 1631, and whose story makes one of the darkest and most revolting pages of our criminal history. They were both daughters and co-heirs of Benedict Barnham, Esq., Alderman of London.

The most memorable bequest in this last will of Bacon's is the following:—"For my name and memory I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages." A modest yet withal lofty appeal; and one which has not been made in vain.

1651, we find it quoted from 'The Preface to Lessius Hygiasticon;' that is, the 'Hygiasticon, seu vera ratio valetudinis Bonæ Vitæ,' of Leonard Lessius, the learned Jesuit and professor of theology at Louvaine, who was a contemporary of Bacon's, having died, at the age of sixty nine, in 1623.

THE END.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I. p. 16, l. 24, for "appeared Bacon's first publication, as far as is known," read "Bacon wrote a tract, which, however, is not known to have been then published, entitled."

——— l. 1 of *note*, for "B. Brit.," read "Biog. Brit."

——— p. 89, l. 9, for "probably in the same year," read "some short time after."

——— p. 113, line 5 from foot, for "three hundred," read "these hundred."

——— p. 116, l. 2 of *note*, *dele* "here" before "quotes."

——— p. 213, l. 24, for "very short, and can scarcely be all that was prepared," read "extends to only a single paragraph."

——— l. 26, after "fragment," insert "first published in the First Part of the *Resuscitatio*."

——— p. 220, at the end, add "The piece entitled 'The Praise of Henry Prince of Wales' (*In Henricum Principem Walliae Elogium Francisci Baconi*) was first published, in the original Latin, by Birch, along with an English translation of his own, in his 'Letters, Speeches, &c., of Francis Bacon,' 1763."

Vol. II. p. 7, l. 2 from foot, in *note*, for "Tennison" read "Tenison."

——— p. 24, l. 11 from foot, after "Copernicus;" insert, "with no great respect of those of Galileo;".

——— p. 170, l. 26, insert comma after "Leucippus."

——— p. 200, *note*, for "p. 9," read "p. 89."

——— p. 203, l. 14, for "escape" read "escapes."

——— p. 210, l. 9 from foot, for "1651," read "1670."

——— p. 218, l. 5, for "callendar," read "calendar."

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