

**Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library**



**GIPE-PUNE-002738**

**THE ESSAYS OF FRANCIS BACON.**

College Classics Series.

THE ESSAYS

OF

FRANCIS BACON

WITH

*INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDEX,*

BY

F. W. KELLETT, M. A.,

*Madras Christian College,*

*Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*



**Madras:**

**SRINIVASA, VARADACHARI & CO.**

1895.

[All rights reserved.]

0111, 6 M612  
C5

**MADRAS:**

**PRINTED BY SHINIVASA, VANADACHARI & CO.,**

**MOUNT ROAD.**

2738

## PREFACE.

---

It is hoped that this Edition of Bacon's *Essays* may supply all the help that is required to enable an Indian student to read them with intelligent appreciation. It would be equally foolish and useless to attempt to conceal my indebtedness to those who have done so much to elucidate and illustrate the Essays. Spedding and Ellis, Wright, Abbott, and most recently Reynolds have laboured with this object with a success that might seem to leave nothing to be added. But the character of the Essays is such as to make finality of treatment impossible and to leave room for the greatest variety of annotation. While therefore the present edition owes much to the labour of these writers and others, it is believed that it will be found to have a character of its own, suited to the conditions under which it is produced.

I make no apology for the length of the Introduction, having learnt long ago, when first I studied the Essays, how essential a knowledge of the life and character of Bacon is to their proper appreciation.

The text adopted is that of Bacon's final edition of 1625, the punctuation being altered no more than is necessary, but the spelling for the most part being

modernised. The Dedications to the three Editions issued by Bacon have been given in their original form as an illustration of Elizabethan English unaltered. Most of the *Corrigenda* owe their place in the list to a desire to replace in the text interesting old forms which have been modified in the language of to-day.

MADRAS, }  
22nd February 1895. }

F. W. KELLETT.

---

## CORRIGENDA.

### TEXT.

ESSAY.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
III.	49	<i>treatises</i>	<i>treaties.</i>
III.	83	<i>subtily</i>	<i>subtilty.</i>
III.	158	<i>interested</i>	<i>interested.</i>
IV.	40	<i>vindictive</i>	<i>indicative.</i>
IV.	42	<i>unfortunate</i>	<i>infortunate.</i>
X.	43	<i>its</i>	<i>his.</i>
XV.	146	;	.
XV.	192	<i>might</i>	<i>mought.</i>
XV.	197	<i>nourshing</i>	<i>nourishing.</i>
XVI.	1	<i>legend</i>	<i>Legend.</i>
XVI.	20	<i>though</i>	<i>thought.</i>
XIX.	91	<i>England's</i>	<i>England his.</i>
XXII.	31	<i>might</i>	<i>mought.</i>
XXII.	77	<i>uon</i>	<i>upon.</i>
XXIV.	21	<i>forward</i>	<i>froward.</i>
XXVI.	42	<i>work,</i>	<i>work:</i>
XXVII.	113	<i>might</i>	<i>mought.</i>
XXVII.	182	<i>improper</i>	<i>unproper.</i>
XXIX.	23	<i>[able to manage affairs]</i>	<i>able to manage affairs.</i>
XXIX.	31	<i>lose</i>	<i>leese.</i>
XXIX.	152	<i>become</i>	<i>becomen.</i>
XXIX.	272	<i>Pompey's</i>	<i>Pompey his.</i>
XXXI.	4	<i>lose</i>	<i>leess.</i>
XXXI.	37	<i>after license insert to depart.</i>	
XXXIV.	39	<i>might</i>	<i>mought.</i>
XXXV.	58	<i>principal</i>	<i>principial.</i>
XXXV.	103	<i>might</i>	<i>mought.</i>
XXXVI.	3	<i>its</i>	<i>his.</i>
XL.	54	<i>unfortunate</i>	<i>infortunate.</i>
XLI.	36	<i>make</i>	<i>makes.</i>

ESSAY.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
<b>XLIX.</b>	33	<i>place, so</i>	<i>place ; so.</i>
L.	47	<i>tithe</i>	<i>split.</i>
L.	12	<i>pruning.</i>	<i>proyning.</i>
LIV.	41	<i>ceilings</i>	<i>seelings.</i>
LVI.	11	<i>mere stone</i>	<i>mere-stone.</i>
LVIII.	182	<i>its</i>	<i>his.</i>

**NOTES.**

Page 245. At end of note on 55 *Bion* add See Montaigne II. 12

Page 267. To note on 65 *Plenus* add Quoted by Montaigne II. 17.

