# The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral

*by Francis Bacon*

Founding Fathers 2 · Libra Arcana Public Domain Edition

*Bacon's aphoristic counsels on truth, statecraft, studies, and human character.*

CENTRE for REFORMATION and RENAISSANCE STUDIES

FRANCIS BACON LORD VERUI,A■,I■ VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS

IVITH INTRODUCTION AND ILLUSTR.-tTIVE NOTI:S

SAMUEL HARVEY REYNOLDS, M.A. LATE FELLOW AND IUTOR OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS 1890 [.411 righls rescrv¢d ]

PREFACE o INTRODUCTION . ESSAy I. O» T■UTH Illustrations II. O» D■A■■ Illustrations 111. OF Ul■rrv 11■ R■L■■■o■ . Illustrations IV. O■- Rzvz■6z Illustrations V. OF ADVERSlTY Illustrations VI OF SI■IULATION AND DISSI■IULATIO■ Illustrations Vil. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN Illustrations VHI. Or ■IARRIAGE AND SI■GI.E LIFE Illustratio■ IX. OF E■vv Illustrations X. OF Lov■ Illustrations XI. OF GRE■T PL■C■ Illustrations XII. O■ BOLD■■SS . IIlustrations XIII. OF GOOD■■SS, ■■D GoOD■ESS OF N■TVRE Illustrations

XIV. OF NomL1r'■ Illustrations XV. OF ■EDITIONS AND TROUBLES Illustratios XVI. OF A■HmS■ Illustrations XVII. OF SuP■■sr■r■o■ Illustrations XVIII. Or Illustrations XIX. OF Illustrations XX. OF Illustrations XXI. OF DELAYS. Illust■tions XXII. OF Illustrations XXlII. OF W■svom FO■ a ■a■'S S■LF Illustrations XXIV. OF I■■ovar■o■s . Illustrations XXV. OF D■sParcH Illustrations XXVI. Or S■■m■■« Wms■ Illustrations XXVII. OF Fmt■vsmr . Illustrations XXVIII. OF Exr■■c■. Illustrations XX]X. OF TH■ rRvr GR■ar■■ss or K■■GDO■■ ■■D Illustrations XXX. OF R■G■m■■ OF Illustrations XXXI. Or Svsr■cm■ XXXII. OF D■scov■s■ Illustrations XXXIII. OF Ptx■rxr■o■s . Illustrations

■'SSAY XXXIV. Or RicHzs Illustrations XXXV. OF PROPHI■ClI■S Illustrations XXXVl. Or A■nnqo■ Illustrations XXXVII. OF MASQU■'S AND TRIUMPHS Illustrations XXXVlII. Or NA'rURI■ IN MEN Illustrations XXXIX. Or Cus■o■a ANV EDUCA'r■oN I llustrati ons XL. Or Fogzv■z Illustrations XLI. Or Usu■v Illustrations XLII. OF You■n ■■» Aç■ Illustrations XLIII. Or B■■u■-■ . Illustrations XLIV. O■ D■VOl■m■v Illustrations XLV. OF BUILDING Illustrations XLVI. Or GARDIONS Illustrations XLVII. Or INEçOTXATXNç Illustrations XLVIII. OF FOLLOWIrRS AND FRIIrNDS Illustrations XLIX. Or SUXTORS IIlustrations L. OF STuvxzs . Illustrations Ll. OF FACTION ■ Illustrations LII. Or CIrRIrMONIIrS AND RESPECTS Illustrations LIII. O■ PRAISZ Illustrations

o.o Vlll F..■SAY LIV. LV. LVI. LVI1. LVlll. I.■DEX

CONTENTS. Or VA■■ G■.OR'r Illustrations OF HONOUR AND REPUTATtON Illustration■ OF JUDICATURE Illustrations OF ANGEK I tlustration■ OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS . Illustrations

THIS edition of the Essays was undertaken by me at the suggestion of Nf. J. R. Thursfield, who had put together materials for notes on the first twenty-three Essays, but was unable, in the stress of other literary engagements, to carry out his design. Mr. Thursfield's naine is sufficient warrant for what the completed edition would bave been in his hands. His design, as I under- stand it, was to prepare an edition for the use

of scholars and advanced students, and especially to show from contemporary translations the sense in which doubtful passages had been understood in Bacon's own day. These points I bave kept in mind. But the line followed in Mr. Thursfield's manuscript notes was hot in many ways the saine as that which I bave taken. He entered much more fully than I have done into the history and derivation of words, and into grammatical and philological disquisitions. This is a line of research for which I have no taste, and which I could hot have pursued with any pleasure. It bas, moreover, been rendered practically superfluous by the publication of the' English Dictionary.' This was hot and could hot bave been anticipated by Mr. Thursfield when he began collecting materials for his notes. It is, in any case, seldom possible to use another man's materials, or to adapt oneself to another man's design. 1 have consequently found myself compelled to do the

whole work of this edition for myself, and to take the entire respo.nsibility for it. It has called chiefly for the exercise of a patient drudging accuracy. It is at last finished. It bas been barder work, and has taken more time, than I expected when I first took it in hand. The references in the Notes and Illustrations, where they are not specified, are to the following editions : BACON: Letters and Life, edited by SPEDDI■G AND ELLIS. 7 vols. 1862-74. lf/'orks, edited by ELLXS AND SPEDmN«. 7 VOIs. 1857--59. BOI■■■ : Commonweal. Knolles' Trans. EDMUm)ES : Observations upon Caesads Commentaries. London, 16o 9 . ERASMUS: 24dag[a. Basle, 1551. ,, ■lpophthegmata. Paris, 1533. French, i.e. French version of Essays, by Sm ARTHtm GOR«ES, I619 . Gt'ICClARD■I■I : London, I821, in lO vols. I-IAKLVY■" : l'oyages. 5 vols. London, 18o9-12. HOOKER : Keble's ed. 1836. Italian, i.e. Italian version of Essays, edited by MR. TOBVE MATTHEW, 1618. JAI■tES : lVorks of tl, e most high and mighty l■ri»,ce James. By the Bishop of Winchester. 1616, fol. KUOLLEs : History ofthe Turks. 5th ed. 1638. MOI■■'AIGI■E : Paris, 18o2. 4 vols. PARK■USO■ : Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris, ■'c. 1656 , fol. Patristic references. These are to MmNE'S Patrologiae cursus completus. PEUCER : De Divinatione ex Somniis. I6o7, 8vo. P■XKERTOU : l/'oyages. 18o8--14, in 17 vols. PLeUr, N. H. : Philemon Holland's Trans. PLUTARCH: Lires. North's Trans. 16o 3. ,, Morals. Holland's Trans. 1657. SE■ECA: Lipsius. 4th. ed. 1652, fol. WILSON : Arte of t?hetoriqu G ■'c. 1584, 4to.

OF all Bacon's writings his Essays have been the most widely read. They have been, in the best sense of the word, popular. His most famous work, the Novum Organum, has been accepted on the verdict of the few ; for one student who has attempted it, there have been stores and scores who have read and re-read the Essays. ' Of all my other works," says Bacon himself, ' they have been the most current;' and this, which was said only of the earlier and shorter editions, could be said of them more truly than ever in their final and finished form. Bacon's scope and object in his Essays, the kind of success he was aiming at, and the standard by which he wished to be judged, may be gathered from his o■vn words. He terres his volume 'certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays.' ' The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but Essays, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epistles.' His own Essays are to be 'grains of salt which will rather-give an appetite than offend with satiety.' 'They handle those things ... whereof a man shall find much in experience but little in booksl.' This is a more fit description of the earlier editions of the Essays than of the latest, but it is in a way applicable to all of them. The earlier had been well received,

because 'they came home to men's business and bosoms,' and this is the claire ruade for the

latest. These had more literary art, more curiosity of work- manship, but the general significance was the same. Their notes were less brief, but hot less stimulating, not less careful to avoid offending with satiety. The word, says Bacon, is late --1Montaigne's Essays had appeared in ■58o. The thing is ancient--Seneca had written Essays in fact though not in name. There is some art displayed in the suggestion of these two names. Dispersed meditations they had both written, but little or nothing that could pass as 'grains of salt, which will rather give an appetite than offend with satiety.' ' 1Much in experience but little in books,' might stand true for some parts of 1Mon- taigne's Essays. With Seneca's Epistle■ the exact opposite is the case. 1Much of them will be found in books, but very little in experience. Itis probable that Bacon had no very high opinion of either writer, and that he had no doubt that the points which he was claiming for himself, were just those in which his readers must have found Seneca and 1Montaigne most signally wanting. But in the style and manner of the Essays there is a further implied promise. The Latin title is explicit--' sermones fideles sire interiora rerum '-■the insides of things, by way of contrast to the outside shows and pretences with which men had pre- viously been put off. The writer poses as one who has authority to speak ; as one who bas been behind the scenes in the great theatre of the world, and who now comes forward to give others the result of his experience, to tell them the motives from which men commonly act, and the kind of conduct which may be ex- pected from them, and to lay down rules and cautions which may help them to play their part safely and suitably in the perplexed game of lire. Itis hOt only that he has held a great place and bas been occupied in great affairs. More impressive is the manner in which he bas recorded his experience and the position which he thus asserts for himself. His language in his best passages bas a singular majesty and force. His weighty sentences give what appears like the condensed thought of a lifetime set down in most fit and telling words. They are uttered with an air of authority, and bear the stamp of a man who has a right so to speak. Itis the language of a superior

being, who condescends to oceupy his leisure moments with the eoneerns of a lower race, and to impart truths which his unin- strueted readers eould never have diseovered for themselves. Three different editions of the Essays in English were pub- lished during Bacon's lifetime and with his sanction. The first, the edition of I597, dedicated to his brother, Anthony Bacon,

contained ten Essays :■ l. Of Study. 6. 2. Of Discourse. 7- 3. Of Ceremonies and Re- 8. speets. 4- Of Followers and Friends. 9- 5. Of Suitors. xo. Two other distinct treatises were Meditationes Sacrae in Latin, and

Of Expence. Of Regiment of Health. Of Honour and Reputa- tion. Of Faction. Of Negociating. bound up with them, the the Colours of Good and

Evil. The book was re-published in 1598 , with the Medita- tiones Sacrae in English, but otherwise ■vithout change. The next edition, in 1612, contained thirty-eight Essays, t■venty-nine of them new, and nine from the former edition, the Essay of Honour and Reputation being left out. The table of contents gives the titles of forty Essays :--

i. Of Religion. 14. Of Atheism. 2. Of Death. I5. Of Superstition. 3- Of Goodness and Good- i6. Of Wisdom for a Man's ness of Nature. Self. 4. Of Cunning. ■7- Of Regiment of Health. 5- Of Marriage and Single I8. Of Expenees. Life. 19. Of Diseourse. 6. Of Parents and Children. 2o. Of Seeming Wise. 7. Of Nobility. 2i. Of Riches. 8. Of Great Place. 22. Of Ambition. 9- Of Empire. 23. Of Young bien and Age. 1o. Of Counsel. 24. Of Beauty. I I. Of Dispateh. 25. Of Deformity. I2. Of Love. 26. Of Nature in Men. 13. Of Friendship. 27. Of Custom and Edueation.

28. Of Fortune. 34- Of Faction. 29. Of Studies. 35. Of Praise. 3 o. Of Ceremonies and Re- 36. Of Judicature. spects. 37- Of Vain GIory. 31. Of Suitors. 38. Of Greatness of Kingdoms, 32. Of Followers. 39. Of the Public. 33. Of Negociating. 4 o. Of War and Peace.

But Essay 38 falls so naturally into three distinct parts, corre- sponding to the last three titles, that there is no real difference between the table and the actual contents. It was Bacon's intention to dedicate this edition to Prince Henry, but the Prince died before it was published, and it was dedicated to Bacon's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable. The third edition, that of 1625, contained fifty-eight Essays, viz. the thirty-eight with the saine titles as in the edition of 1612, the Essay of Honour and Reputation omitted in that edition, and nineteen new Essays :-- i. Of Truth. 24. Of Innovations.

Of Revenge. 3L Of Suspicion. Of Adversity. 33- Of Plantations. Of Simulation and Dis- 35- Of Prophecies. simulation. 37- Of Masks and Triumphs. Of Env).. 41. Of Usury. Of Boldness. 45- Of Building. Of Seditions and Troubles. 46. Of Gardens. Of Travel. 57- Of Anger. Of Delays. 58. Of Vicissitude of Things.

Essays in this edition are, in Bacon's own words, ' enlarged in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work.' The dedication is to the Duke of Buckingham. Besides these three editions, Mr. Arber, in his Harmony of the Essays, gives the contents of a manuscript (Harleian l■IS. 5IO6■ with interlineations in, as he thinks, Bacon's own hand. Its date is fixed approximately by the title-page, which describes Bacon as the King's Solicitor-General. This he became in 1607; and he was raised to be Attorney-General

in x6x 3. The manuscript contains thirty-six Essays. It omits six found in the edition of i612, and adds two, riz. Of Honour and Reputation, which had appeared in I597, and Of Seditions and Troubles, which was not published in English before I625. The manuscript is interesting, but otherwise worthless or nearly so, since as far as its contents differ from those of the edition of ■612, they must be taken to represent Bacon's rejections and hot his choice. Of the various copies of the edition of I625, hardly any two agree in every particular. The variations, unimportant for the most part, are due to corrections and changes having been made during the progress of the book through the press. This, as Dean Church remarks, in his Preface to the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, was the common practice of the time. ■Vhen the printing was done, the different sheets were bound up indiscriminately, and the purchasers were thus left free to dispute over the authority of their several varying copies. The text followed in the present edition is that of the volume presented by Bacon to the Duke of Buckingham, to whom the book is dedicated. It is likely that this would have been a copy specially selected. The readings, as far as they differ from those of other copies, give a better and clearer sense, and in one or two instances make sense where some other copies do not. We find, for example (p. 289, 1. x), 'gaine,' not 'gaine '; on p. I47, 1. 3, 'children,' not 'child'; in 1. io,

there is a full stop after ' the Counsellor,' and a new sentence begins with the word ' Salomon,' in place of the reading which puts a full stop after ' his blessed Son,' and goes on -■ The Counsellor Salomon hath pronounced,' &c. The presentation copy has two errors of text, found also in other copies: on p. I86, the naine Plau- tianus' is spelt persistently 'Plantianus,' and on p. 356, 1. 2, there is a misprint of 'aud' for 'and." I have not thought it necessary to follow these obvious mistakes. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized, except in one or two places, where the original form has been kept, for reasons stated in the notes. With proper names, where Bacon's spelling is persistent, as with 'Salomon,' ' l■lacciavel,'

it has been kept; where the naine occurs once only, and in an unauthorized form, as 'Mountaigny,' for 'Montaigne,' it has hot been kept. The presentation copy is in the Bodleian Library. There is an inscription on the fly-leaf at the beginning--' This book is the saine that was presented by the author to the deseased the Duke of Buckingham to whom it was dedicated, and by L. Rob t' merchant of London presented to the Universitie Liberie att Oxonford, to be there preserved as a monument for future rimes. London 6 Nov. London the 16 i628.' The Annals of the Bodleian Library give this book among the acquisitions of the year x628--' The copy of Bacon's Essays (x625) which was presented by the author to the Duke of Buckingham, was given to the Library by Lewis Roberts, a merchant of London.' The head of the Duke is worked in silk on the front and on the back cover ; the naine appears fo be worked on the front cover, but hot very clearly. Of the three best-known contemporary translations of the Essays, the Latin is the most valuable. Bacon, in his dedication to the Edition of x625, speaks of it as already complete. What part he had in it, how far it was done under his ov«n eye, and whether it was finished during his lifetime are uncertain. It was first published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. In some of the Essays it is probable, in one (29) it is certain, that it represents Bacon himself as its approver if hot as its author. But in several places there are clear mistakes of rendering, such as Bacon either cannot have seen, or must have been strangely negligent in suffering to pass unaltered. That the title which it bears was given it by Bacon himself appears in a letter to Father Fulgentio--'sequetur libellus iste quem vestrA linguA "Saggi Morali" appellastis, verum illi libro nomen gravius impono, scilicet ut inscribatur, "Sermones fideles, sire interiora rerum" ' 'Saggi morali' is the title of the Italian translation, a work of uncertain authorship, published first in 1618, and again, somewhat altered, in x6i 9. That Bacon knew it and to some extent gave his sanction to it, may be assumed. We have hot only the distinct reference to it in the letter quoted above ;

the book contains an Essay, Of Seditions and Troubles, which had hOt yet been published in an English form, and which we may suppose therefore to have been supplied by Bacon himself; in the preface to it there is a translation of part of the intended dedication to Prince Henry, which had not been published in consequence of the Prince's death; and it was edited by l■Ir. Toby Matthew, Bacon's intimate friend. I have ruade occasional use of this version, sometimes to support an inter- pretation which I believe to be correct but for which I can find no other authority, sometimes to illustrate the different senses in which Bacon's writings were interpreted in his own day. It eontains 38 Essays, omitting Of Religion and Of Super- stition, and making up the saine number as the edition of i6x2 by adding two Essays, Of Honour and Reputation, and Of Seditions and Troubles. In this latter it follows most nearly, but hot entirely, the unpublished I■IS. of X6OT-X2. Elsewhere there are one or two noteworthy changes in the text. In the Essay Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature, in place of 'one of the doctors of Italy, Nicolas l■Iachiavell,'

it reads ' quel empio Nicolo Machiavello.' Again, in the Essay Of Seditions and Troubles, instead of'as l■Iachiavell well notes,' we have 'corne ben osserva un scrittore,' whether as part of an obvious design to suit the book to its intended Catholic readers, or because the observation in question is not to be round in Machiavelli, and in point of fact had hOt been round anywhere. In x6x9, there appeared a French translation, ruade or edited by Sir Arthur Gorges. We have no proof that Bacon had anything to do with it. In its table of contents we have the titles of 4 ° Essays, viz. x-38, as in the edition of x6■2; then 39, D'honneur et Reputation, and 4 o, De Seditions et Troubles. But in the translation itself Essay 4 ° does hOt appear. After Essay 39 corne the words 'l'fin,' and there the book ends. Even if the missing Essay had been there, it would have proved nothing as to Bacon's connexion with the book, since it had been already given to the world in the Italian version of the year before. The translation is on the whole ■vell done. It avoids some of the obvious errors of the Latiu, but in many b

places it is so slavishly literal, that it gives no clue to the sense in which the translator has understood the original text. There are also two other French translations by Baudoin, little known and little worth knowing, published in ■62i and in i626. The earlier of them has 38 Essays, seemingly trans lated or rather paraphrased, from the Italian, which it follows both in the Essays chosen and in the peculiar order in which they corne. The Translation of ■626 has 56 of the 58 Essays of the English edition of I625, omitting Of Delays and Of Gardens. Some of its renderings suggest that the translator must have had the Latin version before him, in whole or in part. It has the almost certain mark of a copy--an agreement in mistakes. Lord Macaulay, in his Essay ■n ' Lord Bacon,' contrasting a passage from the earliest edition of the Essays with an ornate passage from the last edition, remarks that his style was con- tinually becoming richer and softer. There are certainly marked differences of style in the three editions of the Essays. The first edition is compressed, bald, full of condensed thought, but utterly devoid of ornament. The edition of i6■2 is oc- casionally ornate, its sentences run more smoothly and con- tinuously; but force and precision are its main characteristics throughout. In the latest edition the ornate work becomes very much more frequent : there are long susmined passages of easy eloquence, and sentences here and there of singular and un- affected beauty, not thrust in, but flowing on continuously with the rest, and thus testifying to the ail-round excellence ofwork which suffers nothing by its neighbourhood to the very best. But it is hot certain, even so, that Bacon's style had changed at either of the later years. He was employing a different style hot because he had gained new powers, but because it pleased him then to use powers which he had pre- viously suffered to lie dormant, as unfit for the special purpose which he had in view. We have, for instance, among his earliest writings, his Advertisement touching controversies in the Church of England, from which some of the most ornate passages in the last edition of the Essays have been borrowed

and worked in. The religious meditations, translated in 1598 , have furnished passages for other parts. His Advancement of Learning was given to the world in 16o5, i.e. between the first and second editions of the Essays. It contains several passages of no common eloquence, and of richness both of thought and language. Among his latest works, is the History of Henry the Seventh, written 'in so sweet a style, that like manna ft pleaseth the taste of ail palates■. ' But of ornate work it has hardly so much as a trace. The fact seems to be that Bacon had at all times almost any style at command, and that he varies his style with the occasion, becoming all things in turn so as to ensure getting a hearing, trying one experiment after

another, and giving proof of mastery in each. Just as in his philosophical works, he w-rites sometimes with an air of modesty, and as one who is driven in his own despite to assert himself; at other rimes with the utmost scorn for those whose opinions he is controverting--'tanquam sui certus et de alto despiciens,' but always with the resolve in one way or in the other to make himself heard and |istened to ; so in his writings generally, he passes from style to style so as by some style to command attention, thus experimenting in the manner as well as in the matter of his works. To speak therefore of Bacon's style is in strict tel-ms impossible. AImost the only attribute common to his writings is that they bear the mark of a grand and confident self-esteem, sometimes directly as- sertive, sometimes condescending, sometimes scornful, some- rimes disguised under a transparent affectation of modesty. But in one form or another it never fails, and it gives his writings at once their special characteristic and not the least part of their charm. There is one especial characteristic of Bacon's manner which does hot admit of being illustrated except at a prohibitive length ; his long magnificent roll of sentence after sentence, each falling into its place, each adding new weight to what has gone before it, and all together uniting to complete the entire effect. Each