Page 272. Note on 5. For *Gyræus* read *Grynæus*.

Page 282. Note on 39. For *think is* read *think there is*.

Page 295. Note on 66. For *and the setting* read *not the setting*.

Page 430. Note on 19. For *XXX. 13.* read *XXX. 55.*

**INTRODUCTION.**

Page XLIV. line 38. For *more effectually out* read *out more effectually*.

Page LVIII. line 36. For *Amvus* read *Amyas*.

**EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.**

Page 3. line 21. For *Grace's* read *Graces*.



## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION	
The Life of Bacon . . . . .	i
Bacon's Character . . . . .	xxxv
Bacon's Place in Literature . . . . .	xlvi
The Essays—Name . . . . .	lvii
The Editions . . . . .	lix
Subjects . . . . .	lxi
Method . . . . .	lxii
Language . . . . .	lxii
Style . . . . .	lxv
Teaching . . . . .	lxxi
Chronological Table . . . . .	lxxv
TABLE OF ESSAYS . . . . .	lxxviii
THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE . . . . .	1
THE ESSAYS . . . . .	5
NOTES . . . . .	159
INDEX . . . . .	457

## INTRODUCTION.

## THE LIFE OF BACON.

---

For a right understanding both of the *Essays* as a whole and of many points of detail in them a somewhat close acquaintance with the life of Bacon is essential.

Francis Bacon was born January 22nd, 1561. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, next to William Cecil the leading minister of Elizabeth's earlier years, holding the post of Lord Keeper of the Seal. His mother, Lady Ann Bacon, was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, the tutor of Edward VI. She was an ardent Protestant, adopting those Calvinistic doctrines and inclining to that Puritanism which gave so much trouble to Elizabethan statesmen. Her 'exquisite skill in the Greek and Latin tongues' enabled her to translate from the original Latin Bishop Jewell's 'Apology for the Church of England' and made her a fit recipient of the dedication of his 'Meditations' from Beza, the leading Calvinist scholar of the time. Not only her religious ardour but her general restless vehemence contrasted with the nature of her husband, whose political tenets were those of compromise, whose recorded sayings show a sort of easy-going humour, and who is described by his son as 'plain, direct and constant.' A sister of Lady Ann had married Sir Nicholas' greater colleague, Cecil, so that Francis Bacon was the nephew of the latter, a relationship which affected much of his political career. Francis was the second son of these strangely assorted parents, though by a former marriage his father had several older children. With his own brother Anthony he was sent at the age of twelve to Trinity College, Cambridge. With an interval of six months' absence

due to the Plague, the boys remained here till Christmas 1575, and then were admitted, in compliment to their father, as *Ancients* of Gray's Inn. At the age of sixteen Francis joined the household of Sir Amyas Paulet, the Ambassador to France, in which position he spent two fruitful years. His father's death in 1579 however made it necessary that he should prepare to make his own way in life. He set himself resolutely to the study of Law, finding that his uncle Cecil, now Lord Burghley, was unwilling to give him any position which would relieve him from that necessity. Through Burghley's influence, however, his way was made easy, and in the Parliament of 1584 a place was found for him. In the same year he wrote a paper of 'Advice to Queen Elizabeth' in which with the utmost confidence he counsels her to modify her policy with regard to Papists and Puritans and instructs her how to conduct herself in reference to France, Scotland and Spain. But in it one sentence is noticeable as an index of that tendency to obsequiousness which has done so much to injure Bacon's reputation:—'I am bold to think it till I think you think otherwise.'

From the time of his father's death Bacon had not ceased to beg Burghley to find him a place which would make him independent. But Burghley may well have hesitated to employ one whose ambition, self-confidence and suppleness were as conspicuous as his versatility and talents. The soul of caution himself, he might without any wrong motives shrink from advancing one who must have seemed to him hasty and flighty. And it must be remembered that Leicester refused Bacon's advances also, that Walsingham apparently shared Burghley's doubts for he withheld his help too, and that the Queen herself, though she recognised Bacon's ability and devotion and though his father's memory gave him claims upon her, throughout the twenty years of her reign during

which he was a suppliant to her, never threw him any crust of office.

However, in 1589, Burghley gave him the reversion of Clerkship of the Star-Chamber, a post worth £1,600 a year. Doubtless such a post seemed a safer provision for his nephew than any one which might have given him a voice in the determination of the national policy. But though the post was lucrative, it was still in the future—in fact it did not fall vacant for nineteen years—and though it was a signal proof of Burghley's interest in him, it left him still unprovided for in the present. Again and again therefore does he appeal to his uncle, promising not to stand in the way of 'any nearer unto your Lordship'—an allusion probably to his cousin Robert Cecil—and asserting that he seeks independence chiefly in order to command more 'wits' than his own in the pursuit of knowledge. All was in vain, and his brother Anthony, though he earned the Queen's thanks for investigations he carried on abroad and important information he sent, was similarly unsuccessful.

But about 1592 Anthony attached himself to the rising favourite, the Earl of Essex, and Francis followed in his train. 'I held at that time' he wrote later 'my Lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the State; and therefore I applied myself to him in a manner which I think rarely happeneth among men.' In 1593 the Attorney-Generalship falling vacant, Bacon begged for it through Essex, but by a speech in Parliament protesting against the amount of subsidies asked by the Government he alienated the Queen and was punished by exclusion from her presence. Edward Coke, the Solicitor-General, being promoted to the vacant post, Bacon offered himself for his place. Ill with disappointment, now threatening to retire to Cambridge and there abandon himself to study, now as he says 'asserviling himself to every man's charity,' he apolo-

gises humbly to the Queen, he proffers himself as 'servant' to the Lord Keeper, he casts himself upon Essex' help—but all in vain. To console him for his failure, Essex gave him land worth nearly £2,000 to meet his accumulating debts, and the Queen also bestowed upon him the reversions of some estates. Meanwhile he was doing useful work. In 1589 he had written a judicious paper on 'Controversies of the Church of England' pointing out the extravagances of both sides in the Marprelate Controversy. In 1592 he wrote a 'Discourse in Praise of his Sovereign,' which he worked up in the following year into 'Certain Observations made upon a Libel' which had been written by the Jesuit Parsons attacking Elizabeth and Burghley for their anti-papal policy. This answer, undertaken at the Queen's suggestion, is full of compliment, somewhat extravagant, to her and her minister which shows that he had not yet abandoned hope of obtaining help from his uncle.

But if in such ways and by the *devices* he wrote at this time for various festivities he kept his name before Queen and people, the real work of this period was the wide reading for which he found time. How much of the knowledge which distinguished him in later days and of the liveliness and elegance of his writing is due to the studies of these years of disappointment can never be estimated. Of the commonplace books which he seems to have regularly kept, one belonging to this period the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* has been recently published, and casts much light upon his method of working. It shows him collecting proverbs, anecdotes, phrases, maxims—a habit which goes far to account for the matter and style of the *Essays*.

The patronage of Essex had not brought with it the advancement Bacon had hoped. Elizabeth might be drawn to the Earl by womanly sensibility, but she could not but see that his impulsiveness and self-

will rendered him as a counsellor far inferior to the cool and cautious Cecils. Sanguine as ever Bacon wrote a Letter of Advice to Essex, pointing out to him the unfavourable impressions which the Queen was likely to form of him and the means of removing them. Should he succeed in doing so, his power in the kingdom might well become paramount, and his friends would accordingly rise. But Essex was the last person in the world to carry out Bacon's advice. Frank and wanting in self-control, he was quite unfit to practise the dissimulation which his counsellor recommended, to 'pretend to take up projects which he is to drop at the Queen's bidding,' to 'keep a militar dependence in substance but abolish it in shews to the Queen,' to maintain his popularity with the common people by deeds though he might by words seem to be alienating them, and by similar trickery.