sentence in its turn cornes upon the reader as a surprise. The plan evolves itself as it proceeds, and it is as forming part of the plan that each sentence, excellent in itself, derives new excellence as a consistent part of the whole cornpound design. It is as if by stroke after stroke laid on the canvas by sorne great rnaster, a picture had corne into being, living and growing under his hand, and gaining new expressiveness at each added touch. The two Essays Of Atheisrn and Of Superstition will serve to exernplify what is rneant. The Essay Of Truth, Of Unity in Religion, and the early part of the Essay Of Judicature, are hardly less signal exarnples of it. They carry the reader along with thern in delighted wonder, and it is hot until they leave hirn that the thought suggests itself that he bas been in the hand of a consumrnate master of his art. As he reads on he forgets the workrnan in the work; he bas no space or leisure for any other thoughts than the sucessive phases of the work suggest. As for single passages of transcendent excellence, they are thickly scattered over the Essays. ' The great winding-sheets that cover ail are deluges and earthquakes.' What a picture of level desolation do these few words present. Again, in the Essay Of Truth : ' The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense : the last was the light of reason ; and his Sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the rnatter, or chaos ; then he breathed light into the face of man ; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen.' Again, in the Essay Of Friendship : ' But little do rnen perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth ; for a crowd is not cornpany, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love.' No terrns are adequate to do justice to the crowded excellences of such passages as these. They are the work of a great writer at his best, the highest effort of an art that defies analysis, simple, unaffected, sublirne. Very noticeable too is Bacon's way of putting forward a sub- ject, of handling it at length and with signs of great care, of interesting the reader about it, and then at last of waiving it

away as undeserving notice after ail. 'Enough of these toys,' are the concluding words of the Essay Of Masks and Triumphs. They might be interpolated in a dozen other places where the unexpressed contempt of Bacon for his subject is scarcely less marked. For grandeur--not to say, insolence---of manner, ad- mirable as a piece of art, what could be more impressive than the end of the Essay Of Deforrnity ? 'And,

therefore, let it hot be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons ; as was Agesilat■s, Zanger the son of Sol)man, Aesop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.' It is as if Bacon were calling up before him the spirits of the mighty dead, and were judging them on their merits, and assigning his proper place to each in an off-hand sort of way, with an easy air of admitted superiority and of full right to pronounce. ' The English reader,' says Mr. Wright, in the introductory remarks to his very valuable edition of the Essays, 'will find few difliculties in Bacon's language or style.' It would be more correct to say that almost every page of the Essays bristles with difficulties, some of them the more likely to mislead, because even a careful reader, not familiar with the language of Bacon's age, might rail to detect them for what they are. In Essay 3, for instance, ' points not merely of faith, but of opinion, ortier, or good intention,' would almost of course be interpreted in a sense the exact opposite of that which it is intended to bear. In the saine Essay, where Bacon says, ' if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally,' no one would discover without assistance that 'less partially' meant here with less of party spirit, and that the seeming opposition between the two adverbs was a mere trick of words. So in Essay I8, where a change of lodging is said to be 'a great adamant of acquaint- ance,' the meaning would be missed by those who understood 'adamant' in the only modern sense of the word. Often, too, Bacon writes in a language which was already becoming anti- quated. ' Verbum inusitatum tanquam scopulum vita' is a golden rule which he much too frequently neglects. Not only does he introduce words which were passing out of common use, but he

coins new ■vords of his own, mostly from the Latin or French. This had become the fashion ofthe age. His literary work was donc at a time when the so-called 'pure and reformed English,' known as Euphuism, had corne into vogue, and had infected the style of the day. Bacon was no Euphuist, but he did not alto- gether escape the common contagion. He thus frequently fails to 'utter his mind in plain words, such as are generally received,' as Wilson ! at an earlier date bids the orator to do. That his style is faultless no one could say. Obscure, un- grammatical, pedantic, are the epithets which it frequently calls up. 'I send herein,' writes Lady Bacon to her son Anthony, 'your brother's letter. Construe the interpretation. I do not understand his enigrnatical folded writing■. ' These words might stand as no unfit description of some parts of the Essays. After taking into account Bacon's very frequent Latinisms, and his use of words in so vague a way that it is almost im- possible to be sure what he intends by them, there would still remain a separate list to be made of his diflïculties of grammar or of construction : his indistinct use of pronouns, his sentences that run on awhile and are never completed, and his wilfully perplexed style, where, out of three contemporary translators, no two agree in the rendering. It may be a question how far these and like faults in the Essays may have been intentional on the writer's part. He is obscure, sometimes because he endeavours to put more meaning into his words than they can bear; sometimes from an early habit of obscurity, or from an affected manner of speech where he bas really nothing to say, and trusts to the chapter of accidents and to men's charitable speeches to find a right sense for his indistinct oracular utter- ances. It is impossible therefore to say, with Mr. ■Vright, that the English reader will find few difficulties in Bacon's language or style. One peculiarity which deserves notice is the frequency with which he repeats himself. This is not very obvious in the Essays, until the reader cornes to compare them with the rest

of his works. A complete list of parallel passages would show much of the Essays as compilations carefully selected and strung together, with just enough new marrer to give them consistency and connexion and to fit them into their new place. This is most marked, of course, in Bacon's most ornate work. He has gems of thought and language, but he does not scatter them about with the uncalculating profusion of a Shakespeare, not' like wealthy men who tare not how they give,' but rather like those who are husbanding their store with tare, doling it out with measure and method to make its contents go as far as they can. So we find frequently the same idea, the same form of words, the same favourite conceit brought out and compelled to do duty over and over again. It appears, too, in several of the Essays, that Bacon had formed no very distinct notion of his subject. He sets down what the title happens to suggest to him, and if the words of the title carry more meanings than one, or if their meaning has been suffered to remain indeterminate in his mind, the contents of the Essay shift about accordingly. In the Essa); e.g. Of Truth, he takes the word first as equal to correctness of thought, and thence passes to what he terms the truth of civil business, or in other words, to the wholly distinct virtue of truthfulness. The Essay Of Env), is even more composite than this. The two forms of envy of which it treats, private envy and public envy, bave little or nothing in common, and some of the remarks on private envy relate properly to a different vice--to the lr, X«,p,,,,,d« of the Greeks. Those who ' think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings ' are certainly malevolent, but envious they are not. Again, in the Essay Of Ambition, it is not easy to sec why 'to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs.' Ambition is not commonly the virtue or vice to which a soldier as such is prorte. The love of glory, the desire of earning distinction in the wars, may act powerfully in aid of his sense of public duty, but these are not forms of ambition. The Essay Of the Vicissitude of Things is almost necessarily a composite piece of work throughout. ' Things' is a very wide terre ; whatever

sense we give toit, things change as time proceeds, so that a treatise on change generally may pick and choose its matter at random without danger of missing its proposed mark. The subject in the Essay Of Beauty is more limited, and admits of being more exactly defined. In point of fact, there are con- tradictory senses given toit, and Bacon roves freely from one to the other, asserting in one sentence what he distinctly negatives in the next. From this, and from other causes, the matter of the Essays is of very unequal value. They are at their best when they are dealing with the practical rules and cautions to be observed in public and in private life. This is especially the part which cornes home to men's business and bosoms. Bacon is no optimist. He has no sentiment to lead him astray. He sees clearly what men are at their ■vorst, by ■vhat mean motives they are impelled, what traps they lay for one another, what follies and inconsistencies they fall into. He knows their tricks, and he drags them out into full daylight and exposes them for what they really are. To the careless cursory reader, much of what he has written will seem commonplace enough. His rule, for instance, that 'it is 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,' --this seems so obvious as to be hardly worth mentioning. Obvious or hot, it has yet to be recognised and applied. Every day, ■vhen some public scandal has to be excused, some gross negligence or breach of trust to be explained a■vay, or to be so shifted about that no one tan be fixed with responsibility for it, we hear it said that it is the system, hot the men who have been in fault--as if any system could work properly ■vhen the human agents are careless

and venal and indifferent, or as if any system could fail to work well if the men were earnest and capable, and hOt satisfied with a perfunctory discharge of their parts. Again, his remarks on the tyranny of custom, ' how men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they bave donc before, as if they were dead image■

and engines '--all this has been said a dozen rimes over before Bacon's day and after it; it would be ail accepted as truc; it cornes home to men's business, but not therefore to their bosoms. They do not know themselves for what they are. So, too, with the grand reflexions which Bacon's own experience of life has suggested and brought home to him ; the emptiness of things which he secs men struggling for; the disappointments and drawbacks which attend the most complete success; tbe servitude of attainment and the uncompensated misery of failure. All these have been the common themes of moralists at all ages of the world. Bacon could speak as one who had been an actor in the great scene, and who was thus marked off from the common crowd of mere sermonizers and rhetoricians. But when he cornes to deal with great questions of policy, he has not so much to offer. His chief Essay on public affairs is that in which he undertakes to pronounce on 'the truc greatness of kingdoms and estates.' This is a test subject ; one which calls for a display of the highest philosophical states- manship. But how does Bacon deal with it ? The truc great- ness of kingdoms he finds in the extent of territory. The truc rule for obtaining this greatness is for the state which aims at it to keep its teeth and claws in constant readiness, whether to guard its own past thieveries, or to snatch something more from any neighbour whom it may find weak or unprepared. Here, as in his Essay Of Empire, he writes as an advocate of war, and lays down rules which would serve effectively to ensure its occurrence and continuance. The position which he thus takes--in singular contrast to his earlier pacific utterances-- has been explained by his defenders as the result of political prescience. Foreseeing the approaching struggle between the Commons and the Crown, he did his best to engage the nation in a foreign war, as the best chance of preventing dif[erences at home. But this defence Bacon himself has negatived in express terms. It has been insinuated, he writes, 'that if a State, out of the distemper of their own body, do fear sedition and intestine troubles to break out amongst themselves, they may discharge their own iii humours upon a foreign war for

xxvi INTRODUCTION. a cure. And this kind of cure was tendered by Jasper Coligni, Aclmiral of France, to Charles the Ninth, the French King, when by a vive and forcible persuasion he moved him to a war upon Flanclers, for the better extinguishment of the civil wars of France. But neither was that counsel prosperous : neither will I maintain that position ; for I will never set politics against ethics ; especially for that truc ethics are but as a handmaid to divinity and religion1. ' That this fine disclaimer is consistent with Bacon's language in the Essays and elsewhere, it would be no easy task to prove. I quote it not with any belief that it represents his real sentiments ; but simply to show that as far as he was promoting war either for political objects at home, or to suit his own private ends, he bas pronounced sentence against himself. It will be remarked, too, that in the Essay Of Empire he writes about kings with no sense of the stimulus which an exalted position and consciousness of great power must have upon a worthy nature. The ' non sibi secl toti genitum se credere mundo' is not suggested to him by his subject. Kings he describes as at the highest: they therefore want marrer of desire; the object of their lives is to amuse themselves or to make tl■emselves safe in their place. At the close of the Essay there is just a hint given about the effects ■vhich

follow from their good or bad conduct, but the whole body of the Essay follows a different line of thought, and is aptly and adequately illustrated by the low and un■vorthy specimens which he chooses as fit types of the depositaries of sovereign power. There are other matters in which Bacon's errors and short- comings are those of the age rather than of the man. "■Vhen he wrote, for example, on the laws of economic science or of trade, there was little or nothing çf any permanent value which he could pick out and appropriate from among the current notions of his day. We find, accordingly, that in dealing with this whole class of questions, he is at his worst. On his views about Usury I have commented at length in the illustrations at

the end of the Essay. In his views about trade he takes the mercantile theory as his guide. The increase of any state must, he asserts, be at the expense of the foreigner, since whatever is somewhere gotten must be somewhere lost. ■Vhat this means appears clearly in his letter of advice to Villiers: 'Let the foundation of a profitable trade be thus laid, that the exporta- tion of home commodities be more in value than the importation of foreign, so we shall be sure that the stocks of the kingdom shall yearly increase, for then the balance of trade must be returned in money or bullion ■.' In other words, an increase of the precious metals is the test of a profitable trade, and is the main benefit which trade with the foreigner can bring. Itis hardly necessary, at this time of day, to expose such a fallacy as this. At the rime when it was written, it passed current as truc, and that it was Bacon's honest be3ief there is no reason to doubt. But xvhen he says, in a letter to the Marquis of Bucking- ham, that a discovery that some Dutch merchants had carried gold and silver out of the country, in exchange presumably for goods, was a happy thing, since it would serve to demonstrate that 'Scotland is not the leech (as some discoursers say), but the Netherlanders, that suck the kingdom of treasure■-, ' or in other words, that the king's lavish girls to his Scotch favourites did not impoverish the country as much as a give-and-take trade with the Dutch, he may perhaps be suspected of having gone a little further than an honest belief could carry him. The truth is that Bacon in his Essays, and in his writings generally, had set himself an impossible task. At an early age he had taken ail knowledge for his province, and it was not easy for him to make good so large a claim as this. ■,Vhere he had thorough knowledge, he was singularly able to display it, and to obtain credit for the xvhole of it. ' In law,' said Queen Elizabeth of him, 'he shows ail he has, and is not deep.' Deep or not, he had the same skill in ail subjects of showing ail he had, 'omnium quae dixerat feceratque arte quidam ostentator.' Frequently, too, he contrives to shoxv more than he has, like

* Letters and Life, ri. 2■. ■ Letters and Life, ri. 374-

those whom he describes as always affecting to keep back some- what, and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do hOt well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may hOt well speak. But with or without precise knowledge, there are some points of style in which Bacon never fails. He has always magnificence of dic- tion, amplitude of promise, an outline of wide range, and an almost divine satisfaction in the work as very good. These are excellences of no common order; they give proof of consum- mate literary art, but they are hOt to be taken for more than they are worth, or for something which they are hOt. For accuracy in detail Bacon had no care whatever, and this again may be set down as probably a part of his craft. Careless- ness of detail is certainly one of the characteristics of Bacon's Essays. Laboured and elaborate as they are in parts, and claiming to be

xvritten for all time as long as books shall last, they are none the less crowded with errors and misquotations, or are borne out in parts by manufactured evidence distorted from its original sense. Mr. Spedding, who holds a perpetual brief for Bacon, does all he can to extenuate the fault of mis- quotation, or even to put it forward as a merit. Commenting on a remark of Dr. Rawley,--that ' if Bacon had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before ; so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained,'--he says that this is probably the true explanation of Bacon's habit of inaccurate quotation. ' In quoting an author's words,' says Mr. Spedding, ' he very often quotes inaccurately. Sometimes, no doubt, this was un/ntentional, the fault of his memory; but more frequently, I suspect, it was done deliberately; for the sake of presenting the substance in a better form, or a form better suited to the particular occasion. In citing the evidence of witnesses, on the contrary, in support of a narrative state- ment or an argument upon matter of fact, he is always very careful

INACCURACIES. xxix That Bacon frequently quoted from memory seems certain. His words in Essay 4, 'Salomon, I am sure, saith, It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence,' are a sort of notice to the reader that he intends to rely upon his memory, and that he does not think it worth while, or will not be at the trouble, to verify what he thus quotes. We find, accordingly, that the Essays abound in misquotations of a more or less important kind. Some ofthem are mere blunders. The sentence quoted is changed neither for the better nor for the worse, or is put into the wrong mouth or ruade referable to the wrong person, when the right mouth or the right person would have served equally well. But the distortion is occasionally more grave than this, and is of a kind which Mr. Spedding's laudatory defence does hOt cover or excuse. Let us look, for example, al the first words of the first Essay Of Truth. ' What is truth ? said jesting Pilate.' Whately, in his note on this, gives what seem good reasons for believing that Pilate ■vas not jesting or scoffing, but was wishing for an answer to a question which he was asking seriously. We read, a little further down,' One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy vinum daemonum.' This passage has been searched for by generations of com- mentators, but il has never been found, and there is good reason to think that il does hOt exist. Towards the end of the Essay--' Montaigne saith prettily:' and words follow which are not Montaigne's, but are stated by him in express terms tobe the words of some one else--an ancient. Last of ail cornes the magnificent peroration, and the Essay ends with--' il being foretold that, when Christ cometh, he shall not find faith upon the earth.' This is not foretold : the question is simply asked whether il will be so or not, and with no reference whatever to the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith as the last peal to call down the judgments of God. Now considering the subject of the Essay--Of Truth--this is pretty well. Again, in Essay IO, Of Love, Bacon says, ' il is a poor saying of Epi- curus, Salis magnum aller alteri l]tealrum stttnus: as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and ail noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a litde idol, and make him-

self subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes.' This is a com- plete misrepresentation of the meaning. The saying is hot that of a loyer, as Baeon wrongly assumes it to be. It is quite clearly the saying of a philosopher, satisfied to hold intercourse with the single friend whom he is addressing, and disdaining the volte of the multitude. Again, in Essay 43, wishing to prove that persons in years have a beauty above that of the young, he gives as an authority

'pulchrort«m autumnus pulcher.' It should be pulchrorum eliam attlummts pulcher, the omitted word destroying the argument which the mutilated version supports. Again, in Essay 4■, he speaks of ' such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years tan uphold ; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, Ultima primis cedebant.' Here, again, is a misre- presentation of what Livy says, and this, too, where Bacon is citing evidence ' in support of a narrative statement.' That, in his Essay Of Friendship, he misrepresents and misinterprets Aristotle, is almost a marrer of course. Curious, too, is his occasional way of building passages into his text in a sense wholly different from that which they bore in the original. He speaks, e.g. in Essay 44, of deformed persons being, 'as the Scripture saith, void of natural affection;' and again, in Essay 56, of 'that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, Pluet st@er eos laqueos; for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people.' It is not worth while to add further instances of the mere inaceuracies which oceur on almost every page. Their frequency and seeming wilfulness may perhaps raise a suspicion that Bacon in introdueing them has been observing his own rule--'if you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knov¢, you shall be thought another rime to know that you know not.' On religious toleration Bacon writes somewhat doubtfully. In his Essay Of Unity in Religion he declares against 'san- guinary persecutions to force consciences,' but he goes on to imply that in cases of overt scandal or blasphemy even san- guinary perseeutions may be justified. The Essay however

 eoncludes in anotber strain. ' Ira bominis non implet justitiam Dei : and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that tbose whicb held and per- suaded pressure of consciences were eomrnonly interessed tberein thernselves for their own ends." This seerns to con- dernn every form of perseeution, rnild or sanguinary, which has for its object to force consciences. But if this is what Bacon rneant, itis eertainly not what he either practised, or advised, or praised. In his letter to Villiers, he lays it down that if any 'who are known schisrnaticks transplant thernselves into planta- tions abroad, they rnay be sent for back upon the first notice : sucb persons are hot fit to lay the foundation of a new colony, in which there is to be the sarne purity of religion and the same discipline for Church-governrnent as at homeL' It is clear, too, frorn this and frorn other passages that Roman Catbolics did hot corne witbin his lirnits of toleration. Itis difficult to be sure in every instance how far his objections to them were on political rather than on religious grounds. But we find, in his speech as Lord Keeper to the Judges belote tbe circuit, good evidenee tbat his objections were hot only political: 'Of all other things, I rnust begin as the King begins ; that is, with the cause of religion ; and especially the hollow church-papist. St. Augustine hath a good corn- parison of such men, affirming that they are like the roots of nettles, ■vhich thernselves sting not, but yet they bear all the stinging leaves. Let me know of such roots, and I will root thern out of the eountryL' Bishop Earle, in his Microcosrnographia, chap. IO, gives us the interpretation of the above phrase. He defines tbe Cburch Papist as ' one that parts his religion betwixt his conscience and his purse, and cornes to Cburch hot to serve God, but the King. The face of the Law rnakes hirn wear the rnask of the Gospel, whicb he uses hot as a rneans to save his soul but his charges,' &c. &c. It seerns elear then that Baeon required sornething more frorn Roman Catholics than inoffensive personal conduct and outward conformity to the law. ■ Letters and Life, vi. ■■» ■■, 5■. ■ Letters and Lire, vi. u■ 3.

xxxii INTRODUCTION. In dealing with hereties, there were no lengths which he was not prepared to approve. King James, in ' a declaration against Vorstius,' a Leyden professor suspected of Socinian views, had not only asserted it to be the dut)" of a Christian ruler to extirpate heresies, but had strongly urged the United Provinces to deal hardly with Vorstius, and if they did not burn him as they ought to do, at least to banish him from their country 1. Vorstius was not burnt, but he was deprived of his professorship and was banished. Bacon again and again praises James for the share he had undoubtedly had in bringing about this result -■. There is nothing in ail this that calls for any special comment. It shows only that Bacon's views on religious toleration were not very different from the current views of hi■ day, not very different from those of Hooker before him, or of Thorndyke at a later date. Not much of Bacon's character and mode of life can be seen on the surface of his Essays. Here and there we have an indication, sometimes of what he was, sometimes of what he believed himself to be, or of what he wished to be thought to be. His Essay Of Love is most commonly referred to as giving proof of a cold calculating retaper, and of a firm resolve to allow nothing to turn him aside from his efforts after advance- ment in life. His Essay On Friendship is written in a warmer strain, hOt wanting in enthusiasm, and with some grand rhetorical passages. But when we look closely at its contents we see that out of Aristotle's three forms of friendship, Bacon recognizes only the two lower forms, that which looks to pleasure, and that which looks to use, and he writes grandly about both of them. But beyond these he does not attempt to go. Of the highest friendship, that which binds men together by the mutual delight which each feels in the society of one whose noble character keeps his own better impulses quick and lively, and who is loved, not as agreeable to his friend, not as likely to be of service to him, but as presenting a type of excellence similar t The Works of the ■Iost High and Mighty Prince James, published by the Bishop of Winchester (i616 ■, pp. 349, &c. 2 Letters and Life, iv. 3x3, note u, and v. ■4u.