Finding his hopes in this direction vain, and pressed by money troubles during which he was arrested for debt, Bacon for a time drew away from Essex, though Anthony remained the Earl's Secretary and faithful friend. But in 1598 the troubles in Ireland led Essex to beg for Bacon's advice, which Bacon, seeing in the crisis new chances of influence for Essex and promotion for himself, gave. The advice was that he should pretend to be willing to take up the charge of putting down the rebellion. Knowing however that the Cecils were anxious to get him sent to Ireland that he might fail there, Essex neglected this advice till after Burghley's death, six months later. Then, when the difficulties of the Irish War were increased ten-fold, thinking that Burghley's death had removed all danger of his being sent, he offered himself in accordance with Bacon's advice. Being without doubt the leading English soldier of the time he was not unnaturally taken at his word, and compelled by Queen and

Council much against his will to go. As the Cecils had foreseen he was unsuccessful. When he was compelled to make a secret truce with the rebels, the Queen demanded to know its terms and withdrew the permission he had obtained before his departure to return when he chose. Essex, returning nevertheless to plead his cause, was disgraced and put under close restraint from September 1599 to July 1600. So far from standing by the patron whom his advice had brought into such trouble, Bacon by his conduct created a general impression that he was moving the Queen against him, so much so that his cousin Robert Cecil remonstrated with him. Nevertheless Bacon pressed his service upon the Queen as an agent in the legal proceedings against the Earl, and when a subordinate duty was assigned him distinguished himself by the excessiveness of his zeal.

When Essex was released, Bacon immediately proffered him his service, protesting his affection. The Earl forgave him and accepted his offers. Bacon thereupon endeavoured to reconcile the Queen to her old favourite, probably believing that, now that Burghley was no more, Essex' influence was likely to be supreme. One of the modes he adopted was characteristic. He drew up two letters to be copied by Anthony and Essex, which he was to show to the Queen as genuine private productions of theirs, in which Anthony is made to extol the Earl's real loyalty and Essex to pathetically declare his devotion to the Queen. But the Queen showed no relenting and Essex, now ruined and desperate, began to harbour schemes of removing her by force from the surroundings of ministers like Cecil whom he believed to be plotting his death and treasonably conspiring to bring about the succession of the Infanta of Spain. In the bitter faction-spirit of the Elizabethan Court even the first object did not seem impossible, and in his hatred of Essex who was a staunch supporter of the rights of



James of Scotland, it was not incredible—though untrue—that Cecil should be turning to James' only formidable rival, though that rival belonged to a race with which England was at war.

But though the Earl had made up his mind to seize the Court, he delayed to strike. Refusing to obey a summons before the Council, he gathered his friends round him asserting that his life was sought. Finding the Court prepared, he turned in his confusion towards the city, hoping to rouse the citizens in his behalf. But he was distracted and the attempt utterly failed. Before night he was compelled to surrender and was imprisoned in the Tower. (Feb. 8th, 1601.)

In the trial for high treason which followed Bacon once more appeared against his patron. Coke, the Attorney-General, was of course the leader for the Crown, but with him was joined, not the Solicitor-General but Bacon, one of the ordinary 'Learned Counsel' or as we should say Q. C. The reason for the selection is obvious. Bacon's brother was the Earl's Secretary. Bacon himself had been one of the Earl's closest friends and deep in his counsels, so that he could speak rather as a witness than an advocate. And so it fell out. The Government were anxious to show that Essex had sought the Queen's life and had from the first intended to raise the city. Essex denied this and defended his conduct on the ground that his enemies, especially Raleigh and Cobham, were plotting against his life and that Cecil was betraying England to Spain. The Earl's attempt to prove this last point failed, but the Court had equally failed to prove the first two. Unless it could do so and unless it could show that the Earl's statement that he took up arms out of fear of his enemies was false, it might no doubt secure a verdict that Essex was guilty of treasonable acts, yet all men would feel that these acts were the outcome of intentions not disloyal, but of his fears of hostile plots, real or imagined. So

the matter stood after Coke's best endeavours, when Bacon rose. He declared that the excuse the Earl had given for his rising was a mere pretence under which he cloked designs upon the Queen, that 'he had no such enemies, no such dangers,' as he spoke of, that he always carried 'a shew of religion' to delude men. Cunningly suppressing the fact that Essex' plan had been to seize the Court and that it was a sudden impulse in his panic that took him to the city, he stated he had been 'three months in deliberation' about the latter movement. After distinctly asserting that Essex had been guilty of rebellion he ended thus:— 'All whatsoever you have or can say in answer hereof are but shadows. And therefore methinks it were best for you to confess, not to justify.' The effect of this speech was electrical. The strength of Essex' position was in the general conviction of his absolute truthfulness. Yet here was one of his nearest associates testifying to his persistent hypocrisy and to the falsity of his defence. As the argument of a Counsel Bacon's speech was worthless, but the Peers before whom Essex was being tried were not bound by legal distinctions between an advocate and a witness, and felt how damaging to the Earl's case was his friend's attack. Essex endeavoured to counteract it by 'calling Mr. Bacon against Mr. Bacon.' He told the story of Bacon's concoction of the correspondence between Anthony and himself, in which Bacon had asserted the existence of these very enemies whom now he accused the Earl of suddenly and hypocritically feigning as a pretext for his rising. Though abashed and frightened for a short time by the Earl's reply, Bacon, finding that the letters themselves were not forthcoming to establish his treachery and the falseness of his testimony, recovered his confidence and stated that 'For anything contained in these letters, it would not blush in the clearest light.' Throughout the trial his conduct was similar. He

assisted in the garbling of the evidence, attributed wrong motives, and by his assertions persuaded the Peers of what otherwise the prosecution would have failed to establish that Essex' intentions and not merely his acts were treasonable. The utmost that Coke could urge was 'Our law judgeth the intent by the overt act.' 'Well' was the Earl's answer 'plead your law and we will plead conscience.' It was Bacon's appearance against him that overthrew this plea of conscience and led the Peers to believe that Essex and his followers were *deliberate* traitors. Essex and Southampton his companion in the trial were accordingly condemned to death. Essex was beheaded, February 25th, 1601, but Southampton was released by James I. after a short imprisonment, and not without retributive fitness was one of the judges who twenty years later condemned Bacon to degradation.

The motive of this base ingratitude and false testimony is obvious. Every consideration of morality would have drawn Bacon to stand aside from the trial. But the Queen and the predominant party saw in him the fittest instrument for bringing Essex to the block, and to refuse his aid would have alienated them. To his hopes of advancement he sacrificed friendship and honour and truth. But his degradation was not even yet complete. Essex had been popular throughout the country; his rising was viewed as a mistake into which he had been driven by the intrigues of Cecil and Raleigh; his execution therefore shocked the sense of justice of the people. The Queen and Government felt it necessary to vindicate their conduct, and again selected Bacon as their fittest instrument. Accordingly he drew up the official *Declaration of the Treasons of Essex* in which the conduct of the dead Earl is set forth in the blackest light. At a later time he discounted his responsibility for the misrepresentations it contains

by saying that his draft of it was 'altered and made almost a new writing' by 'certain principal Councillors' to whom the Queen submitted it. But the prostitution of his pen to produce this 'pestilent libel' as Clarendon calls it and the abuse of his intimacy with the Earl to blacken his character fitly supplement his betrayal of his trust alike as lawyer and as friend in the great State trial.

Bacon's reward fell below his expectations. He received a present of £1,200 but no advancement, and this was little to set against the distrust with which he was regarded. Two years later the Queen to please whom Bacon had sunk so low died. Through the secret and careful preparations of Cecil James of Scotland succeeded her peacefully. Bacon ever sanguine hoped much from the new reign. Anticipating a change of ministers, he courted James and those whom he expected to be his advisers with the greatest possible zeal, dwelling upon the services of his brother Anthony in the secret negotiations with James before his accession. He even ventured to address himself to Southampton professing his unchanging friendship. But James continued Cecil in office as his chief adviser and rejected Bacon's advances. Bacon indeed was among the three hundred new knights made at the coronation, but this was but a slight compensation for his disappointment. The state of his purse had rendered some promotion more desirable than ever, for just before his knighthood he had once more been arrested for debt and compelled to free himself by the sale of some of his land. Very characteristically however Bacon soon recovered from his depression and persuaded himself that he had withdrawn from politics solely because his conscience warned him that he was in no way doing his duty in forsaking the pursuit of Truth; 'and therefore' he writes 'I at once tore myself away from all those thoughts (of politics) and in accordance with my former re-