BACON'S MORAL RULES. xxxiii to his own, and as thus bringing into more frequent and vivid consciousness the highest faculties of his soul--of ail this Bacon bas not one word. The Essay Of Goodness, and Good- ness of Nature, shows us a man not insensible to the social duties of lire, and not incapable of high thoughts and aires. So■ too■ in the Essay Of Ambition, the vantage-ground to do good is put forward as the most worthy object of aspiration. We are not to treat this as words, mere words, no matter from the heart. Bacon may be credited with having felt and in- tended what he writes ; but that he allowed such visionary ideas to stand in the way of his advancement, or that he was minded in any way to sacrifice himself for the good of others, his whole public career too certainly disproves. The plea that has been put in for him, that he sought place and power only that he might be able to do more for the advancement of science than he could have done in a private station, is hardly borne out by facts. How, it may be asked, did he forward the interests of science from the vantage-ground of great place? That he managed to link his own naine to the scientific movement of the age is nothing to tbe point here. That be endeavoured to persuade the king to divert for inter alia the endowment of professorships such part of Sutton's Estate as he did not keep for himselt" is something, but it is not much. That he left by will a sure of money for the founding of two lectureships, on natural philosophy and on the sciences, is open to his own remark that, ' if a man we[gh it rightly, he that doth sois rather liberal of another man's than of his own.' This censure is doubly applicable to Bacon's posthumous liberality, for when his estate came to be administered, there were no available effects, and his two lecturesh[ps were never founded. There are

many passages in the Essays which will serve to illustrate the marked contrast between Bacon's words and his deeds, between his abortive impulses and his acts. His Essay Of Judicature gives a tolerably complete sketch or" what an upright judge should be. 'Above ail things integrity is his proper vil-tue'--a strange remark from the pen of one who had been disgraced for taking bribes, and had been forced to make C

full public confession of his several and repeated misdeeds. 'In causes of lire and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember merey,'--this from a con- triver of the scheme by which Raleigh was to be brought to the seaffold under show of legal proeess, to please Gondomar and Spain. No one has laid bare the arts of flattery with more skill or with more seorn, being all the ■vhile a gross and shameless flatterer, in an age of gross flatterers. So, too, in his Essay Of Seeming Wise, he pours contempt on devices which he himself habitually praetised. So, too, he ean see and approve the singular cham of the ' sapientum templa serena,' from which the ,,vise man looks down on the vain and misdirected efforts of the ■vandering crowd below ; but he is himself one of the crowd, engaged in an incessant struggle ' eontendere nobilitate, Noetes atque dies niti praestante labore Ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri,' shrinking from no baseness which seems likely to help him on his way, and foreed at last to retire defeated and disgraced, but unable even so to resign himself to tbe lot whieh he affeets to consider as the best and most choice■vorthy. We are not to conclude from all this that Bacon was a conscious hypocrite. Strangely enough he seems never to have been aware of the enormity of his own misdeeds, and he ■ommends himself to the approval of posterity with an apparently sincere belief that he had done nothing to be ashamed of, and that his character xvould be finaIly cleared. This is a peculiarity worth notice, and one which the Essays serve especially to bring out. With all their faults and omissions, they show us Bacon at his best ; Bacon as he thought himselfto be and as he wished the world to think of him ; Bacon as he might have been if his better nature had prevailed, and if no temptation had corne in the way to bear down his weak intermittent tendencies after good. The state of mind which they exhibit is thus paradoxical in the extreme. We have a man conscious of many meannesses and of some downright crimes, and xvell aware that they were almost as well known to other people as to himself, but even in his private prayers finding nothing worse to say about himself than that he had hot turned

his powers to what he thinks might have been their best use, that he had taken part in public affairs while he had better have been busy with his studies ; for the test, in all sincerity taking credit for his past life, and laying down rules of conduct, excellent no doubt many ofthem, but just those which he had most signally failed to observe. The key to the problem may perhaps be found in Bacon's belief in his own high mission, and in the practical immunities attaching toit. If he was indeed a man marked out as the guide and benefactor of his species, born, as he himself says, for the service ofmankind, and thus mixing with his fellow-men not as an equal, but as a heaven- sent superior and judge, it is less strange that he should presume somewhat on his position, and should relax in his own favour such portions of the moral law as he found it inconvenient to observe. Instances of self-delusion such as this have been seen at almost all rimes. They were not unknown in Bacon's day; and they became more common still afterwards. The fifth-monarchy man, possessed of an inward light or illuminated by the Holy Spirit, could assert for himself a dispensing power as wide as Bacon's and as serviceable for his own ends. Itis hard on any other theory to understand how Bacon could have maintained to the last a conscious dignity and self- respect. I

shall hOt attempt to enter into the details of Bacon's career. They have been written many rimes over, and from many different points of view. Mr. Spedding's edition of his Life and Letters gives the whole story fully and completely. No fact or letter or sentence, however discreditable, is suppressed. They are all set down and they are all explained away, and Mr. Spedding's faith in Bacon remains unshaken to the end. But a panegyric which is for ever on the defensive is apt to raise more suspicions than it lays at test, especially when we see to what strange shifts Mr. Spedding is occasionally driven in his loyal resolve to make out his case. Professor Fowler, in his preface to the Novum Organum (second edition), writes more judicially. His linWof defence is that Bacon's fatal fault was extreme carelessness in money matters; that this was the C2

xxxvi INTRODUCTION. root from xvhich rnost of his errors and rnisfortunes sprang; that his constant pecuniary difficulties led as their natural result to undue office-seeking and a constant craving for preferment ; and that the habits thus formed in early life continued to operate, as in point of fact such habits frequently do, in circurnstances different frorn those by which they were originally forme& This, however, is an explanation rather than a defence ; and in Professor Fowler's carefully guarded language it does hOt so rnuch as atternpt to explain rnuch that is in sad need of being explained. Bacon's private diary and rules of conduct are a hard rnorsel for his adrnirers. Mr. Spedding has an ingenious defence for thern. The things, he says, of which arnan needs to rernind hirnself are those which he is apt to forger. His inference is that arts and tricks to curry favour with the great and to get on in the world were naturally distasteful to Bacon, and that though he thought it right to practise them with a view to ulterior objects and to important patriotic ends, he had to work against the grain in doing so. Professor Fowler says frankly that Bacon's private rnemoranda are 'revelations hOt of a pleasant character.' His doubt is whether rnost other public rnen would show rnuch better if the world had as clear an insight into their secret thoughts and purposes,--whether, in short, Bacon was rnuch more of a rogue than public rnen bave a sort of prescriptive right tobe. Not less varied has been the estirnate of Bacon's scientific work. We find him exalted as the founder of modern science, the pioneer and guide who has shewn the way to all who have corne after hirn, ■ . . ' Large-browed Verulam■ The first of those who know.' And we find hirn set down as a tank irnpostor, who has discovered nothing ; whose rnethod, as far itis correct, was one which the ■vorld had already round out and put in practice for itself; and who has given hirnself airs as a scientific leader and director, while in point of fact he was lagging sornewhere in the rear, ■vell-nigh out of sight, and often in error as to the route by which the main body was pressing forward. His advocates

insist, with justice, on his magnificent scientific aires, on his lordly sweep over the wide field of knowledge, on his exposure and correction of errors and of faulty methods which for long ages had been tried with no result ; and their regret is that his immersion in public affairs prevented him from completing in detail the vast plan which he has sketched out. His detractors urge that the destructive part of his work came too late to be of use ; that the methods which he condemned had already ceased to be employed ; that he failed admittedly in his attempts at discovery and construction; and when they read his remarks on spirits, on the transmutation of metals, and on the cause of the sweet dews which fall from the end of the rainbow where it rests, they affect to doubt whether all this would have corne to much, if the labour of a lifetime had been given toit. But all these are curious questions which I must leave in other hands. My chief concern here is with Bacon's literary work. The Essays alone give an imperfect view of this. They

show some only of his numerous and varied styles. But they have qualifies of their own for which we shall find no exact counterpart elsewhere. What these are I have already en- deavoured to set down and in some part to illustrate. It is hOt only that the marrer of the Essays is often of the very highest value ; that they give us the experience of one who had looked on lire from many sides, the compressed wisdom of an observer to whom the ways and thoughts of men had long been as an open book. Their perfection is rather in the combination of the matter and the form. The language in which they are written seems the proper clothing of the ideas. Even where the matter is valueless, there is consummate art in the garb of exalted wisdom which the author can fling about his meanest and most commonplace thoughts, yet without the least obvious unfitness between the language and the thought. His oracular manner ; his sudden breaks, which leave the reader still eager and expectant ; his crowded fulness of meaning ; his wide range of thought; his seeming insight into the very centre of things; his unruffled calmness--there may be a trick of style in all this, but it is one which bas not yet grown stale, and the secret of

xvhich the world has never yet found out. It cannot indeed be said of Bacon, as Johnson has said of Addison, that those who. wish to excel in the saine departme/at of work must give their days and nights to his volumes. He is hOt a model for imitation, in language or in the structure of his sentences. He is a classic of a past age. He writes in a fashion which the modern world has long ceased to use, and it is impossible that it should ever return toit. But as a classic he will keep his place, and by universal agreement his place is in the first rank.

P. 6, I. 5, and note on p. 9,for schools readschool. P. 9, note on 1. 6, add Pattison mentions the following among « the cha■cter- istic scntences which Mon■igne h■ insc■■ on the cor■c■ of his lib■■, " Nostra v■atur In teneb■s nec ■eca potest mens ce■ere ve■m," fçom Lu■etius ; and from ■extus Empi■cus.' Repent of E■ays, vol. ii. p. 34z. P. 21, 1. 3 ■d note,fo■ z■■■ r«ad zel■■. P. 24, 1. 29, ]or counci■ a■4 council ■■■ counse■ g,d counsel. P. 34, 1. 7 from bottom,fo■ vemion of p. z84 ■■ad ve■on o■p. ■8■ 4. P. 56, note =,for E■ay ■7 r¢■d ■say ■8. P. 67, atend of note on p. 60, 1. ■9, ■ Co■ also, Fc■er: ■e Golden ■ough, Cap. III. ■c. ■■, on 'Tmngeoence of ]■s,' ■■■ng numero■ ins■c■ in pmof of the poev■ence of a like ■lief. I extract the follo■ng.--A ■ava■an cure for the fever is to w■te upon a piece of ■■r ■' Fever stay away, I ara not at home 'land to put the paper in some ■rson's ■cket. The latter then catches the fever, ■d the ■tient is ■d of it. ■other cure is for the patient to stick a ■ig of elder-toee in the ■■d ■■out s■■ng. ■e fever then adheres to the ■ig, and whoever pulls up the ■g ■1 catch the disease. Vol. I I. p. ■ 53. P. 95, 1. 3 ■, and note on p■ge at p. 1■. for ■achiavel r¢ad ■IacciaveL P. 103, note on 95, 1. 7, ■fl■" Fca■ent of ■ E■ay on Faine add Wor■, vi. P- 5■9- P. 186, 1.34 and P. 187, 1.6■for Comineus r¢■d Commineus. P. 282, 1. ■■, for disemboltura ■ead desemboltura ; and add ■ut, in some s■cimens of ■acon's handwrit■g, the b ■d v are so nearly al■e, that it is quite possible ■at ■acon wrote, co■ectly, 'd■emvoltur■' ■d that ■e 'd■m- boltura" in the text is a printer's e■or. P. ■98, note on 1. ■6. ■e ' ce■in suspicions ' may perha■ have ■en about a propoml ofthe Dutch Commi■ioners to '■o■ thcir stoc■ ■to one b■k ' with the English E■t India Company, ■d to t■de conjointly for OEe ■ture. Vide Lettc■ ■d Lire, vi. 45 o. P. 357, note on p. 355, 1. ■4. The p■sa■ in L[■ whi■ Bacon had in mind w■ probably bk. ■v. cap. 49, ' Quod si quis antea i■or■■t quae res Antio- chum et Aetol■ conju■i■et, ex legato■m ■■one potasse appaoere : menfiendo ■■■cem jact■d■ue vir■ qu■ non haberent ■flasse

v■a spe arque inflatos e■e.' Conf. Wor■, vil. ■7 ■, ■72.

LONDON■ Printed by Jottx HAVILAND For Ham■x BARRET and RICHARD WHITAKER, ■4nd are to ■e ■old atttSe signe of ttSe Kings tSead in Pauls CtSurctS-yard I625.

To the Right Honorable My Very Good Lo. The Duke of t■ttckhtgham his G■ace, Lo. High ■ldmh'all of England. Excellent Lo. Salomon saies; M good ■Vame fs as a preciotts oytttmc■tt; And I assure my selfe, such v«il your Graces Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, have been Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all my other v«orkes, have been most Currant: For that, as it seems, they corne home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight ; So that they are indeed a New \Vorke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, ■being in the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My h■stattra- ¢io■t, I dedicated to the l■'t'■t#: My ttis¢orie of Henry ■qevctt[h {which I have now also translated into Latine} and my t■or[ious of Na[ttrall Histoo,, to the t■riuce: And these I dedicate to your Grace; Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand. }'ottr Graces mos/ Oblt'gcd and fat?/tfttll 5crvant, Ff. St. Alban.

TttE tïSSM VtïS COUSELS CIVILL AND IIIORALL OF FRM2VCIS ■gMCO2V, YISCOU2VT ST. ALBAW.

WI-IAT 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 fixa 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 saine veins '■, though there be hOt so much blood in them as was in tbose

■ jestlng] i.e. scoffing. Lat. P,'iatus derisor. b affec■ing] i.e. having a liking for. Conf. Essay 47: ' Use also such per- sons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much.' ¢ discoursing tm'ts] Lat. ingenia ven- tosa et discurm■a. Bacn uses dis«o,«rse in various senses; sometimes, as in the text, :- empty talk or chatter. IVit, he uses sometimes of the facuhy; sometimes, as in the text, of the person possessing it. Intellect,

or mind, may pass as the nearest modern equivalent for it. For both the above words, conf. ' Neither is this matter of discourse, ex¢ept the deep and profound reasons of law which ought chiefly to be searched shall be accounted discourse, as the slighter sort of wits (scioli) may esteem them.' Works, vil 530. ■ veins] i.e. mental habits or tenden- cies. Conf. Essay 32 : ' Certain]y he that hath a satirical rein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.'

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 e men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools 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 tbr the lie's sake. But « I cannot tell : this saine

truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphsg of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps corne to the price ,,f a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not fise 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 h, 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 daemonum,' because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shado■v 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 i

ç m■posah upon] i. e. lays a restraint upon. Lat. t.r va inventa ¢ogilationibus imponitur ¢aptwit■. ■ contr■ted with the 'free-will in thin■ng' of which Bacon h■ s■ken above. t But &c.] The Latin ■ves th■ sta¢- cato ■sa■ somewhat more trippingly: Scd n■■b quomodo, v■'tas ■ta &c. ■ Oiumphs] i. e. shows or spots, on a scie of some ma■ificence. 'Some two days since I saw the prince,

And told him of these triumphs hcld at Oxford.' Richard II, act v. sc. 3- ' O, thou art a perpetual triumph, an everlasting bonfire.light.' ■ Henry IV, act iii. sc. 3- And Essay 37, Of Masques and Triumphs. ■ a■ on« w■■M] Lat. imaginaliones ad iibitum. I ■uch as we spake of] i. e. such a lie as, hot such a hurt as. The Latin gives

before. But howsoever k 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 good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason : and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the ,o matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still I he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet '■ exceilently well :--It is a pleasure go stand upon the shore, and go sec sllil■s tosscd upon elle sca : a ph'asttrc go stand bi elle zvhtdozv of a castlc, and go sec a baltle and thc advenir, res thcrcof bdow : but no plcasure is comparable go the standing upon the vantage grottnd of truth, [a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), attd to sec thc 2o crrors, and zvandcrings, attd misls, and tcmpests, Dt tlce valc bdow : so always that this prospect be with pity, and hot with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind more in charity, res, in pro- vidence, and turn upon the poles of truth. To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of 1' civil business°; it will be acknowledged, even by

quite clear]y--mendadum qnod a menle hnbibitur, non■Oe ejus generis dt qno ange dixim■«s. ■ Bu! Itotv$oever ■zc.] i.e. in what way soevcr it happens that these things are thus. Lat. utcunque haec ira se habeant. t stillJ Here, as generally else- where, = ever. Conf. e.g. Essay ■9 : ' For greatness» it maketh go be still for the most part in arms.' Lat. quasi m y«tJ This ■vord is hot translated

in the Latin. It may mean either fitrghcr, morcoE,er, and if so ■vill apply to the en,ire clause ; or, as Mr. Abbott suggests, in spire of his bclonging go an i■■EEo4or sect, a sense hot well in keeping with the

terres of praise with which the unnamed writer is introdueed. ■ lndh of civil business] The Latin marks distinctly this change in the sense of the word--ad veritagon aut potius voacigagon. ■ civil business] i.e. business relating

those that practise it not, that clear and round p dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be round false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason ,o why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge. Saith he, If if be well weighed, to say that a man licth, is as much to say as tkat he is brave towa»ds God and a cowa»d towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from ma». Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal « to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men : it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, he shall not findfaith upon the carth.

P. 5, 1. 5. sects of Philosophers] This is probably an allusion to Pyrrho and the sceptical schools, to which Bacon makes express reference in the Nov. Org. Bk. I. aph. 67. The indeterminate language in the Essay would be borne out by the tenets assigned either to these, or to the New Academy, of which Bacon speaks at greater length in the saine aphorism : ' Nova Academia Acatalepsiam dogmatizavit et ex professo tenuit. Quae licet honestior ratio sit quam pronuntiandi licentia, quum ipsi pro se dicant se minime

to the intercourse and dealing, in society, of citizen with citizen. Conf. ■ Civil knowledge .... hath three pmts, according to the three summary actions of society : which are Conver- sation, Negociation, and Government.' Works, iii. 445. p round] i.e.straightforward,direct. Conf. Essay 6: 'A show of fearfulness ..... doth spoil the feathers of round

flying up to the mark.' And, ' So highly esteemed they a plain, simple and round manner of speaking, which compriseth in few words much matter and a sentence massy and sound.' Plutarch, blorals : Of Intemperate Speech ; Hol- land's trans, p. x6 7. q if shall be tke la.st 2beal &c.] Lat. istis (quasi ultimis clamoribus) dcvo- cabuntur judicia Dal.

confundere inquisitionem, ut Pyrrho fecit et Ephectici, sed habere quod sequantur ut probabile, licet non habeant quod teneant ut verum; tamen,' etc. And again in aph. 37, he says of the New Academy, ' nihil sciri posse simpliciter asserunt.' 1. 6. certain discoursi»■g wit■] The reference may be to Fran- ciscus Sanchez, whose treatise, Quod nihil scitur (■576), seems to have been known to Bacon. Sanchez professes to write as a thorough sceptic. He begins his treatise : ' Nec unum hoc scio, me nihil scire. Conjector tamen nec me nec alios. Haec mihi vexillum propositio sit, haec sequenda venit--nihil scitur.' The reasoning by which he establishes his position--the ob■ous absurdities of many received opinions, the imperfections of the sen■s, and the faulty inferences which men are in the habit of making from them--is, in pa■s, so like some of the destructive aphofisms in the First Book of the No■m Organum, that the resemblance can hardly bave been accidental. But Sanchez const■cm nothing. He concludes in favour of the sceptical formula ■6th which he stars. His work is an extreme expression of the dislike and dist■st which men were be■nning to feel for a dogmatism which had passed current as science. That the contemptuous reference in

the Essay was in■nded to include Momaigne is likely enough. His rambling tentative style, and his mischievous delight in multiplying proofs of the weakness and fallibility of human judgment, would explain Bacon's inclusion of him among the discoursing modern wits. It dese■es notice, too, that although Bacon offert follows Montaigne, this is the only Essay in which he refers to him by name. P. 6, 1. 4. a natural &c.] Conf. Mon■igne : ' Je trouve que nous ne sommes pas seulement lasches à nous deffendre de la piperie ; mais que nous cherchons et convions à nous y enferrer : nous aimons à nous embrouiller en la vanité, comme conforme à nostre estre.' Es■ys, bk. iii. chap. xL 1. 5. One of tl■e la/er scl■■ls ■ /■e Grecia»s] The reference is to Lucian's Philopseudes, sec. i : 1. 15. carbu■wle] ' Carbunculus. SolaHs lapis lucet ex propria natura sicut Sol.' Paracelsus, vol. il. p. z■5 b (ed. of z658, Geneva, in tbree folio vols.). ' The best of these stones ■■11 shine in darknesse like a burning coale, as Albertus writeth, himself bath seene. Others shine

but a little and are lesse esteemed, but'such as shine not at ail are scarce of any reckoning.' Bullokar, English Expositor, sub voce. 1.22. One of tire [athers &c.] This quotation has not been traced. The only explanation I can find of it is as follows :--Jerome, in a letter to Damasus (Ep. i46), writes, ' Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum.' Augustine, Confess. i. x6, terres poetry ' vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum.' Bacon thus seems to have been quoting from memory, and to have combined the two passages. It ,vas a fixed idea with him, as his mistakes of memory usually were. He says, r.g. in the Adv. of Learning, ' Did not one of the fathers in great indignation call Poesy "vinum daemonum," because it increaseth telnptations, perturbations and vain opinions ?' ■,Vorks, iii. 44o. I. 24. the shadow ofa lie] In this and in the next sentence Bacon seems to bave had before him some passages from Plato's Republic: o■ ■«■v ■■paro■ ■■fi■o■. Republic, p. 38z. P- 598, and the entire discussion which introduces and follows this. P. 7, II. 4. 5. bnow&dge oftrulh--beli■oftruth] The Latin brings out more clearly the distinction intended here. Knowledge is rendered by ' veritatis cognitio, quae praesentem eam sistit :' belief by ' veritatis receptio cum assensu, quae est ipsius fruitio et amplexus.' 1.8. the light of the senoe] Genesis-i. 3- 1.8. the ligM of reason] Genesis i. 26, 27. Conf. ' Thou, O Father ■ who gav■t the Visible Light as the first- born ofthy 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.' The Writer's Prayer; Works, vil 259. Closely resembling this is the prayer with which Baron ends his ' distributio operis : '■' Itaque tu Pater, qui lucem visibilem primitias creaturae dedisti, et lucem intellectualem ad fasti■um operum tuorum in faciem hominis inspirasti,' &c. ■Vorks, i. x45- 1. ■3. Thepoet] i.e. Lucretius. 1. ■3. the sert othe■,ise hoEerior] i.e. the Epicurean sert, so judged either as morally infefior or as having a less eminent series of litera■ advocates and professors.

The passage, which Bacon has paraphrased rather than translated, 'Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem; Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas, Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est. Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri Per campos instructa, tua sine parte pericli: Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere Edita doctrina sapientum tenlpla serena; Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre Effare, atque viam palanteis quaerere vitae, Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate, Nocteis atque dies niti praestante labore Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.' Lib. il. I-I 3. 1. 22. wilh pity &c.] Conf. the description, in the New Atlantis, of one of the

Fathers of Salomon's House : ' He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men.' SVorks, iii. 154. I quote this as a further bye-instance of the relation in which Bacon himself stood, or affected to stand, towards his fellow-men. P. 8, 1. 8. and lherefore l■[onlaigne sailh &c.] Montaigne does hot say it; he quotes it as the saying of an ancient :--'J'ay souvent consideré d'où pouvoit naistre cette coustume, que nous observons si religieusement, de nous sentir plus aigrement offensez du reproche de ce vice, qui nous est si ordinaire, que de nul aultre; et que ce soit l'extreme injure qu'on nous puisse faire de parole, que de nous reprocher le mensonge ..... C'est un vilain vice que le mentir, et qu'un ancien peinct bien honteusement quand il dict que "c'est donner tesmoignage de mespriser Dieu, et quand et quand de craindre les hommes" ; il n'est pas possible d'en representer plus richement l'horreur, la vilitê, et le desreglement ; car que peut- on imaginer plus vilain que d'estre couard à l'endroict des hommes, et brave à l'endroict de Dieu ?' Montaigne, Essays, lib. il. 18. The 'ancien' is Plutarch. 'He that deceiveth his enemie, and breaketh his oath to him : sheweth plainely that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God.' Life of Lysander, North's trans, p. 45 o. We learn from Bodin that the sensitiveness to the charge of lying, of which Montaigne speaks, had been of recent growth among the French :--' But no■v, when as to have the lie given one was neither by the Romans thought to be a thing injurious, neither that our auncestors had allowed the combat for the lie given to another man : it began in our age to be a thing not only contumelious, but even capitall also : and that especially in the tinxe of Francis the first the French king,

who in a great assembly of his greatest peers one day said, that he was hot an honest man which could endure the lie given him ..... So that none of the nobilitie or martial! men which will put up with the lie is accounted of as a man of any worth or valour, but as of a base or vile fellow.' Bodin, Republic, iv. cap. 7, Knolles' trans. Bacon speaks elsewhere to much the same effect :--' It would bave been thought a madness amongst the ancient lawgivers to have set a punishment upon the lie given ..... The civilians, they dispute whether an action of h■jury lie for it, and rather resolve the contrary. And Francis the first of France, who first set on and stamped this disgrace so deep, is taxed by the judgment of ail wise writers for beginning the vanity of it : for it was he, that when he had himselfgiven the lie and defy to the Èperor, to make it current in the world, said in a solemn assembly, That he was no honest man rirai wouM bear the lie; which was the fountain of this new learning.' Charge touching Duels, Letters and Life, iv. 4o6. l. 17. il being forelold &c.] Luke xviii. 8. The words, it need hardly be said, do hOt bear the sense which Bacon bas given them. I think it probable that he had in his rnind, here, an indistinct recollection of a passage in Cyprian's De Unitate Ecclesiae. It is clear from several passages in Essay iii. that he had read this treatise. Conf. ' Sic in nobis emarcuit vigor fidei, sic credentium robur elanguit. Et idcirco Dominus tempora nostra respiciens, in Evangelio suo dicit: Filius homhKs acre venerit, putas h«veniet ridera fit terra ? Videmus fieri quod ille praedixit. In Dei timore, in lege justitiae, in dilee- tione, in opere rides nulla est,' &e. Cyprian, De Unitate Eeelesiae, sec. 26.

ME■ 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

OF DEATH. ■3 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 finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved ; when many rimes 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 welI said, Pompa mort[s magis lcrret qam mors ipsa. Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies b, 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 mates c and masters the fear of death ; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that tan 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 ■ ■atural man] i.e. hot from a reli- gious point ot view. Lat. itomo ani- s,ails. In contrast to the religious meditations of xvhi¢h Bacon has just belote been speaking. For the phrase, conf. 'It is truc, 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 naturaI ■nan, I should persuade the sa.me thing. For there is no such enterprise at this day for secular greatness and terrene honouras a war upon infidels.' Works, vil p. ■o. b bla«ks and obsequ,ës] The Latin combines these two words in atrata [unera. For the old substantival use of' blacks,' conf. ' Ere blacks were bought for his own funeJal.' Ben Jonson, Epigrams 44, l. 3.

And, ' The Queen's funeral is like to be deferrcd for want of money to buy the blacks.' Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering, April ■7, ■6■9, Court and Times of James I, vol il. e but il ■zate$] i.e. over-powers, Lat. quin s■qbertt. Conf. ' The great question is how ■o miss or how to mate the Flemin■: how to pass by them or how to pass over them.' Le■e■ and Lffe, ri. ■3- ■d, Es■y xS: ' In ■eat oppoessions, the saine thin■ t■t do provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage.' a of Mini i.e. of death. Lat. qui in ■ ■re-occu■atetlJ] i.e. anticipates. Lat. anti■pat. Conf. 'Only I wish your Lordship will hot pre-occupate despair, but put t■st, next to God, in ber Majesty's ■ace.' Lette■ and Life, ii. p. ■oe. And, ■I w■l pre-occupate

pity (which is the tenderest r of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of folloxvers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness « and satiety : Cogita quamdiu eadcm feccris ; mori vellc, non tattttt m fo■4is, aut m iso', scd ctiam fastidiosus potesL A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, on. ly upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to obsera, e, how little alteration in good spirits h the approaches of death make : ■o for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Caesar died in a compliment; Livia, conjugii ■tOSh't" ■II£IllOF, ■li'C C[ i'al■. Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, Jam Tiberhtm vh'es ct corpus, non disshntdatio, descrcbant: Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, Utputo Dettsfio: Galba with a sentence, Fcri, si ex tf sit ■o/httli l■oman[, holding forth his neck ; Septimius Severus in dispatch, Adcstc, si qtt[d mi]ri restat aKendnm ; and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations lnade it ■ o appear more feafful. Better saith he, qui fin¢m v/lac gx[rctott DtAer ■tllttlo'a ■onat na[ttrac. 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 rime, scarce feels the hurt ; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death; but, above ail, believe it, the sweetest canticle is JVttnc dimittis, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and

whai; he will rather say, That other affairs of weight do take him up.' Hacket's Lire of Abp. Williams, Part I, p. 34. t tl■e hu■deres■ i.e. the weakest. Conf. 'Especially if in those disput- ings, they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those

that are against it audaciously.' Essay I5. ■ nicentss] i.e. fastidiousness. Conf. ' The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization.' Essay ■9. p. ■o7. ■ ingoodspir¢ts] Lat. in animo gent- roso tt fortf.

expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate tu good fame, and extinguisheth envy: amabitur idem.

P. 12, 1. i. the dark] ' Illa ad quae transituri sumus nescimus qualia sint, et horremus ignora. Naturalis praeterea tenebrarum metus est, in quas adductura mors creditur.' Seneca, Epist. Ixxxii. 1. 2. increased with tales] Conf. ' Mors contemni debet ma#s quam solet, multa enim de illa credimus: multorum ingeniis certatum est ad augendam ejus infamiam. Descriptus est carcer infernus et per- petua nocte oppressa regio, in qua ingens janitor Orci, Ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento, Aeterniam latrans exsangues territat umbras.' Seneca, Epist. ixxxii. I give this, out of a host of similar passages, as having most probably been present tu Bacon's mind. 1. 5" the fear of il, as a tribute due unto nature] The Latin gives here tri est naturae debitum, as though the sense of the English were-- since it is a tribute due unto nature. In the edition of i6t2, the cor- responding passage is--' the fear of it for it self.' This agrees more nearly with the English text of the later edition than with the render- ing in the Latin. For the sense, conf. ' Mors naturae lex est, mors tributum officium- que mortalium.' Seneca, Nat. Quaest. lib. vi. sub finem. P. 18, 1. I. You shaii read &c.] I have looked through some scores of the friars' books of mortification, but I have not round any such passage as that tu which Bacon refers. The nearest approach tu it is in St. Luis of Granada's chapter on Death, translated in vol. ii. of the Ascetic Library by Orby Shipley. The usual purpose of this class of writers seems tu be tu excite fear hOt about death but about what may happen after death, and on this latter they enlarge hOt un- frequently in terres such as those of which Bacon speaks in the text. By the early Christian ■vriters death itself is more often hailed as a welcome release. Later writers, addressing themselves tu the rich and the luxurious, insist rather on the losses which it involves and on the pleasures which it cuts short. 1. lU. Pomiba »tortis &c.] The reference appears tu be tu Seneca. ' Tulle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos territas : mors es quam nuper servus meus quam ancilla contempsit.' Epist. xxiv. For this and for the next sentence conf. also Montaigne, Ess. lib. i. chap. 19 : 'Je crois, à la verité, que ce sont ces mines et appareils

effroyables dequoy nous l'entournons, qui nous font plus de peur qu'elle : une toute nouvelle forme de vivre ; les cris des meres, des femmes, et des enfants : la visitation de personnes estonnees et transies ; l'assistance d'un nombre de valets pasles et esplorez ; une chambre sans jour; des cierges allumez; nostre chevet assiegé de medecins et de prescheurs; somme, tout horreur et tout effroy autour de nous; nous voyla desja ensepvelis et enterrez. Les enfants ont peur de leurs amis mesmes, quand ils les voyent masquez :

aussi avons nous. Il fault oster le masque aussi bien des choses que des personnes : osté qu'il sera, nous ne trouverons au dessoubs que cette mesme mort qu'un valet ou simple chambriere passerent dernierement sans peur.' 1. i8. honour aspireth fo il] The edition of i6m adds here-- ■ delivery from ignominy chooseth it.' It is obvious to remark that, in the interval between the two editions, Bacon had incurred ignominy and had not chosen death. The reading of the earlier edition is kept and somewhat strengthened in the Latin translation ofthe later one-- ■nelus ignominiae eligil. 1. 19. fear pre-occupateth it] Conf. Seneca, Epist. xxiv: 'His adjicias et illud ..... tantam hominum imprudentiam esse, imo dementiam, ut quidam timore mortis cogantur ad mortem'; and Epist. l.,■_x : ' stultitia est timore mortis mori' ; and Lucretius iii. 79 82: 'Et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitae Percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae, Ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum, Obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.' 1.20. Otho] Vide Tacitus, Hist. ii. 49: 'Quidam militum juxta rogam (Othonis) interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. Ac postea promisce Bedriaci Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis' ; and Suetonius, Otho, cap. xii : sub finem : ' Multi praesentium militum ..... statim nec procul a rogo vim suae vitae adtulerunt. Multi et absentium adcepto nuntio prae dolore armis inter se ad internecionem concurrerunt.' P. 14, 1. 3- Seneca adds] These are not the words of Seneca. He quotes them, with approval, from an address, by a»icus noster Stoicus, to a young man who had called a council of his friends to decide whether he should put himself to death. The exact words are- ' Cogita quamdiu jam idem facias. Cibus, somnus, libido : per hunc circulum curritur. Mori velle non tantùm prudens, et fortis aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.' Epist. lxxvii. 1. ii. Augustus C■esar--compliment] This is no account of the scene as Suetonius describes it--' Omnibus deinde dimissis, dura

advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit : Livia nostri conjugii memor vive, ac vale.' Augustus, cap. 99. There is something more than compliment here. 1. 12. Tiberius] 'Jam Tiberium corpus, jam rires, nondum dis- simulatio deserebat.' Tac. Ann. vi. 5 o. l. 14. ■éspasian] 'Ac ne in metu quidem, et periculo mortis extremo, abstinuit jocis .... Prima quoque morbi adcessione, Ut, inquit, puto, Deus fio." Suetonius, Vespasian, cap. 23. 'Err«■;/ r« ■■i«■«v««v g■t ■«■«v■ç««,, ïçÇ, o«■■ ÇSÇ ■;vovat. Dio Cassius Ixvi. 17. It does hOt appear that this jest was uttered when Vespasian was dying--Suetonius says expressly prima morbi adcessione. 1. ■5. Gal■] This is Plutarch's account. 'The traiterous souldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wound : and Galba holding out his neck unto them, bad them strike hardily, if it were to do their count■ good.' North's trans, p. iosi. Tacitus and Sue- tonius speak less certainly. ' Extremam ejus vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere. Alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali me■isset ; paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum. Plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus jugulum : agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur. Non inteffuit occidentium quid diceret.' Tac. Hist. i. 4L ' Sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum, 0uM agilis, comndlilones ? ego rester sure, et vos mei. Piures autem prodiderunt obtulisse ultro jugulum: et ut hoc agerent ac [erirent» qttando ira viderdur, hortatum.' Suet. Galba, cap. 20. 1. 16. S■plimh«s Severns] T6 r« «■■■ov o■r■■ ■v«pTfi■ ■■iv«ro, ■«r« lxx■. ■7. The ■me might have been said with equal t■th about Vespasian ; of whom Dio Cassius records : rGv ■■ larpGv in■rtV6vrov dp■■ ï■parr■, T■» a■ro■p■ropa Bd, ï■■, ■«r■ra à■od»■«■«■. Dio Cass. lx■. ■7-1. ■8. the Stoics bestowed &c.] This is certainly t■e about Seneca, who returns to the subject again and

again with most minute and tedious iteration. Con£ Montaigne■'■ veoir les efforts que Seneque se donne pour se preparer contre la mort ; à le veoir suer d'ahan pour se roider et pour s'assurer, et se debattre si long temps en cette perche, j'eusse esbranslé sa reputation, s'il ne l'eust, en mourant, trez vaillamment maintenue.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. x■. And■' si nous avons sceu vivre constamment et tranquillement, nous sçaurons mourir de mesme. Ils s'en vanteront tant qu'il leur plaira, tota p]tilosop]torton vita com- menlalio morlis eslj mais il m'est ados que c'est bien le bout, non pouvant le but, de la vie; c'est sa fin, son extremité, non pourtant ■n object.' Ibid. Bacon seems to have had this last passage from C

Montaigne in his mind, and to have taken the quotation in it as further proof of the charge which he brings generally against the Stoics. There is a passage in the De Augmentis, hOt making any reference to the Stoics by name, but "otherwise very like the Essay, and clearly founded upon the quotation in Montaigne.--' Mortis formi- dinem medendo augent. Etenim cum nihil aliud fere s■tam humanam faciant quam mortis quandam praeparationem et disciplinam, quo- modo fieri possit ut ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem muniendi nullus sit finis?' Works i. 726. The proof is hOt happily chosen. The quotation is hOt from Seneca or from any Stoical xvriter, but from Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 3 o. It is intended to be a translation from the Phaedo, and its language, however doubtful in itself, does hOt, as the context shews, bear out the remarks which Montaigne makes upon it. Commentatio mortis is a preparation hOt for dying but for death, an anticipation and part-accomplishment of the change which will be complete at death --the final freedom of the souI from the restraints and degradations imposed upon it by the body. Nor are the Stoics, as a rule, open to the charge which Bacon brings against them in the Essay. XVhen they argue against the fear of death, their drift is the saine as Seneca's, but they handle their subject in a more manly and robust style, more briefly and very much more effectively. 1.20. qui vilain &c.] The correct words are- ' Qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat Naturae.' Juv. Sat. x. 358. 1.22. 1o a lilllc infanl] Conf. Quarles' Emblems, ii. 13 : 'The slender debt to nature's quickly paid, Discharged, perhaps, with greater ease than made.' 1.23. He tha! dies &c.] Conf. ' Celuy qui meurt en la meslee, les armes à la main, il n'estudie pas lors la mort, il ne la sent, ny ne la considere; l'ardeur du combat l'emporte.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. iii. chap. 4. 1. 28. Nttnc dimitlis] Luke ii. 29. P. lb, ]. 2. J■..t'/[nC/u$ &C.] Hot. Epist. bk. ii. I. 14. So too Ovid. Amores, lib. i. xv. 39: ' Pascitur in vivis livor; post fata quiescit, Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos.'

RELIGION being the chief band of tauman society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained" within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine xvhat kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God bath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure ,o no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few xvords concerning the unity of the church ; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds ; and what the means. The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, xvhich is all in all} are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest b scandals : yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt ,o 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

■ eontained] i.e. held together. Lat. ut et ipsa astrinKatur. Conf. ' I bave marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large do- minions.' Essay 29, p. 2o8. ■ of ail othe■* the greatesl] i.e. greater than any of the others--a graecism hot unfrequent in Bacon's time. Cont r. e.g. ' Ido now publish my Essays ; which of all my other works bave been most current.' Dedication to ed. of x 625.

« Ofall other affections it is the most importune and continual.' Essay 9- 'In the midst of them all the sun taketh his course, as being the greatest and most puissant of ail the rest." Pliny, Nat. Hist. bk. il. chap. 6 Hol- land's trans.■. ' For very few there be among them who understand and know the cause of this ceremony, which is of all other the smaIlest.' Plutarch, Morals, p. xo49 ( Holland's trans.).

cometh to that pass that one saith, l?cce ht Deserto, another saith, Ecce ht pcnetralib«ts; 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 exb'e,--go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety c of whose vocation drew him to have a special tare of those without) saith, If a heathen corne in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad ? and certainly ,o it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and eontrary opinions in re- ligion. It doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorners. It is but a light thing '■ to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, The Morris-Dance of Hereties: for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but more ■o derision in ■vorldlings and depraved polities e, ■vho are apt to contemn holy things. As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church dis- tilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treaties f of mortification and devotion.