solution I devoted my whole energy to this work' (of the Interpretation of Nature.) And indeed to this time belongs not only the planning of much of his philosophical work but also the writing of part of 'The Advancement of Learning.' But Bacon could not hold himself back from politics or from the pursuit of office. To clear himself from the distrust which King and people still felt of him as the result of his treatment of Essex he wrote 'An Apology concerning the late Earl of Essex' in which he endeavoured to set his conduct in a favourable light. He wrote a pamphlet supporting the King's plan for uniting England and Scotland, and, thinking that a Scotch King must favour religious reform, he published in view of the Hampton Court Conference a treatise suggesting various Puritanical changes for 'The better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England.' He sought and obtained election to James' first Parliament and by the line he took in its debates commended himself to the favourable notice of the king. He strongly supported the proposals of the king for union, and in the Committee which was appointed to consider them played the leading part. He advanced large claims for the royal Prerogative, and supported an unsuccessful proposal to vote the king a subsidy. James showed his appreciation of his services by confirming his appointment as a Learned Counsel and giving him a pension of £60 a year, nominally in consideration of the good services in facilitating the king's succession which had been rendered by his brother Anthony who had died in 1601. But the influence of Cecil seems to have prevented his promotion to office despite his constant petitions for preferment. At this time he married (May 10th 1606), his wife being Alice Barnham, the daughter of a London Alderman, by whose dowry his state is somewhat amended.' The negotiations for the Union of England and Scotland had failed and the King had

been compelled to restrict his aims to the naturalisation of Scotchmen settling in England. The proposal was unpopular. The House of Commons refused to naturalise the Ante-nati, those born before the King's accession. The Post-nati, those born after the accession, would have been equally excluded from the rights of Englishmen, but Bacon successfully maintained that Common Law already gave them those rights. The services of so efficient a champion could not be disregarded, and Bacon was rewarded with the promise of the post of Solicitor-General when it should next fall vacant. This happened a few months later and with the warm support of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere the promise was fulfilled. A year later the valuable clerkship of the Star Chamber for which he had waited so long fell to him. His days of poverty were over, for including the estate of his mother, who seems to have become insane, he had property worth over £24,000 and an annual income of nearly £5,000, figures representing four times as great a sum to-day. A private note-book which he kept at this time enables us to see what were his aims and plans. One day's entries concern entirely his own fortunes, another's are given up to his literary and philosophical designs. On another he investigates the phenomena of Motion, on another he jots down hints to himself as to how best he may secure advancement or increase his wealth. These last show us how systematically he endeavoured, even by unscrupulous or unworthy means, to push himself forward into political power. His great aim was to succeed his cousin Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, as the King's chief adviser, and this he sought to effect by a mixture of truckling to him and others and of filling the fancy of the King with dreams of military and imperial glory. But Salisbury, so long as he lived, maintained his position, though his difficulties increased with time. These were mainly, though by no means wholly, financial.

The King's debts in 1608 when Salisbury took over the post of Lord Treasurer amounted to £1,000,000, and the annual deficit to over £80,000. To meet this deficiency James imposed by royal prerogative new Customs. In 1610 Salisbury brought before Parliament a scheme known as 'the Great Contract' asking for £600,000 down and an annual contribution of £200,000, hinting that the King would then surrender certain points of his Prerogative. The House offered about half the sum mentioned. Then the King ordered the Commons not to question his right to impose Customs, or to discuss his Prerogative and apparently against Salisbury's wish broke off the negotiations. In the debates of the Session Bacon strongly supported the proposals of Salisbury, showing himself as ever the foremost champion of Prerogative, basing his position on precedents drawn from the infancy of Parliament.

As a further means of winning the royal favour, he submitted to James the opening pages of 'a History of His Majesty's Time,' offering to make any alteration the King might wish 'at his least beck.' The next year James used his prerogative to establish a 'Court of the Verge,' *i. e.*, a Court in which offences committed within twelve miles of the King's residence were to be tried. And in this Court he appointed Bacon a Judge, promising him at the same time the reversion of the post of Attorney-General.

In 1612 Bacon was concerned in a matter which though it shocks us seems to have created no stir at the time,—a valuable reminder of the improvement in public opinion since. Two men, Legate and Wightman, being tried for professing that form of heterodox Christianity which is known as Arianism, were condemned. The penalty pronounced was the stake. Coke however thought this mode of executing them was illegal. Bacon thereupon, being consulted as Solicitor-General, declared it legal—and they were

burnt accordingly.