« prop, iety] i.e. properfy in the Iogical sense of the word ; specmlty. Lat. cujus vocatio et ,n■ss{o propria et deman- data. Con£ ' Man did grive names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, accord- ing unto tbeir proprieties.' Works, iii. 264 . ■ ]t is but a Kght tldng &c.] These words refer to the passage from Rabe- lais, which follows in the next sen-

tence. For a parallel to this use, conf. e.g. ' It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a xvise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes," &c. Essay 12» L I. ® pol,'tics] i.e. politicians. Lat. poli- tid. The word occurs frequently. r tv¢aties] i.e. treatises. So, in the opening words of the third part of the Homily against disobedience and wilful

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedinglyg. There appear to be txvo extremes : for to certain zealants h ail speech of pacification is odious. Is it peace, Jehu ?--What hast thou to do with peace ? turn thee behind me. Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty i reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitra- ment between God

and man. Both these extremes are to ,o be avoided ; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: He that is hOt with us, is against us; and again, He that is not against us, is with us; that is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and dis- tinguished from points not merely ■' of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it xvere done less partially ■, it xvould be embraced more generally. Of this I may give only this advice, according to my

rebellion--' As I have in the first part of this treatise shewed unto you the doctrine of the holy Scriptures .... and in the second part of the saine treaty confirmed the same doctrine by notable examples,' &c. g importcth exce«dingly] i.e. is of ex- ceeding importance. Lat. magnipmr- s*■s est mome■■ti. The verb is used in a neuter and in an active sense. Conf. ■ Nay, number itself in amies importeth hot much.' Essay 2 9. ' It is worthy the consideration how this may import England.' Works, ri. "■8. h zeala■ts] i.e. zealots. Lat. homi- nibus zelo perferv*do. It appears to be formed from the Italian zdant«. 1 witty] here =ingenious, as in Essay 5o, ' Histories make men ,vise ; poets,

witty.' The Latin, in both passages, is ingeniost■s. ■ hot merdy] i.e. hot absolutely, hot entirely. The Latin gives simply qua« non sunt ■ ride. Conf. Essay 58, ' They do hot merely dispeople and destroy': where the Latin ■ves popu- lum podtus non ab$orbent aut d■tnatnt. x less pamially] i.e. with less of party feeling and aire. Conf. ' The fourth and last occasion of these controver- sies .... is the partial affec■tion and imitation offorei■ churches." Lette■ and Life, i. p. 84. The apparent ■ti- thesis in the text be■een ' pa■ally" and ' generally' obscur■ the sense of the English. The Latin is clear■ vemm M hoc ipsum minore pa»¢ium studio fi■a, majot* aiam co■■s«nsu reoperetur.

small model '■ Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two 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 con- tradiction ; 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; xvhereupon he saith, ht veste varietas sit, scissura ■1011 sit; they be two things, unity and uniformity. The other is, when the marrer of the point controverted is ■o great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscu- rity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than sub- stantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well ■vithin himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it corne so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall xve not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not '■ discern that frail men, in some of théir contradictions, intend the saine thing, and .,o accepteth of both ? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and pre- cept that he giveth concerning the saine ; Devita profanas z,ocum novitates, et oibibositiolles falsi nomhlis scicutiae. Men create oppositions which are hOt, and put them into new

■ modal &c.] These xvords pro- bably mean--as far as the small scale of the prescrit writing aiiows. So Dr. Rawley, stating his reason for pub- lishing some ofBacon's minor writings, says that he did it' to satisfy the desires of some who held it unreasonable that any delineations of that pen, though in never so small a

model, should hOt be shewn to the world.' Works, vil 6. ' That glgantie state of mind which possesseth the troublers of the world, such as was Lucius Sylla, and infinite other in smaller model.' Works, iii. 4■5 ■

The Latin version, however, ren- ders the word by--pro capt■s nost»■ tenuitate, a piece of modesty hardly in the strain of one who, at the age of 29, had already assumed au- thority to settle the controversies of the Church. Letters and Lif% i, 74 et s«qq. n doth »zot] This repetition of the negative is hot unusual with Bacon. Conf. e.g. ' A corporation tan bave no wife, nor a corporation tan have no son.' Works, vii. 668. ' I bave no enemies, nor I bave nothing that anybody should long for.' Letters and Lif% v. ■i 5.

terres, so fixed as °, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the terre in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance ■', for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points : for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image ; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate. Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting« of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal ; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences ; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or in- termixture of practice" against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of ail government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table

° as] Here, and elsewhere passi»n = that. P i»nplidt ignorance] Probably, an ignorm,ce content to admit what is put before it ■vithout understanding what it means. The epithet is commonly applied not to ignorance but to faith. Bacon so uses it in a passage very like the text--' Reason teaches us that in ignorance and implied bclief itis easy to agree, as colours agree in the dark.' Letters and Life, i. I65. It would seem, therefore, that he purs much the same meaning on implicit ignorance and implicit belief.

q munith»g]i, e. fortifying. Lat. dura »nuniant. Conf. ' The more gross and tangible parts do contract and serre themselves together; both to avoid vacuum (as they call it) and also to munite themselves against the force of the tire which they bave suffered.' Works, ii. 374- r of practice] Lat. ■■mchhtationis. The word, with Bacon, has usually a sinlster sense. Conf. e.g. ' A man .... should rest upon the soundness and strength of his o■n courses, and hot upon practice to circumvent others.' Letters and Life, i. 20",.

against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed : Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum. What would he bave said, if he had known of the mas- sacre in France, or the powder treason of England ? He would have been seven times more epicure* and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sxvord is to be drawn ,» with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the Anabaptists and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, I will ascend and be like the Highest; but it is greater blasphemy to personate t God, and bring him in saying, I will descend, and be like the prince of

darkness: and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and govern- ,o ments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven ; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bal'k of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and ail learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those factsU and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely, in councils concerning religion, that council z» of the apostle would be * prefixed, h'a hoothtis non itnplet

B epicur«l i. e. epicurean. So passim. Conf. e.g. ' For the opinion of Socrates is rauch upheid by the general consent ■ven of the Epicures theraseives.' ■,Vor "ks, iii. 426. t to personate] i.e. to assign a

character to; to give him a part to play. Vide Essay ■7, P- ,9■, note on ■ person.' ■ facts] i.e. deeds. Lat. facta. ■ woMd be-j i.e. ought to be. A frequent use. Conf. e.g. ' The ex-

fitstitiam Dei: and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly interessedY therein themselves for their own ends.

P. 19,1. 5. religionoflhehealhen] Conf. 'The religion oftheheathen had no constant belief or confession, but left ail to the liberty of argument.' Works, iii. 479. And 'The heathen religion was not only a worship of idols, but the whole religion was an idol in itself; for it had no soul, that is, no certainty of belief or confession ; as a man may well think considering the chief doctors of their church were the poets; and the reason was because the heathen gods were no jealous gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had reason.' Works, iii. 488. But ail this is much too absolutely stated. It seems based on a reference to the religions of Greece and Rome. It is true of the Greeks that the 'chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets.' It is untrue of the Romans, ■vho had their regular colleges to preside over the national faith and worship. Again, it is true of the Romans that they easily admitted foreign deities to divine rank among their o■vn ; it is untrue of the Greeks. ■,Vith both peoples, there were quarrels and divisions about religion as soon as the accepted schemes of theology came to be called in question. Ifwe look beyond Greece and Rome, the case is even more complete. Vide e.g. Juvenal, Sat. xv. 33 et seqq., ■vhere we have an account of the furious quarrels caused by the diversities of creed among the Egyptians. And Dio Cassius: cr■■■ov■r■ r■ ]/àp ■ro)O■à ■r■ptcrcrgrara à■Opfo■rto■, ■rp■■ à)O■■)■ov■, âr« ■q ■aO' îv àX)■à ■al g■ rob/uavr■tor■rov rwà, àuatpo■ura■. xlii. 34- P. 20, 1. I. Ecce ht Deserto, &c.] St. Matthew xxiv. "26. 1.3. an o»ttward face of a cimrch] This is probably a reference to the Church of Rome. In one of the many passages closely re- sembling the text of the Essay, Bacon goes on to speak of there

cess of diet in costly meats and drinks let from beyond the seas would be avoided.' Letters and Life, vi. ■3. ' The voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly.' Essay 37- ■ intcressed] The old form of in-

terested. Conf. e.g. ' The mystical communion of ail faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interessed in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth.' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. v, chap. 4 o, sec. 3-

being ' no occasion for any pretended Catbolic to judge us.' Letters and Life, i. 74- The nolite cxire is used or adapted, else■vhere, as a scriptural injunction hot to leave the Church of England,--' so ready are tbey to depart from the Church upon every voice,' p. 8o. And this seems tobe the sense ■vhich Bacon puts upon it here, in his exhortation against breach of unity. I. 8. Ira heathen corne] i Cor. xiv. 23. 1. 13. to sit down &c.] Ps. i. x. 1. i6. catalogue of books] La morisql«e des hereticques is the title of one of the books which Pantagruel finds in the library of St. Victor at Paris. Vide Pantagruel, ii. 7- P. 21, 1. 4- Is itpeace &c.] 2 Kings ix. ■8, 19. 1. 6. Laodiceans] Revelation iii. ■4-x6. I. ■2. in the two cross clauses] Lat." in clausulis illis quae primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur.' Vide St. ■latthew xii. 3 o, St. Mark ix. 4 o. But the former text is incorrectly quoted. The words are ■ He that is hot with me is against me.' Bacon writes elsewhere to the saine effect as in the Essay, and with the saine error in the quotation. Conf. 'Interest admodum pacis Ecclesiae, ut foedus Christianorum, a Servatore praescriptum, in duobus illis capitulis quae nonnihil videntur discrepantia, bene et clare explicetur: quorum alterum sic diffinit; Qui nost est nobiscum est contra nos; alterum autem sic: Qui costlra nos non est, »tobisct«m esl: Ex his liquido pater esse nonnullos articulos, in quibus qui dissentit extra Foedus statuendus sit; alios vero in quibus dissentire liceat, salvo Foedere. Vincula enim communionis Christianae ponuntur, Una Fides, Unum Baptisma, &c. ; non Unus Ritus, Una Opinio.' Works, i. 833. P. 22, l. 5. b■v one of thefathers] The ■vords quoted are from Au- gustine, but in the passage xvhere they occur there is nothing said about Christ's coat, frequent as the reference is to it in other passages. Nor do any of the references, here or elsewhere, bear the meaning which Bacon puts upon them. Vide Enarratio in Psal. xliv. (xlv. of our version ■ sec. 24,' Vestitus reginae hujus quis est ? et pretiosus est, et varius est : sacramenta doctrinae in linguis omnibus variis... Quo- modo autem omnis varietas vestis in unitate concordat, sic et omnes linguae ad unam ridera. In veste varietas sil; s¢iss«tra non sit. Ecce varietatem intellcximus de diversitate linguarum, et restera intellexi- mus propter unitatem: in ipsa autem varietate aurum quod est ? Ipsa sapientia ..... Varietas in linguis, aurum in sententiis.' Conf. also Enarratio ii. in Psal. xxi : ' Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea.., et super vestimentum meure miserunt sortem. Erat ibi tunica, dicit evangelista, desuper texta. Ergo de caelo, ergo a patre, ergo a spiritu sancto. Quae est ista tunica nisi charitas quam nemo di- videre potest ? Quae est ista tunica nisi unitas ?'

Also, in Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus i3: ' Erat ibi tunica: videamus qualis: desuper texta. Desuper texta tunica quid signi- ficat nisi charitatem? desuper texta tunica quid significat nisi unitatem? Hanc tunicam attende, quam nec persecutores Christi diviserunt.' And Tractatus I■9: 'Tunica vero illa sortita omnium partium significat unitatem, quae charitatis vinculo continetur .... lnconsutilis autem, ne aliquando dissuatur: et ad unum pervenit, quia in unum omnes colligit.' The subject is similarly treated in Sermo ccxviii, cap. 9 and in Sermo cclxv. De Ascensione Domini, cap. 6. In several passages of Bernard we find the same fanciful interpretation, but neither in Bernard nor in Augustine are there any excuses made for dif- ferences of opinion on the most minute points of doctrine or church polity. Bernard, e. g., rebuking the jealousies of monastic orders and their quarrels over the colours of their dresses, says, ' et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia (quae urique tam pluribus tamque dissimilibus variatur ordinibus, utpote Regina quae in Psalmo legitur circumamicta varieta- tibus) nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur .... Non sure tare hebes ut non agnoscam tunicam Joseph, non illius qui liberavit Aegyptum, sed qui salvavit mundum .... Notissima quippe est quia polymita, id est pulcherrima varietate distincta .... Recog- nosce, omnipotens

pater, eam quam fecisti Christo tuo polymitam, dando quosdam apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas,' &c., &c. And again: 'Audi quomodo polymitam: Divisiones, ait, gratiarum sunt, idem autem spiritus; et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Dominus. Deinde diversis enumer- atis charismatibus, tanquam variis tunicae coloribus, quibus con- stet eam esse polymitam, ut ostendat etiam esse inconsutilem et desuper contextam per totum, adjungit. Haec autem operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult.' (Bernardi) Apologia ad Guillelmum, cap. iii. Conf. also Epistola 334, Contra Abaelardum. Conf. also ' Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiae inseparabiliter cohaerentis ostenditur quando in Evangelio tunica Domini Jesu Christi non dividitur omnino nec scinditur .... Loquitur ac dicit Scriptura divina ; De t■t»ica anta»■, qMa de s■tperiore parte non co■■sutilis, sed per roture textilis fiterit, dixerunt ad h■vicem : Non scindamus illam, sed sorKamur de ea a■jns sit.... Possidere non potest indumentum Christi qui scindit et dividit Ecclesiam Christi.' Cyprian, De Unitate Ecclesiae, sec vil. The illustration is a favourite one with Bacon. Conf. e.g. ' In this point the fuie holds which was pronounced by an ancient father, touching the diversity of rites in the Church : for finding the vesture ofthe queen (in the psalm) which did prefigure the Church, was of divers colours, and finding again that Christ's coat was without a seam, he concludeth well, l»t veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.'

Letters and Lire, iii. 97- And again : "So we sec tbe coat of out Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself; but the garment of the Church was of divers colours and yet not divided.' ■,Vorks, iii. 48■-. And, ' for matter of division and breach of unity, it is hot without a mystery that Christ's coat had no seam ; nor no more should the Church if it were possible.' Letters and Lire, iv. 268. I. 22. Devila &c.] I Timothy vi. 2o. 1.23. 2lIen creale &c.] An illustration of this may, perhaps, be round in the controversy between the Eastern and "■Vestern Churches on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Those who understand these subjects say that there was no difference of doctrine here ; the only difference was in the terres by which the same doctrine was ex- pressed. Each Church, however, so interpreted the terms of the other as to make it appear that the difference between them was not verbal but real. The term thus in effect governed the meaning, and the breach of unity which followed was very largely due to this. Or, we may, perhaps, find an illustration in the terres Catholic and Protestant. Theyexpress an opposition which is not, since Catholics act the part of protesters against xvhat they deem heretical views : while Protestants claim to be true members of the universal Church of Christ. But here, too, the term governs the meaning, and the Church of Rome, by help of the name Catholic, asserts an ex- clusive claim to Catholicity, relegating ail Protestant bodies to the merely negative position of protesters and nothing else. P. 23, I. 8. Nebuchadnezxar's image] Daniel il. 33 and 4I. I. 19 There be tu,o savrds &c.] Conf. Latimer's first sermon. ' In thys world God hath il swerdes, the one is a temporal swerde, the other a spiritual. The temporal s■verde resteth in the handes of kynges, maiestrates and rulers under hym .... The spiritual swerde is in the hands of the ministers and preachers.' Arber's Reprints, p. 23 . The reference here and in the Essay is to Luke xxii. 38 . ' They said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And He said unto them, It is enough.' This passage has been variously interpreted. Jerome, in Evangelium secundum Lucam, says briefly, 'emat gladium--id est Legem. duo gladii--id sunt duae Leges.' So too Ambrose, Expositio in Lucam. 'Duos gladios discipuli protulerunt.., unum novi, alterum veteris Testamenti ... Denique dicit Dominus Satis est, quasi nihil desit ei quem utriusque Testa- menti doctrina munierit.' Augustine writes in the same sense, and in very truculent language. Vide Contra Faustum Manichaeum, lib. xvi. 25. Bernard,

OF UNIT.Y IN RELIGION. 2 9 writing to Pope Eugenius, pressing for help to the Eastern Chureh after ]oss in taking of Edessa, ¢omes more near to the inter- pretation which afterwards prevailed. 'Intraverunt aquae usque ad animam Christi: tacta est pupilla oculi ejus. Exserendus est nun¢ uterque gladius in passione Domini .... Per quem autem nisi per vos? Petri uterque est, alter suo nutu, airer sua manu, quoties necesse est evaginandus. Et quidem de quo minus videbatur, de ipso ad Petrum dietum est--Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Ergo suus erat et il]e sed non sua manu urique educendus.' Epistola, 256. Conf. also De ¢onsideratione, lib. iv. cap. 3, and the address ' Ad milites Temp|i.--Exseratur gladius uterque fidelium in cervices inimi¢orum.' Cap. 3- The ¢laim ofthe Chureh to the temporal sword be¢omes present|y more distinct. John of Salisbury (Polyeraticus, lib. iv. cap. 3 ■ writes : 'Hune ergo gladium de manu e¢¢lesiae a¢¢ipit princeps, cure ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habet. Habet tamen et istum, sed eo utitur per prin¢ipis manum,' &¢. In the next century, Gregory IX, writing to Germanus, Patriareh of Constantinople, on the supremacy of the Roman See, says : ' Illud tantum adjieimus quod utrumque gladium ad Romanum pertinere Pontificem ex evangeliea lectione tenemus. Etenim loquente Jesu dis¢ipulis de acquisitione gladii spiritualis, illi duos ibi positos ostenderunt, quos Dominus dixit suffieere, ad ¢oereionem videlicet spiritualis et ¢orporalis offensae. Si materialem gladium pertinere ¢oneedis ad potentiam temporalem, attende quid in Matthaei evangelio Dominus dieat Petro--Converte gladium tuum in loeum suum-- dieendo tman, materialem signavit gladium quo pereusserat ille servum prin¢ipis sacerdotum... Uterque igitur gladius Eeelesiae traditur, sed ab Ecelesia exereendus est unus, alius pro Ecelesia manu saecularis prineipis eximendus: unus a sacerdote, alius ad nutum sacerdotis administrandus a milite.' Baronius, Annales E¢¢lesiastiei, in annum ■233. Boniface VIII in his Bull ' Unam Sanetam ' perpetuates the elaim of the Chureh and bases it on the passage in St. Lukc: 'In hae ejusque ¢s¢. Petri) potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem ■'idelieet et temporalem, evangeli¢is dietis instruimur. Nam dieentibus Apostolis: eece g|adii duo hic: in e¢¢lesia seilieet eum Apostoli ]oquerentur, non respondet dominus nimis esse sed satis... Uterque ergo in potestate Ee¢lesiae, spiritualis s¢ilieet gladius et materialis : sed is quidem pro ee¢lesia, ille vero ab eeelesia exercendus: ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam saeerdotis : oportet enim gladium esse sub gladio,' &¢., &e. Baronius, Annales E¢¢lesiasti¢i, in annum ■3o2. The above is the lotus dassia«s. It is curious and not unin- structive to ¢ontrast it with Jerome's earlier vie■v, and with Latimer's

at a later date. But Latimer was living in a reformed country and under a Tudor prince. I. 15 . but ■t,e may hot take] Bacon does not always use this language. In his Remembrance to Sir John Digby about the negociations for the Spanish Match, he instructs him to suggest 'that it may be a beginning and seed Ifor the like actions before bave had less beginnings) of a holy war against the Turk, where- unto it seems the events of rime doth invite Christian kings,' &c., &c. Letters and Life, ri. i58. This is to take up the third sword and turn it against its proper owner,--an even larger licence than that which the text of the Essay condemns. On the prohibition in the text conf. ' Nunc illa est (quaestio) si uno religionis obtentu bellum inferri potest. Et hoc nego, et addo rationem : quia religionis jus hominibus cure hominibus proprie non est: itaque neque jus laeditur hominum ob diversam religionem : itaque nec bellum causa religionis. Religio erga Deum est ... Nihil igitur quaeritat homo violatum sibi ob aliam religionem.' Albericus Gentilis, De Jure Belli, lib. i. cap. 9, An bellumjustum sitpro religione. 1. 18. saltguittar_v] Whately calls attention to this qualifying epithet, as marking the imperfect views of Bacon on reli#ous tolera- tion. It

seems, too, from the next clause, that 'in cases of overt scandal and blasphemy,' even sanguinary persecutions are allowable. The rule thus enlarged is quite broad enough to cover the In- quisition itself. P. 24, 1.5. Tantum religio &c.] Bk. i. 1. 12. Anabaptists.] The refusal of these sectaries to recognise the authority of the civil ruler, and their assertion of the equality o! ail men under an assumed Divine illumination, explain and bear out Bacon's reference to them in the text. That he had especially in his mind the authors of the great Anabaptist outbreak at Munster (■5341 appears from the edition of 1612, where he speaks of them as 'the madmen of Munster.' Conf. also, 'The Anabaptists ..... profess the pulling down of magistrates, and the monarchy of them that are inspired ; and they can chaunt the Psalm To b#td their kings i» chams and their nobles ht [clters o[iron.' Letters and Life, v. 166. 1. 13. 11 was great blasphemy, when the devil said &c.] The reference is to Isaiah xiv. 12-■ 4 : ' How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning : how art thou cut down to the ground which didst trouble the nations. For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the throne of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ; I will be like the most High.'

This passage, suitably interpreted and enlarged, has been used to fill out the details of the otherwise untold story of the offence and fall ofthe rebel angels who kept not their first estate. Bacon in several places makes more or less distinct reference toit. Conf. Essay x3 : ' The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall.' Also in De Augmentis, lib. vii. cap. 3 : ' Angeli, dura ad potentiam divinaeparem aspirarent, praevaricati sunt et ceciderunt.' Works, i. 742. And in the Valerius Terminus, cap. i : ' The angel of light that was, when he presumed before his fall, said within himself, I will ascend and be like unto the Highest :not God, but the highest. To be like to God in goodness was no part of his emulation: know- ledge, being in creation an angel of light, was not the want which did most solicit him: only because he was a minister he aimed at a supremacy : therefore his climbing or ascension was turned into a throwing down or a precipitation.' XVorks, iii. 2■ 7. Bacon had probably before his mind some passages of Thomas Aquinas: 'Diabolus peccavit appetendo similitudinem Dei quantum ad potentiam.' Sure. Theol. Secunda Secundae, Quaest. I63. Artic. II. Also in Pars Prima, Quaest. 63, Artic. III, xve find a direct reference to the passage in Isaiah, with the remark added 'Appetiit finalem beatitudinem per suam virtutem habere, quod est proprium Dei,' allerwards expanded and ruade more precise by the words 'appetiit aliquem principatum super alia habere, in quo etiam perversè voluit Deo assimilari.' The words in Isaiah are put into the mouth not of the àevil, but of the King of Babylon (vid. v. 4)- But it was an early patristic view that the devil is the speaker, and that the entire passage is parabolic. Origen, Comment. in Joannem, tom. i. § x3, clearly thus interprets à■a■■■■■■ ■■■ 'lçaob OEvvrp[■«at. The xvords here--■ 'E■a■dpo* ■ àrar■■■wr--stand in the LXX, in verse 12, where the English version gives ' Lucifer, son of the morning.' Again, in Jerome's translation of Origen, Homil. I in Ezechielem, sec. 3 (ofwhich the Greek original is lost) we find: 'Vide consonan- tiare prophetici evangelicique sermonis. Prophetes dicit; cecidit de caelo Lucifer qui mane oriebatur, contritus est super terrain. Jesus loquitur, Videbam Satanam quasi fulgur de caelo cadentem. In quo differt dicere fulgur aut Luciferum de caelo cadentem ■' Jerome, in his own commenta■■in Isaiam Prophetam, lib. ■.■takes the saine view and defends it at great len■h. Ambrose writes no less distinctly : ' Ipse diabolus per superbiam naturae suae amisit gratiam. Denique dura dicit--Ponam thronum meure super nubes ..... et ero similis Mtissimo (Esai. xiv. 13

et ■4), consortiis excidit angelorum.' In Psalmum II8■ Expositio v. 5L Conf. also Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum 88. v. i■ : ' Quid ergo timeo Aquilonem, quid timeo maria? Est quidem in Aquilone diabolus, qui dixit Ponam sedem meam in Aquilonem, et ero similis altissimo' (Isai. xiv. I3, ■4)- Boniface VIII in a letter to the recalcitrant Gallican clergy com- pares them, morally and geographically, to Lucifer: 'In vanum laborant ..... disponentes ab Aquilone sedem erigere contra vicarium Jesu Christi. Sed ..... ut primus Lucifer ..... cum sequacibus suis cecidit, corruet, quantacunque fulciatur potentia, et secundus.' Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici in ann. I3o■. The legendary story of the fall of Lucifer was popularized from a very early date. We find it in the Anglo-Saxon poems attributed to Coedmon : 'Aught else they sought hot To rear in heaven Save right and truth, Ere that the angel's guardian For pride Sank into error ..... Then spake he the words From malice thirsty That he in the north part A home and lofty seat Of heaven's kingdom ■Vould possess.' Metrical Paraphrase, l. 4% &c., as translated by Benjamin Thorpe. The story occurs frequently in the Miracle Plays of the Middle Ages. In, e.g., the Chester Plays, a collection of Mysteries founded upon Scripture subjects (supposed date about i4oo) , the first play is on the ' Fall of Lucifer.' He is represented in God's absence as taking his seat on God's throne. 'Aha! that I ara wondrous bright Among you all shynning full cleare: Of all heaven I bear the light That ara repleat with heavenly grace; Though God corne I will not hence But sitte right heare before his face.' He is found sitting there on God's return and is at once flung down to Hell, together with his confederate Light-borne. In the Coventry Mysteries, the offence and fall of Lucifer form part of the first play. The passage is too long to quote. So prominent is the part assigned to Lucifer by the legend that in

the 'Advent of Antichrist' we find Lucifer named as chier in the infernal hierarchy, distinguished from Sathanas and seeminglytaking rank above him. I. 23. assassins] The word seems to be used here in its ordinary sense, without special reference to the half-historical, half-mythical assassins or Ismaelians of Persia, from whom, as Bacon says else- where, 'the name of the assassins, which is now familiar in the civil law, was derived.' Letters and Life, v. i66. 1.26. 2klercur■v roarJ Conf. 'Tutu virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco Pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit, Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.' Virg. Aen. iv. 242-4. and Homer, Od. xxiv. 1- 5. I. 3 o. zvould bel i.e. should or ought to be. So ■bassbn. Conf., e.g., 'the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, a base and a tenor no treble.' Essay 37- 1.30. Ira I■ominis] James i. 20. P. 2.5,1. L a notable observation &c.] Marcus Antonius de Dominis in his de Republicd Ecclesiasticd, lib. vii. cap. 8, under the heading In suadendd aut conservandd ride Catl■olic■î viro externam no»■ esse adhi- botdam, has coIIected from all quarters such authorities as he could find in support of his thesis. Bacon's reference may perhaps be to one of these, viz. an extract from Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sac. lib. ii. cap. So: 'Secuti etiam accusatores Idacius et Ithacius episcopi: quorum studium in expugnandis haereticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certassent.' Or it may perhaps be to a passage in one of Cyprian's letters : ' Fictitia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est, cul et virga ferrea data est. Esse non potest major domino suo ser■aas; nec quisquam sibi quod soli filio pater tribuit vindicare potest, ut putet aut, ad aream ventilan- data et purgandam, palam ferre posse, auta frumento universa zizania humano judicio separare. Superba est ista obstinatio et sacrilega praesumptio quam sibi furor pravus assurait; et dura dominium sibi semper quidam plusquam mitis justitia deposcit assumunt, de Ecclesia pereunt.' Cyprian, Epist. 41.

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 Iaw, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office b. 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 Salomon, I am sure, saith °, Il is thc glory of a man fo pass by an offcnce. That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to corne ; therefore they do but trifle xvith themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase a himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the Iike ; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me ? And ifany man should do xvrong, merely out of iii-nature, «why ? yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand f,

" a,ildjustite] i.e. uncu]tivated; a mere weed, and as such to be weeded ou■. Lat. agr¢stis qua¢dam justilia. But c]early as the Essay pronounces against this wild fust[ce, this agrestfs ]'u■titia, we find it noted in the Anti- t/tda among the arguments in favour of revenge. Works. i. "/0 3. There is more said on the saine side in the t#h¢la, ofwhich there is nothing in the Essay. b putteth the law out of o■ffice] Lat. legem auao■itate sua plane spoliat. c Salomon, I ara sure, saith] La[. ■.quidcm monbd d£risse Salomonem.

But the Eng]ish conveys what the Latin does noria sort of notice to the reader that the quotation is fo stand unvet■fied. a ■o l■Urchase] i.e. fo obtain. Lat. u/ sibi co■fa'llet. Conf. ' If a man per- form that which hath hot been at- tempted before .... he shall purchase more honour.' Essay 55- * The Latin follows this punctuation, but omits the ' yet' as out of place after the interrogative--quid tutu? diam s[i■■a et rubus pungunl etc. r is stiil beforehand] i.e. the enemy has had the concluding blow struck on his side■ and the man who has taken

and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh : this is the more generous ; for the delight seemeth to be hOt so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty coxvards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. )'ou shall ■wad, saith he, lha! we are coinmanded to forgive ottr encmies ; btt! .1,oit ■tez,er read that we are commattdcd /o forgi■e ottr friettd$. But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune : Shall we, saith he, take good at God's hands, attd hot be content to take ez'i[ also ? and so of friends in a proportion ■. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green h, which otherwise would heal and do xvell. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate i ; as that for the death of Caesar ; for the death of Pertinax ; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindicative persons lire the life of witches, who, as they are mis- chievous, so end they infortunate.

P. 34, I. 7" Salomon, I ara sure, sa#h] 'The discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.' Prov. xix. ■ ■. P. 3b, l. 2. wheltce il cometh] Conf. ■■8 dpO■ç n«■olÇra■ « "08v««Ça ■roM■3pO■ov," Gç oh r«r■■■pq■■voç d ■Ç .■«O«ro rai bç" o■ xa■ duO' ■rov"

Aristotle, Rhet. II, cap. 3, sec. ■6.

revenge has suffered a two-fold loss-- that namely which his enemy first in- flicted, and that which the law inflicts as a punishrnent for his illegal act of revenge. He is thus patient twice and agent once only. ■ in a proportion] in proportion, that is, to the very different relation in which

a friend stands to a friend, as compared with that of a creature toits creator. ■ green] i.e. fresh, then fresh-like, unhealed. Conf. ■ Their wounds being yet green and uncured which they got by the wars of Phocide.' Plutarch, Lires, p. 85a. ■ forlunate] Lat. prospere cedunt.

1. 6. Cosmus, Duke of Florence] Vide note on Essay 4 ■. The saying in the text has hot been traeed. 1. 11. spirit of Job] Job il. IO. 1. 15. Public revenges] It is hot easy to see the drift of this eomparison. Public revenges, as contrasted with private revenges, are revenges undertaken, hot from vindictive motives nor in return for personal injuries, but to infliet punishment for public wrongs, for injuries done to the eommunity. That these are for the most part fortunate hardly needs to be proved. Soeiety eould not exist with- out them. But the sense of the text seems further narrowed by the three instances which follow, and whieh illustrate the kind of injury, the punishment for which is here termed a public revenge. In each case it is the murder of a public chier the revenge for whieh is said to have been fortunate. The faets are as follows. The death of Caesar was revenged by Antony and Augustus, and the revenge may be termed fortunate, i.e. either sueeessful in fact, or fortunate for the agents or for the state. The final consolidation of the imperial power under Augustus will perhaps bear this out for the state, certainly for one of the agents. The death of Pertinax was avenged by Septimius Severus, and this again had an issue fortunate for himself, not so clearly fortunate for the state. The death of Henry the Third of France was avenged by his murderer being put to death on the spot, but Henry IV had nothing to do with this and his accession xvas in no sense dependent upon it. The Latin gives the death of Henry IV instead of that of Henry III, even less appo- sitely. The torture of the wretehed Ravaillae and the accession of Louis XIII ean hardly be twisted into instances of a fortunate revenge. 1.2r. so end they hoEorttmate] The judicial records of the middle ages supply abundant evidenee of this. Conf. e. g. ' S'il advient que la Sorciere invoque ou appelle le diable, il faut proeeder sans doute à condemnation de mort .... et non seulement de mort, ains il faut condamner tels monstres à estre bruslez tous vifs, suyvant la tous- tume generale observee de toute ancienneté en toute la Chrestienté ; de la quelle coustume et loy generale le Juge ne se doit departer ne déroger à icelle ny diminuer la peine, s'il n'y a grande et urgente raison.' Bodin, La demonomanie des Sorciers, lib. iv. cap. 5, des ■3eh■es que merite■tl les Sorciers. Popular indignation did not always wait for proeess of law. Bodin, e. g., tells of a sorcerer named Pumber who eould kill three men a day by looking at them with firm purpose. ' En fin les paysans du village le demembrerent en pi&es, sans forme ne figure de proeés.' Bk. ii. cap. 8.

■T was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics) that, the good thhtgs which bdong fo prospcril A' are fo be wishcd, b««t the good thhtgs that bdong fo adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secmtdarmn oplabilia ; advcr- sarttm m#'abilia. Certainly a, 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) If is truc greatness fo bave Dt one the frailty of a man, and the secnrity ■' of a God. I.'crè magnmn habere

.fi'agt'lilalcm hominis, secttrilalcm DeL This wouid have io donc better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, bave 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 mysteryc; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, that I-[ercnlcs, a,hcn he wenl lo unbhtd Promethcns bywhom human nature is represented, sailcd the lcngth of t/te great ocean ht an earthcn pot 01- pitdwr, lively a describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the 2o world. But to speak in a mean e. The virtue of prosperity

* Co¢aznly, &c.] i.e. Adversity gives most occasion for the exercise of a self-command, in restraint of natural impulse, so great that Bacon terms it miraculous. Conf. Essay 5 8 : « For martyrdoms, I reckon them among miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human na- ture.' ■ se¢urity] i.e. sense of safety, ab- sence of tare. Conf. ' Security is an iii guard for a kingdom.' Letters and Life, ri. ao. The old contrast, now lost, between -qecurity and safety is well brought

out in Ben Jonson's The Forest, XI Epode, last line : ' Man may securely sin, but safely never." e mystery] i.e. secret meaning or intention. Conf. 'But touehing the mystery of re-annexing of the duehy of Brittaine to the erown of France ... the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock.' Works, ri. 66. ■1 iively] i.e. livelily. Lat. ad vivum. ® But to speak in a mean] i.e. in moderate language. Lat. Verum ut a granditate verbor■«n ad m¢diocritatem d«scoldamus.

is temperance ; the virtue of adversity is fortitude ; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as rnany hearse-like airs as carols f ; and the pencil of the Itoly Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Salomon. Prosperity ,o is not xvithout many fears and distastes * ; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We sec in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn h 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 incensedi, or crushed : for pros- perity doth best discover k vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

P. 37, I.I. high speech] Seneca's words are--' Ita dico, in aequo est moderate gaudere et moderate dolere : Laetitia illa non vineit animi

t carols] i.e. verses in a lively or joyous strain. Lat. exuRationes. s distastes] i.e. annoyances. Lat. mol«stiae. Conf. ' That we make ap- plication of our knowledge to give ourselves repose and contentment, and hot distaste or repining.' Works, iii. 266. ' I that knew well.., what occasion I had given her both of distaste and distrust in crossing her disposition.' Letters and Life, iii. x53. h sadandsoltmn] Thesetwowords mean much the saine, and are ex- pressed by the saine word in the Latin, colo■4s raagis oit, ad. Conf.' Take the opinion of some grave and eminent divines; especially such as are sad

and discreet men and exemplary for their lires.' Letters and Lire, vi. ■7. 'Certaine gentlemen of the privie chamber [of Henry VIII.] were re- moved for their lewdnesse, and then four sad and ancient knights put

into their places.' Stowe's Annals, b3, Howes, p. 5o8. (Quoted in Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen). ■ incensed] i. e. set on tire. A Latin- ism. Lat. incensa. Conf. ' The good, if any be, is due tanquam adeps sacri- fiai■ to be incensed to the honour, tirst of the Divine l■Iajesty, and next of your Majesty.' Works, iii. 49x. ■ d/s«over] i. e. make manifesL Lat. indicat. Conf. ' The vale best dis- covereth the hill.' Essay 48.

firmitatem, sub tortore gemitus devorantem, llla bona optabilia sunt, haec mirabilia.' Epist. lxvi. 1. 9. Verè magm«n] The exact words are--' Ecce, res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.' Epist. 53, subflnem. 1. i6. HercMes] There are several references in classical writers to this story about Hercules, but none of theln speak of his voyage in an earthen pot or pitcher. The earliest version is from Athenaeus : ■*wf ■Çe■v .... ■«i 'A■■vaxo■ .... ■ai A■eX6Xof ..... These speak «■r■» ■,o■X«■.«t. &then■eus xi. 38. The explanation there suggested is that Hercules was a hard dfinker. Macrobius believes that Sc■hus was the naine of the ship in which he sailed. 'Sc■hus Herculis poculum est, ita ut Liberi patris cantha■s... &ntiqua histofia est Herculem poculo tanquam navigio (ventis} immensa maria transis■ ..... ego tamen arbitror non poculo Herculem,maria transvectum, sed navi#o cul scypho nomen fuit.' Macrobii Saturnal. v. 21. Apollodo■s mentions the voyage in a golden cup in his account of the tenth labour of Hercules--that of bringing the oxen of Ge■ones ffom the island of E■thia, in the outer ocean. &fter traversing Europe and Libya he cornes to Tartessus--Kal ■«p«A■Gv Tap■■«6v ê«,Ç«« slays the custodians ; then &01■«»o■ ■à■ ■■0 ei■ r■ 81=a,, cal el■ Ta■■■■■» 'H■I■ ■6■t■ a■iS■«e r6 81■a■. Apollodo■s, Biblioth. ii. 5- ■o. The later voyage in which Prometheus was unbound is recorded in the next section : Kal 8tò ■Ç■ A,■■Ç■ =opeuO«[, e=[ ■■» E■■ O■■aee«■, «ara- rai ■■■ ■po■ÇOia Heyne in his notes on these two passages has collected other variations ofthe legend, but in none of them is there any mention of Bacon's earthen pot or pitcher. ■Ve find the legend referred to in the De Sapienti■ Veterum, cap. xxfi, and a different interpretation of it finally and somewhat hesitatingly given : ' Haec sunt illa, quae in fabul■ ist■ ■lgad et decantat■ nobis adumbrari fidentur: neque ■men inficiamur illi subesse haud pauca quae ad Christianae fidei mysteria miro consensu innuant ; ante omnia na■gatio illa Herculis in urceo ad liberandum Prometheum, imaginera Dei Verbi, in carne ■nquam fra■li vasculo ad redemptionem gened humani properantis,

prae se ferre videtur. Verum nos omnem in hoc genere licentiam nobis ipsi interdicimus, ne forte igni extraneo ad altare Domini utamur.' Works, vi. 676. P. 88, 1. 17. crushedJ Conf. Apophthegms New and Old. ' Mr. Bettenham said : that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give hot their sweet smell till they be broken and crushed.' XVorks, vii. 16o.

## VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSI■XULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or xvisdom ; 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 sorh'd wdl c wilh lhe arls of ]ter httsband, and disshltttlalio■t of ber son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius : and again, when lXlucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, IUe rise ■tot aghtst lhe ■opiercing]'ttdg■ltettl of Attgttsltts, Itor l/te e.rlreme cattliott or

■ asbcth] i.e. requireth. Lat. iu- gemurn acre el robur a■zirni «onslans ad hoc requiritur &c. b politi«s] i. e. politicians, sopasMm. c sort«dweil] This is Bacon's transla- tion ofTacitus' ' bene composita," a diffi- cuit phrase which Gronovius interprets as= ' et marito et filio unice respondens, convcn■zs, digna ¢isa, et quasi a fatis lecta, quae utrumque, quantum erat salubre, temperaret.' Sorfcd wdi may therefore here mean agreed weil» a sense in which we find the word used elsewhere by Bacon. Conf. 'A friend may speak as the case requires and hot as it sorteth with the person.' Essa3" ■7, $ub/ino■t. And, ' For men ought to consider how

their nature sorteth with professions and courses of life, and accordingly to make election.' ■,Vorks, iii. 46■. The word to sort bas also other meanings in Bacon. In Essay 7, P- 49, ' to sort with mean company,' is to consort, to associate. Conf. also ' the unable person.., is sorted with snch work as he can mariage and perform.' Letters and Life, iv. ■5 ■. In the saine Essay and in Essay ■7, we find ' sor- teth to discord,' 'sorteth to incon- venience,' i.e. turneth. Conf. ' Had it hot been that the Count of Bossu was slack in charging the Spaniards upon their retreat, this fight had sorted to an absolute defeat.' Letters and Lire, vii. 483.



doseness o] Tiber[us. These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties severala, and to be distinguished; for if a man bave that penetration of judgment as he can discern ■vhat things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted e, and ■vhat to be sho■ved at half-lights, and to ■vhom 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 hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to « that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be ,o 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 g by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, bave had ail an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity : but then they ■vere like horses well managed h, for they could tell passing well

■ severa■ i.e. separate, distinct. Conf. 'arming them in several places and under several commanders.' Lat. in lotis diversis et sub divosis ducibu& Essay 19. And, ' And every kynde of thing is laid up severall, in bernes or store-houses.' More, Utopia, p. 9o. (Arber's Reprint of Robinson's trans.) e secret/en] From the obsolete verb to secret, i.e. to keep secret. Conf. ' There is great care to be used for the counciLlors themselves to be wcll cho- sen, so there is of the clerks of the council for the secreting their con- sultations.' Letters and Life, ri. 4 t. And, ■ Let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs come hot from themselves.' Essay t cannot obtain toi i. e. cannot attain to. Lat. si quis ascendere non valent. Conf. ■In the degrees of human honour among the heathen, it was the highest to obtain to a veneration and adoration as a God.' Works, iii. 3oz.

■ gobtg sofa),] i.e. slowly. Lat. le»de. Conf. ' Soit ! The Jew shall have ail justice; soit ! no haste.' Merchant of Venice, act iv. se. L Ix well managed] Lat. bote docti et domiti. But this does notgive the full sense. To mariage was a technical term in use in Bacon's day, and to know ' when to stop or turn ' was the sign of a well-managed horse. Confi = You shall tllen teach (your horse ■ to manage, which is the only

posture for the use of the sword on horseback... First, cause some bystander to prick up in the earth two riding rods, about twenty yards, or lesse as you think good, distant one from the other ; then walk your horse in a straight turn or ring about thc first on your right hand ; and so passing him in an even furrow downe to the other rod, walk about it also in a narrow ring on your leit hand: then thrust him into a gentle

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. There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or with- out hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative ; when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is hOt that he is: and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously i and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is hot. For the first of these, secrecy, it i.s indeed the virtue o! a confessor ; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discoveryk; as the more close air sucketh in the more open ; and, as in confession the revealing is hOt for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men corne to the knowledge of many things in that kindl ; while men rather" discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words n, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to

gallop down the even furrow till you corne to the first rod, and there making hirn as it were stop and advance without any pause or intermission of tirne, thrust hirn forward again and beat the turn Terra, Terra (which is the rnost open of all straight turns) about it on your right hand, and then gallop forth right to the otherrod, and in the saine manner beat the turn about it on your left hand.' Gervase ]■Iarkham, Country Contentments» bk. i. p. 57 ■ed. of ■6■5 x. i bzdustrfouMy] i. e. purposely. Lat. ex bzdustda. Conf. ' And for that purpose must use to dissernble those abilities which are notorious in him,

to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations.' Works, iii. 464 . k it 6wittth disco've,y] Lat. fat■'le aliorum anfmos reserabf/. ■ in that kimfJ i. e. in much the saine way a■ the confessor does. Lat. simili de causa. ta while men rather&c.] The Latin is clearer: dura ttomines, non imper/ire, quam exonerare animum l■iant. ■ In #w oeords &c.] This dark sayfng, taken as a summing up of what goes before, and interpreted with the help of the Latin, seems to mean that the man who ca.n hold his tongue ha■

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION. 43 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 commonlyvain 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 facep give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self by the tracts« of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much r it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words. For the second, which is dissimulation. It followeth many rimes upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that

a sort of admitted daim to bave other persons' secrets disclosed to him. Lat. rnyste■a silentibus drboztur. o futile] Latin futiles, i.e. literally, easily pouring out. Here, probably, incontinent ofspeech. Given to chat-

tering. Conf. 'One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal.' Essay 20. P■ passage in L'Estrange's Fables of 2Esop and Others, points clearly to this sense of the word. ' This fable' {in which a woman worms a secret from ber husband under promise of strict secresy which she very sig- nally fails to keep) ' does not strike so much at the futility of women in general as at the incontinent levity of a prying inquisitive humour," Re- flexion on Fable ccccxxvii. P that a man's face] i.e. that a man do not so reveal himself by the tracts of his countenance as either to an- ticipate what he is about to say, or to give the lie fo his spoken words. The Latin ut vultus suus h'nguae o.■dum non praeripiat is an imperfect rendering of the text.

« tracts] i. e. movements : a latinism from tractus. In a corresponding pas- sage in the Adv. of Learning, Bacon speaks of " the motions of the coun- tenance.' Works, iii. 368. r bi' how much] The exact sense of this elliptical phrase may be gathered from e.g. a passage in Hooker where it is given at full length: ■AII duties are by so much the better per- formed, by how much the men arc more religious from whose abilities the same proceed.' Eccl. Pol. bk. v. ch. x, sec. 2. Bacon's meaning therefore is that the degree in which the dis- covery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a weakness is shown inter alia by the fact that it is often more believed than his words. The phrase occurs elsewhere in Bacon. Conf. ' By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion.' Es- say xo. And, 'They commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity.' Essay 2o. And ' The knowledge of ourselves : ■hich deserveth the more accurate handling, by how much it toucheth usmore nearly.' Works, iii. 366.

will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to surfer a man to keep an indifferent carriage' between both, and to be secret, without sxvaying the balance on either side. Theywill so beset a man with questions, and draxv him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do hot, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man tan 1o be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimula- tion, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy. But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults ; xvhich because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure t. 2o The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three : first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise ; for wherea man's intentions are published, it is an alarum '■ to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat ; for if a man engage

■ to keep an indiffo'o:t carriage] i. e. to raaintain an impartial bearing. Lat. i»■ aequihbrio se co■tt■)zere. For indif- ferent in this sense con£ e.g. ' In choice of committees for fipening business for the council, it is better to chooee indifferent pe■ons (Lat. eos pa■«m propo■deant) than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides.' Essay ■o. For carriage, con£ ' The even car- fiage be■,een ■vo factions proceedeth hot Mways of moderation." Essay 5 x. ■ out of ure] i.e. out of practice.

Lat. »te ]'o»¢e habitus ipse interddat. Conf. ' But generally I see it neither put in ure nor put in inquisition.' Works, iii. 404. And, ' As may appear by other kinds of benevolence, pre- sented to ber likewise in Parliament, which her l■lajesty nevertheless hath hot put in ure.' Letters and Life, i. x77. The word is frequently used by Bacon. n an alaru■»■] Lit. a call to arms. Lat. veluti tuba. Conf. ' Whose swords be kept sheathed, so ready to be drawn upon every alarum.' Hacket, Lire of Abp. Williams, Part i. p. ■■6.



himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall*. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that apens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fairt let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought ; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, Tdl a lie and fi■■d a troth ; as if there xvere no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three dis- advantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of,o fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil w the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits x 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 it depriveth a man of one of the toast principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperaturey is, to bave open- ness in faine and opinion z ; secrecy in habit ; dissimulation in seasonable use ; and a power to feign if there be no 2o remedy.

■ take a fall] i.e. surfer a defeat. The Latin gives, more fully, aut per- gendum est ci, aut turpiter desistendum. For ' take' in the above sense conf. ' A mate of fortune she never took.' Letters and Life, i. 14o. = doth spoil &c.] The sense of this phrase is given clearly in the Latin-- #lumas veille ne p¢rniciter ad m¢tam ad- voient. The construction of the English is more doubtful. The words probably mean■doth spoil (or deprive) the feathers (i. e. the feathered arrow) of the power of flying direct to the mark. For this sense of round, conf. ' Clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature.' Essay l, and note. ■ the eoncdts] L e. thoughts. Lat. cogilatio■es. Conf. ' I may vdthout

prejudice preserve thus much of the conceit of antiquity.' Works, iii. 353 (and pass■m■. ■ temperature] i.e. temperament. Lat. temperamentum. Conf. 'As touch- ing the manners of learned men, it is a thing personal and individual : and no doubt there be amongst them, as in other professions, of ail temperatures." Works. iii. ■77. And, ' Ne■ther hath learning an influence and operation only upon civil merit and moral virtue, and the arts or temperature of peace and peaceable government.' Ibid. p. 307. ■ to ]lave opemless in faine and o#inion] i. e. tobe credited with being frank and outspoken. Lat. M quis ■eracitatis famam obtineat.

2■OTES ■12V29 IZZUSTR■IT"IONS. P. 40, l.l. Dissbnulalion &c.] Confi 'So tedious, casual and unfortunate are these deep dissimulations: whereof il seemeth Tacitus ruade this judgrnent, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy: attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius, where spea-king of Livia he saith, et cure arlibus tctariti, sinndatiotte fllii, bene composita ; for surely the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning, and not greatly politic.' Works, iii. 468. 1.5. Tacilus saith] Annals v.I. The words of Tacitus are given in the note above. 1.7. actd a._gain, ■,hen ■IIuciattus] 'Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii

senectutem ... consurgimus.' Tac. Hist. ii. 7 o. P. 41, 1. 7- arts of slale a»cd a■¢s of lire] Mr. Aldis ■,Vright offers choice here between two passages of Tacitus, neither of them ver 3, close to the text, but, if taken together, perhaps near enough to serve. 'Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod, humani divinique juris sciens, egregium publicum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.' Annals iii. 7 ° . The offence of Capito had been that he had made a false show of remonstrating with Tiberius for encroaching on the prox4nce of the senate by pardoning an offence against himself, and this Capito obsequiously pretended to consider as a public crime. The other passage, from the Aga-icola, cap. xxxix, speaks of ' studia fori et civilium artium decus.' P. 42, 1. 4. oflheirgoodfailh] So Guicciardini, speaking of the vast promises on the faith of which Julius the second obtained the Papacy, remarks that he well knew 'che niuno più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è solito et ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare.' Storia d'ltalia, bk. ri. p. i8i in the London edition of x8ux. 1. 14. Forthefirstof these &c.] The rules and cautions in the text are substantially the same as those given in the Advancement of Learning. ■,Vorks, iii. 460. 1. z8. as the tctore close air &c.] That is to say, as the hot rarified air inside a room gives passage to the colder and more dense air which enters from outside. P. 48, 1. 8. that a ucan's face &c.] Conf. ' The lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination ofthe mind in general ; but the Motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do further disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will. For as your Majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, As lice longue speakelh to the ear, so lice gesture speakelh to the e),e. And therefore a number of subtile persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces



and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither canit be denied but that itis a great discovery of dissimulations, and a great direction in business.' Works, iii. 368. And ' The poet saith-- Nec vultu destrue verba tuo: a man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance.' Ibid. p. 446. The poet is Ovid, Artes Amat. lib. il. 312. And, ' It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances.' Èssay 22. 1. 9. li, e discov«ry of a man's sdf] This was notoriously so xvith the Earl of Essex, whom Bacon probably had in mind. Conf. ' Hoxv iii the Earl (of Essex) was read in this court philosophy, his servant Cuffe discerned well when he said, Amorem et odium sem)er in fronle gessil, nec celare noe,iL' A View of the Parallel between Earl of Essex and Duke of Buckingham ; Lansdowne MS. 213. 1. il. more marked and bdieved] Conf. 'VVe will begin therefore with this precept.., that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words. Neither let that be feared which is said, fronli nullafldes, which is meant of a general outward behaviour and not of the private and subtile motions and labours of the countenance and gesture, which as Q. Cicero elegantly saith is anhni janua.' X¥orks, iii. 457- P. 44, 1. 6. /te musl s/tow an inclina/ion one way &c.] But vide, per contra, King James, Basilicon Doron, bk. i : ' If anything be asked at you that yee thinke hot meete to reveale, if yee say--that question is hOt pertinent for them to aske, who dare examine you further ? and using sometimes this answer both in true and false things that shall be asked at you, such unmanerly people will never be the wiser thereof.' James' rule however is fitter for a King or Prince than for a private man who might hot so easily rid himself of unmannerly questioners. The Basilicon Doron was written for Prince Henry. P. 45, 1. 7. Tella lie &c.] This good shrewd proverb (Lat. salis ma- iignum adagium) is given

in the Advancement of Learning in Spanish. ' Experience sheweth, there are few men so true to themselves and so settled, but that sometimes.., they open themselves; specially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain, Di mentira, y sacaras verdad, Tell a lie and find a truth.' Works, iii. 459-

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor theywill not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes 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 ser the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to ,o express the images of their minds where those of their bodies bave failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, hot only of their kind but of their work b, and so both children c and creatures. The difference « in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, 2o .4 wise son rcjoicclh thc fa/hcr, but an ungracious son shamcs the mo£wr. A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the

■ memory] i.e. the being held in memory. Lat. aeternitas rnemoriae. b u■rk] i. e. as serving to perpetuate the family which the ' first raiser' bas founded. The Latin rerum a se gesta- rum haeredes gives a somewhat different turn to the words. e children] 'children' here clearly corresponds to ' kind,' i.e. species : ■ creatures,' i.e. created objects, to ' work.' Conf. for word--' these Thy creatures of bread and wine '--in the

consecration prayer of the Communion Service. ■ Thedifferenre etc.] This is very ob- scurely worded. The sense serres to be that the fatherand mother do many rimes hot agree in the differences of regard which they bave for their several children, the father preferring one child while the mother prefers another. Affection, it must be noted, dors hot imply love. It is regard of any sort■ kind or unkind.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN. 49 youngest ruade wantonse; but in the l.nidst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many rimes, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shiftsr, makes them sort with g l.nean company, and makes them surfeit more xvhen they corne to plenty: and therefore the proof h is best when l.nen keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many rimes sorteth to discord i when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolk ; but so they be of the lump ■' they care hot, though they pass hot through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature, it is much a like matter ; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they l.nean their children should ,,, take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves ■ to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mnind to. It is true that, if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but

generally the precept is good, Op■imttm digc, suave

■ ruade wantons] i.e. spoilt. Lat. in deliciis esse, t acquaints /hem with shifts] Lat. reddit fallaciis deditos. « sort witiq i. e. associate with. Vide note on word in Essay 6. ■ theproofis best] i, e. the result on trial is best, Lat. ophme su¢cedit. So in Adv. of Learning, ' Fathers bave most comfort of the good proof of their sons.' Works, iii. 45■. t sorteti■ fo discord] i.e. turns to dis- cord. Lat. in discordias evadunL Vide

note on xvord in Essay 6. k oftheh«mp] Lat. »■todo sine ■ massa sa■tguinis. Ff. Gorges) pourveu quïls so,tt sortis dt« ■l£s■le ■ applythemseivesto&c.] i.e. observe closely and allow themselves to be guided by. Conf. ' No sooner I-,e be- came a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change my temper." Strafford, Report on Ireland, quoted in Traill's Strafford, p. x4■. Conf. also note on word in Essay 5 a.

et facile illud [acier consuetudo. Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

P. 48, 1.6. perpetuity bygeneration &c.] So in Bacon's Discourse in the Praise of his Sovereign. ' Let them leave children that leave no other memory in their times: Brutorum aeternitas soboles.' Letters and Life, i. ■4o. Conf. also, 'Yrr■p àp«rfl■ àOavfirov xa'■ roLa■rq ■d■q■ «■xa■«o■■ ■rdwr«■ ■dvra ■E&para ■■■■ ■pJ■ rà■ Tvva[■a■ pfi■■ov rpgwovrat ■a; raCr■ l■■■oi d■E■, $■à ■at■o■ovia■ dOuva■Eiav ■al pv■pqv ■al «■atpoviav■ ■■ o■ovrat, a■oi■ d■ rbv l. 8. noblest works and foundations &c.] Conf. ' There is in m■'s nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be hot spent upon some one or a few, doth naturMly spread ■tself towards many, and maketh men become humoee and cha■mble.' Essay ■o, subfinem. So also, 'Certainly the best works, and of greatest ment for the public, bave proceeded from the unmarfied or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public.' Esay 8. 1. xS. unequal and somethnes unwo■l■] Can Bacon have been thinking of his own case here ? Mr. Spedding speaks of him ■ his father's 'favourite son.' Letters and Life, i. p. 6. Lady Bacon writes that he was ' his father's first choice,' p. ■46. It is clear, too, that, at an early period in his career, his mother had formed'and held a very bad opinion of him. PP- ■44-45. 1. ■9. as Salomon saith] Solomon's saying■Prov, x. ■■is expanded and its application shewn, somewhat fancifully, in the Advancement of Learning. ' Ft■t■s sapiens laet■cat ■lrou : fihi«s veto shdtus maestilia est matri sttae. Here is distin■ished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons ; but mothers have most discomfort of their iii proo■ because women bave little dis- cerning of virtue, but of fo■une.' Works, iii. 45 L In the corresponding passage in the De Au■entis Sc■entiarum the explanation is brought more close to the passage in the Essay. 'Distin■untur solatia atque aegritudines oeconomicae, patris vide- licet et matris, circa liberos suos. Etenim fifius p■dens et fru■ praecipuo solatio est patri, qui vi■utis pretium melius no■t quam mater: ..... E contra, mater c■amitati filii plus compatitur et

indolet ; tum ob affectum maternum magis mollem et tenerum, tutu fortasse indulgentiae suae conscia, qua eum corruperit et deprava- verit.' Works, i. 754. P. 49, 1. ■6. the ■rece■l] Conf. 'Verily the precept of the Pytha- goreans serveth to right good stead in this case (riz. of exile) to be practised. Choose, say they, the best life : use and custom will make it pleasant enough unto thee.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 225.

Hv_ 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 bave 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 1o with themselves, and account future times impertinences a Nay, there are some other 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 b they ma), be thought so much the ficher; for,

■ i■lpe■qinences] i.e. that with xvhich they bave no concern. Lat. nihil ad se l■ertinentia. Conf. for word -« It is an excellent observation which hath been ruade upon the answers of our Saviour Christ to many of the questions which were propounded to him, how that they are impertinent to the state ofthe question demanded.' Works» iii. 486.

■ beeause] i.e. in order that. Lat. ut habea»dur tanto ditiores. For this use of ' because,' conf. ' It is the care of some only to corne off speedi]y for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch.' Essay ■5- ' Let it hot touch the water, because it may hot putrify.' XVorks, iii. 8x8.

perhaps they have heard some talk, Such an one is a great rich man, and another except toit, )éa, but he bath a great charge ofddldrcn ; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous c minds, which are so sensible of evary 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 hot always best subjects, for they are ■o light to run away ■, and almost ail fugitives are of that con- dition. 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 sela'ant rive times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals com- monly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly, wife and children are a kind of discipline of ■o humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable because their means are less exhaust e, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard- hearted ■good to make severe inquisitors), because their

« Immorous] i.e. full of fancies or conceits. Lat. l■hantasticis. Ital. bi- ■arri. Fr. qui sont trop addonnds à ¢omfllatm à leur, ■ro■■s humeur. Conf.' It utterly betrayeth ail utility for men to embark themselves t■ far in unfo■unate friendshi■, t■uMesome spleens, and childish ■d humourous en,ries or emulations.' Wor■» ■. 47 r. Co■. ' He makes ¢on■es to his We in geometrical proposions. bhx. ls't possible there should be any such humoufist■' ■en Jonson■ Eve■ Man out of his Humour, act il. se. i. This sente of humour and h■oro■

is preserved in The Spec■ator. Vide Papers 6x6 and 6■ 7. a iigM to ■un away] Lat. adfugam expcditL ]But the sense mayperhapsbe■ simply,--apt or ready to run away,■ with no added notion of

unencumbered. Conf. Essay 5■, note■ on 'lightly'= usually: and Shakespeare's ' false of heart, light ofear,' i.e. ready to give ear to any tale. King Lear, act iii. se. 4- * exhaust] i.e. exhausted. This omission of the participial ending is hot unfrequent with Bacon. Conf. e. g. Essay ■o, ' elaborate '= elaborated, and Essay ii, 'observe ■.'herein and how they have degenerate '; and Essay 5■■ ' they hold it a little suspect in Pope■.'

tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands ; as was said of Ulysses, l.'etulam suam prachd# hnmortalitati. 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 ber husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistressesf, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may bave a quarrel ■ to marrT when ,o he will.- But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question when a man should marrT? ./t .■,oung man hot yct, an elder man hot ai all. It is often seep that bad husbands have ver T good v«ives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it cornes, 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.

P.M,1.2. l'or and children are r ■nistresses] The Freneh (Gorges), maitresses, has here the ambiguity of the English word. The Latin gives do»■ti»tae; the Italian le padro»te. The obvious objections to this rendering are that it robs the sentence of such approximation to truth as the Iower interpretation ,vould leave in it, and that it is inconsistent with the words that follow--' so as a man may bave a quarreI' I.i.e. a rcason to give himself) 'to marry when he will.' A young man would hardly think it an induce- ment to marriage that he would be compelled thereby to submit himself to a do»tina, as such. The word, in Bacon's day, bore the sarne two-fold sense which it bears now. Conf. e.g. ' V¢hich hath turned Metis the wife to

2■rO TES ■4 ND lr ZL USTR.4 TIO 2VS. they are] The argument is not obvious. That a wife impediments to great enterprises is no proof that Metis thc mistress, that is thc coun- oeils of State to which princes are solemnly married, to councells of gra- cious per■ons.' Essay Of Councell, in the MS. date i6o7-x2 ; vide Arber. Harmony of Essays, p. 3x8. So in Raleigh's Instructions to his son, cap. ii. 'Be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast. so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself .... for howsoever a le■vd woman please thee for a rime, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee.' ■ a qt«arrel] i.e. a reason to give himself. Lat. ansa. I tan find no precise parallel to this use of the word. Q«arrel-■ reason of dispute» is common enough.

the man who has them bas given hostages to fortune. The reas6ning would hold better in an inverse order--Wife and children are im- pediments to great enterprises, for the man who bath them bath l■iven hostages to fortune. Possibly the phrase ' bath given hostages to fortune' may be taken as a rhetorical flourish =is at a disadvantage in his efforts after fortune. 1.6. Yel il zî,ere greal reason] Conf. the opening passage of the second book of the Advancement of Learning. ' It might seem to bave more convenience, though it corne often otherwise to pass [excellent king), that those which are fruitful in their generations, and bave in themselves the foresight of immortality in their de- scendants, should likewise be more careful

of the good estate of future rimes; unto which they know they must transmit and com- mend over their dearest pledges.' Works, iii. 32z. P. 52, 1.5. certain self-pleashtg attd htottorot«s tttittds] Bacon had probably in his mind a passage in which Montaigne confesses that he himselfwas ofthis temper. 'I1 (sc. le mariage) se treuve en ce temps plus commode aux ames simples et populaires, où les del, ices, la curiosité et l'oysifveté ne le troublent pas tant : les humeurs des- bauchees, comme est la mienne, qui hais toute sorte de liaison et d'obligation, n'y sont pas si propres : Et mihi dulce magis resoluto vivere collo.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. 5- P. 53, 1.3- Ul),sses] Bacon seems here to bave had in his memory two passages, one from Cicero, the other from Joannes Regius's Latin translation of Plutarch's dialogue, 'Quod bruta animalia ratione utantur.' The passage from Cicero corresponds more exactly than the other to Bacon's praett«li! itttmortalilati. 'Ac si nos, id quod maxime debet, nostra patria delectat ; cujus rei tanta est vis ac tanta natura, ut Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, tanquam nidu- lum, affixam, sapientissimus vir immortalitati anteponeret,' &c. De Oratore, lib. i. cap. 44- The passage from Plutarch cornes nearer to the sense and it introduces the catch-word vettdam. Circe, replying to a remark of Ulysses, says, 'Quasi vero dudum his absurdiora in teipsum non commiseris, qui, relicta mecum immortali minimeque senescente vita, ad mortalem foeminam (ac potius, ut ego quidem sentio, jam vetulam) per mille adhuc incommoda properes.' Plut. Opera, H. Stephanus (i572). Latin version of p. I84 in the Greek. That Bacon had Plutarch's dialogue in his mind appears from his remark in the Advancement of Learning, where he refers with grave and contemptuous disapproval to the choice which he attributes to Ulysses, passing judgment in much the saine terres and for much the saine reasons as those used by a third speaker, Gryllus, later on in the dialogue. Bacon's words are : ' Nevertheless I do not pretend,

and I know it will be impossible by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Aesop's cock, that preferred the barleycorn before the gem, or... of Uiysses, qui vetulam ■raehdi! immortalitati, being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before ail exceilency: or of a number of the like popular judgments. For these things continue as they have been,' &c. Works, iii. 319 . So in Piutarch, Gryilus reproaches Uiysses because 'consueta gaudens venere, quum sis mortalis, cum dea coire noluisti' (trans. of p. 182o in Greekl. The preceding words, which I do hOt venture to quote, are even more precisely to the point. i. II. one ofthe wise men] Thales the wise, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marry, prettily put ber off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly xvith words : for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her : Mother, it is too soon, and it is hOt yet rime : afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time and was very instant: Alas, mother, it is noxv too late and the time is past.' Piutarch, Symposiaques, Bk. iii. Quest. 6. So in Diog. Laert., Life of Thales : Kal ■,dTov«,v , ,7,r, ■-;■■ tzrlrp6g àt, aTraÇo■o'rlç a■rbt, ",■ltmt, N■ I A■a, ■'■,e'■«v, o■8■■rm ■mpd■. E■ra, ■rr«■ 6 rrap6■■««■, ■■■«,t■;■■■, àrr«îv, o■«/r, *mpd,. Lib. i. sec. "26. Montaigne notes the story and with more distinct approval. 'Thales y donna les plus vrayes bornes; qui, jeune, respondit à sa mere le pressant de se marier, "qu'il n'estoit pas temps"; et, devenu sur i'aage, "qu'il n'estoit plus temps."' Essays, bk. ii. chap. 8. 1. 17. bu! this never flails &c.] Bacon, eisewhere, generalizes on this subject. Conf. 'Another reprehension of this coiour (viz. quod quis adpa sua contra.rit, majus mahtm ; quod ab ex/ernis imponi/ur, mhtus mah«m), is in respect of the well bearing of eviis wherewith a man tan charge nobody but himself, which maketh them the iess. Levefi/quod benefer/ur ollt«s. And therefore many natures that are either extremely proud and wili take no fault to themseives, or

eise very truc and cleaving to themseives (when they sec the blame of anything that falls out iii must iight upon themseives), bave no other shift but to bear it out weli, and to make the ieast of it .... And therefore it is commonly seen, that women that marry husbands of their own choosing against their friends' consents, if they be never so iil used, yet you shall seldom sec them complain, but to set a good face on it' (Coiours of Good and Evil, viii). ■Vorks, vil 8 7.

IX. OF ENVY. TrIERE 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 corne 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. ■,Ve sec, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy an evil e.)'e; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil as[■ecls; so that still there io 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. But leaving these curiosities Ithough not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons :o are apt to envy others ; v«hat persons are most subject to be envied themselves ; and what is the difference bet-ween public and private envy. A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil ; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to corne at even hand by depressing another's fortune. A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious i fo tome ai even hand] i.e. to tome where there is small dispatch.' Essay to even terms or to an equality. Lat. a S. And, 'Certainly, if a man wili u! minor inlersit dispaHtas. For this keep but of even hand, his ordinary use of 'hand,' conf. « Business is expenses ought to be but to the hall bought at a dear hand Lat. magno) of his receipts.' Essay a'/.

for to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estateb; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others : neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much marrer for envy ; for env3- . is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth hot keep home: Non est curiosus, quht idcm sit malevolus. Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise ; for the distance is altered ; and it is ,o like a deceit of the eye, that when others corne on they think themselves go back. Deformed persons and eunuchs and old men and bastards are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's ; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle : as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane -'o that were lame men. The same is the case of men that rise after e calamities

■ his own estate] i. e. his own affairs. Lat. suis rtbus. Bacon, it will be seen, pass■■»h uses Mate and estate indiffer- ently. They are in fact the saine word, as are special and especial; stab- lisiJ and establisl■ ; stature and the old estatute. His use of estate where modern usage would give statt is veiT common. Vide infra. ' This public env3' seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon

kings and estates them- selves.' Then, a few lines further: ' The envy though hidden is truly upon the state itself.' Conf. also, ' For that v¢hich may concern the sovereign and estate ; ' followed shortly after by, 'when there is matter of law inter- vening in business of state.' Essay 5 6.

Conversely, in Essay 28, we find, « Who bath a state to repair may hot despise small things.' And, in Essay 34, ' A great state left to an heir is a lure to ail the birds of prey.' Some- times, too. the word has a personal sense which we should hot now give to it, as when Bacon speaks of it as a happy thing ' when kings and states do often consult with judges.' Essay 56. So Segar. more distinctly still, in his chapter ' Of honourable places due to great estates,' says, ' A baron is an estate of great dignity in blood honour and habit, a peer of the realm and companion of princes.' Honor Mili- tai T and Ci»il, bk. iv. cap. 22. ■ that fise a]?er&c.] The Latin, qui e calamitatibus resurguct, implies that

and misfortunes ; for they are as men fallen out with the rimes, and think other men's barres a redemption of their own sufferings. They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want worka: it being impossible but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the eharacter of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artifieers in works wherein he had ■o a vein « to exce[. Lastly, near kinsfolk, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised ; for it doth upbraid f unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth■ likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and faine. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to -'o look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy. Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue when they are advanced are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but reveards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self ; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied

Bacon means to speak of men who have fallen from a high estate into calamities and misfortunes, and have thence risen again. d cannot want work] Lat. ubique enin■ occurrunt objecta in■,idiae. « a rein] i.e. an inclination. Lat. quibus ipse praecellere g■stiebat. Conf. ■ that is a rein which would be bridled." Essay 3■. ■ doth upbra■d &c.] For an instance

of this construction, now out of date, vide ' May they hot justly to our crimes upbraid, Shortness of night, and penury of shadefl Prior, Solomon, bk. i. 293-4- ■ tncur-,'eth &c.] i.e. cornes more under the observation of others. The Latin in aliorum notam nzagis incurrit is clearer than the Latinised English.

but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy h persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre ; for fresh men grow up that darken it. Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth : besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune ; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat botter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a fiat ; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and per

saltum. Those that bave joined with their honour great travels cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them some- times; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a :o lire they lead, chanting a Çua■da l■athmtr; not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and hOt such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior ofiïcers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places ; for by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

■ unworthy] Probably, undeserving. Lat. indignis. A sense on the whole best suited to the passage. I great travds] i.e. travails. Lat. Iabores magnos. Conf. 'And raost specially that the travels therein taken (i. e. in Sir Stephen Proctor's project

touching penal laws ■ rnay be considered and discerned ofby the LordTreasurer.' Letters and Life, iv. xo4. Bacon alrnost always uses travelwhere weshould use travail, andtravailewhere we shouldusetravd. In Essay xS, this is the spelling ofthe original throughout.

Above ail, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition : whereas wise men xvill rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do hot much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of ,o greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory} doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune ■, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him. Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somexvhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft ; and that is, to remove the lot i (as they call io and to lay :o it upon another; for which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive TM the en,af that would corne upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost. Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy; whereas in private there is none; for .■o public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when

■ doth but disavow &c.] i.e. does but adroit that fortune is to blame for having used him better than he deser■ed. Lat. nihil aliud facit quis, quam ut fortunam insimu- let. i l]■e lo/] l.e. the spe|l cast upon a

man by witchcraft. Vide note at end of Essay. m to dcrive] i.e. to draw off, or diverL Con£ ' As natura| water... is first forced up into a cistern and thence fetched and derived for use." ■,Vorks, iii. 483.

they grow too great ; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds. This envy, being in the Latin word invidia, goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment ; of which

we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection; for, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions there■f and turneth them into an iii odour ; and therefore there is little won by intermingling ,o of plausible actions '■ ; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you. This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great when the cause of it in him is small ; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon 2o the state itself. And so much of public envy or discon- tentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place. We will add this in general touching the affection of envy, that of ail 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 hot, because 3o

n 1Maus■bi e actions] Lat. gratas et pOl■ulares. Plausible may be either ¢ourtlng applause or deservin K applause. Bacon uses the word in both senses-- 'Judges ought to be more reverend than plausible.' Lat. Kratiosum. ■ay 5 6. And, « The best actions of a

state and the most plausible and which ought to give greatest contentment.' Essay ■5. o of ail other &c.] i.e. more ira. portune (or importunate) than any other affection. Vide note on Essay 3-

they are hOt 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 subtilely, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

I'V'OTES ANA) ILLUSTRATIONS. In this Essay, the word envy is used equivocally. What Bacon terres 'private envy' is generally envy in tbe ordinary sense : sometimes itis malevolence, the Greek ¢■r*X«,p,■a,ia. Public envy is explained as discontentment. Thus, when Bacon remarks that where there is no comparison there is no envy, and that there- fore kings are hOt envied but by kings, he is using envy in the former sense. ■Vhen he says that in certain named cases the envy is on the state (Lat. invidia regem a,«t stature i■sun, ■etit) he is using the word in the latter sense as=disaffection or discontent. P. 36, l. L ■toJte of#te offeclio■ts] Con£ Plutarch, 'There grew some question upon a time, at the table, as touehing those that are reported to be eye-biters, or to bewiteh with their eyes .... The seent, the voiee, the speech, the breath, be certain defluxions and streams, as it were, flowing from the bodies of living ereatures ..... and great likelihood there is also that the same should pass from the eye more than from any other conduit of the body: for the sight, being a sense very swift, active, and nimble, doth send forth and disperse from it a wonderful fiery puissance, together with a spirit that earrieth and direeteth it .... Love, one of the greatest and most vehement passions of the mind, hath the source and original beginning at the eye.., for the very aspect and regard of such persons as are in the flower of their beauty, and that whieh passeth îrom their eyes, whether it be iight or flowing off of the spirits, doth liquifie and consume those that be enamoured on

them .... Then 2■atrocleas ; ,, True in bodily passions ; but how is it possible that the only east or regard of the eye should transmit any noisance or hurt into the body of another ?" ' The answer is that 'envy filleth the body with an untoward and bad disposition; when therefore they who be infeeted with envy do east their eyes upon others, and so shoot their venomous rays, like unto poisoned darts upon them, if sueh chance tobe wounded and hurt thereby whom they look upon and wistly behold, I see no strange thing nora matter ineredible.' Symposiaques, Bk. v., Question 7-

Plutarch adds much more to the same effect, but the entire passage is too long to quote. 1.2. the.■ botk bave &c.] Bacon here, to use his own words, affingilparallela quae non su»,t. Love bas vehement wishes, but these belong to the person fascinated, to the loyer. The vehement wishes of envy belong to the person fascinating, to the envious man. The saine confusion of thought runs through the ,,vhole clause. 1. 6. [ascination] ' Fascination is the power and act of imagina- tion, intensive upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant.' XVorks, iii. 381. 1. 7. Scripture calleth &c.] Vide St. Mark vil. 22. But it is obvious to remark that the evil eye of Scripture, implies at most the wish to do harm. There is no hint given of power to do mischief by an irradiation. 1. 9. htfluences of the stars] This is the recognised astrological term for the power exercised by the stars. Conf. ' That is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon those things below than indeed they bave.' Essay 58. So Milton : ' With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes Rain influence, and judge the prize.' L'Allegro, 1. 9. aspects] Aspect, according to Kepler, is determined by the angle formed by the rays ri-oto two planets coming to a point on the earth. Conf. 'Aspectus est in mera incidentia seu concursu radiorum .... Sequitur operatio quia binorum radii certo angulo in puncto eo concurrur■t, in quo collocatur res immateriata, aspectfls receptiva facultas, nempe animalis.' Kepleri Opera, i. 37■- Frisch 1857. Sir Christopher Heydon, an astrological writer of Bacon's day, frequently uses this word. In one passage it shifts into irradiations, and may be therefore so understood. 'Wherefore three aequaliter Hexagons or three z, Aspects do also fill the whole space about the center. To which we may not improperly add the opposite aspect. ..... These speculations therefore considered, it were senseless to imagine that Nature hath so many ways honored these Irradiations of the Stars in vain, and admonished us to a special regard ofthem .... ifthey were not indued with more virtue than others.' Astrological Discourse, sec. xvii. Itis used also to mean the relations of the heavenly bodies to one another; the positions from ■-hich they may be said to regard one another. Conf. ' In astronomy it signifieth the distance between the planers and the heavenly signs. And there are four such aspects. The first called a Trine Aspect {because it divideth the heavens into three even parts) is the distance of four signs from each other: as Aries beholdeth Leo and Sagktarius with a Trine Aspect, because

they are distant four signs, the one before, the other after. The second called a Quartill is the distance of three signs, as Aries beholdeth Cancer and Capricornus with a Quartill Aspect, because they are distant three signs from him.' He goes on to say that the aspect is Sextill where the distance is two signs, and Opposite where the distance is six. Bullokar, English Expositor, sub voc«. Shakespeare uses it, as Bacon does, of the gaze of the heavenly bodies upon the earth : ' H,■R■txor;,■. There's some ill planer reigns: I must be patient, till the heavens look With an aspect more favourable.' Winter's Tale, act il. sc. i. 1. II. Nay, some lzave been so curious &c.] What Bacon says else- " where about ' spirits' may serve to explain what he speaks of here as not unworthy to be thought on in fit place. He lays it down as a most certain fact that '

inest omni tangibili spiritus, corpore cras- siore obtectus et obsessus .... Nullum corpus nobis notum, hic in superiore parte terrae, spiritu vacat. Spiritus autem ille non est virtus aliqua, aut energia aut entelechia aut nugae ; sed plane corpus tenue, invisibile; attamen locatum, dimensum, reale. In omnibus animatis duo sunt genera spirituum : spiritus mortuales, quales sunt inanimatis ; et superadditus spiritus vitalis. Spiritus mortuales aëri proxime consubstantiales sunt: spiritus vitales magis accedunt ad substantiam flammae. Flamma substantia momentanea est: aër fixa : spiritf■s vivi in animalibus media est ratio.' ■Vorks, il. 213, 214, 216, 225 . This then is what Bacon means when he speaks of spirits. The wor'king and effect of these spirits are described also. But the passage which cornes closest to the Essay is in the Natural History, where the theory of the Essay is stated very fully : ' The affections ■no doubt) do make the spirits more powerful and active: and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes: which are two: love and enx■¢ which is called oculus mah«s ..... And this is observed like■vise ; that the aspects that procure love are not gazings, but sudden glances and dartings of the eye. As for envy, that emitteth some malign and poisonous spirit, which taketh hold of the spirit of another ; and is likewise of greatest force when the cast of the eye is oblique. It hath been noted also, that it is most dangerous when an envious eye is cast upon persons in g]ory and triumph and joy : the reason whereofis, for that at such times the spirits corne forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the percussion of the envious eye more at hand : and therefore it hath been noted that airer great triumphs men have been ill-disposed for some days following.' Works, il. 653.

That the eye of envy was especially dangerous to men at the time of their prosperity, or during great exaltation of mind, was a common beliefwith Greeks and Romans. Hence we find various forms of deprecation, both of envy and of the prosperity which gives occasion to it. Conf. e. g. : ' Aut si ultra placitum (i. e. so as to displease the higher powers) laudarit, baccare frontem Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.' Virg. Ecl. vii. 27, ■_■ (and Conington's note). P. 57, l. 7. Non est &c.] ' Nam curiosus nemo est quin sit male- volus.' Plaut. Stichus i. 3, l. 54- 1. I■ Deformed l■ersons and eunuch$] I think that this stroke is aimed at his cousin the Earl of Salisbury and at Lord Keeper Williams. On his relations with the Earl of Salisbury, eonf. note on Essay 44, on Deformity. As regards Lord Keeper \Villiams, Baeon may well have thought that Williams had done what he could "to impair his case. His fall and disgraee had been due in great part to the adviee of Williams to the King and Buekingham to further the demand raised in the Parliament of i62i for reform and for the redress of grievanees, and to give no support to the persons who v«ere the just objeets of attaek. Subsequently, too, Bacon's pardon was stayed at the seal by Williams who was then Lord Keeper, and was only passed after some delay and probably under pressure from the King. That Williams ■vas a eunuch appears in his Lire by Haeket, Part i. p. 8. 1.2o. Agesilaus] ' As for the deformity of his legs, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he used the matter so pleasantly and patiently that he would merrily moek himself: ■vhieh manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his lire and courage was the more eommendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness he refused no pains nor labour.' Plutareh [Lire of Agesilaus), Lives, p. 612. 1.2o. Tamerlane] That Tamerlane was lame is certain ; but whether he was so born or was lamed by a wound reeeived in one of his early battles, Gibbon leaves in doubt. His eharacter has been ver)" variously drawn, but on his stupendous aehievements all writers agree. The naine is a European corruption of the Turkish Timour lene or Timour the lame. Vide Gibbon, Deeline

and Fall, ehap. 65. 1. ac. The saine is the case of me»■ &e.] Baeon may have written this ■vith some reeolleetion of his old enemy, Coke. Coke had fallen under the King's displeasure and had been deprived of his place as Chier Justice, and had afterwards been reeeived back into favour, had taken his old place at the Couneil-board, and had been employed in the King's affairs. In the inquiry, in the Parliament of about unlawful patents and monopolies, in the advising and granting F

of xvhich Bacon had had a principal part, it was Coke who was most forward and persisted in so shaping the proceedings that Bacon should hot escape. Conf. Letters and Life, vii, chap. 5, sec. 8 and 9. Bacon was well aware of this. It was of vital consequence to him that there should be no question raised about the past, 'and so not to look back but to the future : And I do hear,' he writes to Buckingham, 'almost ail men of judgment in the house wish now that way. I xvoo nobody : I do but listen, and I bave doubt only of Sir Edward Coke.' Letters and Life, vii. 192. His doubt was justified by the event. P. 58, 1. 8. ,4drian the Emperor] ' Quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus, et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tutu professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit. Cure his ipsis professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invitera editis certavit. Et Favorinus quidem, cure verbum ejus quoddam ab Hadriano reprehensum esset atque ille cessisset, arguentibus amicis quod maie cederet Hadriano de verbo quod idonei auctores usur- passent, risum jueundissimum movit. Ait enim, Non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctiorem omnibus credere qui habet triginta legiones.' Spartiani Hadrianus, p. 141. (Erasmus, Vitae Caesarum, fol. 1546.) P. ■9, 1.15. Those tha! hm,ejobled &c.] Conf. ' Men ordinarily bear env 3, unto those who seem to acquire glorygratis, without any cost and to corne by virtue easily ... whereas seldom or never they envy such as have bought the saine very dear, with many travails and great dangers.' Plutarch, Morals, 253. 1. 2o. are ever b«moaning themseh,es] Conf. the following extracts from The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's place, with the tare and peril thereof--by Robert, Earl of Salisbury: 'AIl men ofwar do malign them except they will be at their desires. Their fellow counsellors envy them ... and wheresoever a prince bath cause to delay or deny, to search or punish, none so soon bear so much burden .... The place of secretary is dreadful if he serve nota constant prince .... If such an one should find that his hope cannot warrant him, no hOt against the slanders of those wicked ones whom he must use only, then surely that secretary must resolve that the first day of his entry is the first day of his miser5,.' Somers' Tracts, vol. v. 553 (second edition). Bacon, too, makes constant complaint about the toil and distastefulness of offices which it was the effort of his life to reach. Vide Essay 11 and note on Essay 38. P. 60, 1. I9. to remove the loti Conf. Bodin, De la Demonomanie des Sorciers, lib. iii. cap. 2 tpublished x58o). ' En second lieu on tient que si les Sorciers guerissent un homme maleficiê, il faut qu'ils donnent le Sort à un autre. Cela est vulgaire par la confession de plusieurs Sorciers. Et de faict j'ay vu un prisonnier ■ Paris l'an 1569,

qui guérissoit les chevaux et les hommes quelquesfois :... Un jour ayant donné le Sort au cheval d'un gentilhomme, on vint à luy, il guerit et donna le Sort à son homme : on vint à luy pour guerir aussi l'homme : Il fist response qu'on demandast au gentilhomme lequel il aymait mieux perdre son homme ou son cheval : le gentilhomme se trouva bien empesché : et cependant qu'il deliberoit, son homme mourut, et le Sorcier fut pris. Et faict à noter que le diable veut toujours gaigner au change.., et si le Sorcier ne donne le Sort à un autre, il est en danger de sa vie.' Bodin gives several instances of this. So Alexander Roberts,

whose Treatise ofWitchcraft (16x61 is largely copied from Bodin, in his eighth proposition (or chapter) writes, 'lfthe evill be taken from the person presently afflicted then it is layd upon his friends children or cattell, and sometime it falleth to the lot of the witche herself.' P. 61, !. 28. Invidia festos dies non agit] This sentence occurs also in the Antitheta under ' Invidia.' Works, i.p.695. Conf. also,' Invidia pessima est, et carpit spiritus, atque illi rursus corpus; eo magis, quod fere perpetua est, nec agit ¢ut dicitur) festos dies.' Works, ii. x72. Cardan writes to the saine effect, but hot in the saine words : ' Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum, nain praeter id quod maxime discruciet, nullum finem velut reliqua vitia invertit. Ira enim defervescit, gula satiatur.., invidia nunquam quiescit, cure semper aliquem esse necesse sit, imo plures qui te ipso vel aetate vel divitiis vel forma aut virtute sint beatiores.' Cardan, De Sap. lib. ii. (ed. 4to. x543) p. 88. P. 62, I. :3. T/te envfous man] Vide Matthew xii/. 25. But the text says nothing about an envious man. The Greek is ■')tdp6■, the Vulgate bthtt[c■ts» the English, his enemy.

THE stage is more beholding" to love than the life of man ; for as to the stage, love is ever marrer of comedies, ■ beholding] i.e. beholden. Lat. And, ' For the expressing of affections, ph«s debet. This obsolete form was in passions, corruptions and customs, we common use in Bacon's day. Conf. are beholding to poets more than to ' Wherein I must acknowledge myself the philosophers" works.' Worka, iii. beholding to you.' Works, ri. 539- 346, and passim. F2

and now and then of tragedies; but in lire it doth mueh mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fui T. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recentl, there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the hall partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the Decemvir ■o and lawgiver ; whereofthe former ■vas indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man : and therefore it seems [though rarely} that love can find entrance, not only into an open beart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, Salis magnum aller altcri thea- trttm sttmtts: as if man, ruade for the contemplation of heaven and ail noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol b, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given ■o him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and ho■v it braves c the nature and value of things, by this, that the speaking in a per- petual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well