On May 24th, 1612, Salisbury died, and Bacon immediately proffered his services to the King as his successor. Finding that the King had not forgiven Salisbury for his action in the matter of the Great Contract he bitterly attacked his deceased cousin. For years he had bowed himself 'with bated breath and whispering humbleness' to him, seeing in him at once his hope of preferment and the obstacle to it. To his coldness he owed it that for years he had had to practise a servile hypocrisy, waiting upon him for help which he felt he would never have needed had he been treated justly. And now the strain is removed, and he takes his revenge for the long humiliation by reviling him to the King whose too faithful servant he had been and casting scorn upon his bodily weakness in one of his immortal Essays. But the King did not see fit to make Bacon his Minister, though he would seem to have encouraged him to state his views for his guidance on the political questions that came to the front. Salisbury's influence as the King's adviser passed to Northampton and the favourite Carr, and to these Bacon now attached himself. He showed himself in Law-Courts as in Parliament the great champion of the Prerogative. He laboured in defence of the King's impositions of various customs; in the important Whitelocke case he argued that 'the King could issue commissions with power to imprison the bodies or seize the lands and goods of his subjects without any reference to the Courts of Law;' he insisted that where political considerations entered into any case the case ought to be withdrawn from trial before a jury and dealt with by the King's prerogative. Coke, one of the most learned lawyers England ever had, was on the other hand the great champion of Common Law, and to his staunchness the cause of English liberty owed much in those days of danger. But it was not merely in theory that these two men



were opposed. Bacon's competition—unfair and presumptuous as Coke regarded it—with him for the post of Attorney-General in the days of Essex had set that masterful spirit against him, and since then many a private quarrel had helped to sustain the enmity between them. In August 1613 Bacon found the opportunity at once of advancing himself, paining Coke and aiding the King's cause. The Chief Justice of the Kings Bench having died, Bacon persuaded the King to promote Coke to his place, to advance the Attorney-General to Coke's position as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and to appoint him Attorney-General. Coke was thus removed from the Court where he was best able to champion the popular cause to a post which though nominally higher was less lucrative, and Bacon was raised to the position which he had so long sought—a position in which he promised to 'defend the prerogative with all his might.' In this higher position not only did legal business require more of his time, but he was more immediately connected both with the Court and with the Government, so that it is little wonder that the seven years which followed are almost barren of literary and philosophical work. His record as Attorney-General is one which the progress of liberty has made abhorrent to the mind of to-day. But it must not be forgotten that he belonged to that transition-time when the Prerogative, long established and little questioned, was first resisted, and when the people for the first time were claiming the right to govern themselves. From the point of view of Law, Prerogative perhaps had as much to say for itself as Liberty, and as a system of Government many still believed in the King's rather than Parliament's rule as best. One of Bacon's first acts as Attorney-General was a defence of a proclamation put forth by James forbidding duelling. But some of his other acts are more doubtful. In the trial of St. John

burnt accordingly.

On May 24th, 1612, Salisbury died, and Bacon immediately proffered his services to the King as his successor. Finding that the King had not forgiven Salisbury for his action in the matter of the Great Contract he bitterly attacked his deceased cousin. For years he had bowed himself 'with bated breath and whispering humbleness' to him, seeing in him at once his hope of preferment and the obstacle to it. To his coldness he owed it that for years he had had to practise a servile hypocrisy, waiting upon him for help which he felt he would never have needed had he been treated justly. And now the strain is removed, and he takes his revenge for the long humiliation by reviling him to the King whose too faithful servant he had been and casting scorn upon his bodily weakness in one of his immortal Essays. But the King did not see fit to make Bacon his Minister, though he would seem to have encouraged him to state his views for his guidance on the political questions that came to the front. Salisbury's influence as the King's adviser passed to Northampton and the favourite Carr, and to these Bacon now attached himself. He showed himself in Law-Courts as in Parliament the great champion of the Prerogative. He laboured in defence of the King's impositions of various customs; in the important Whitelocke case he argued that 'the King could issue commissions with power to imprison the bodies or seize the lands and goods of his subjects without any reference to the Courts of Law;' he insisted that where political considerations entered into any case the case ought to be withdrawn from trial before a jury and dealt with by the King's prerogative. Coke, one of the most learned lawyers England ever had, was on the other hand the great champion of Common Law, and to his staunchness the cause of English liberty owed much in those days of danger. But it was not merely in theory that these two men

were opposed. Bacon's competition—unfair and presumptuous as Coke regarded it—with him for the post of Attorney-General in the days of Essex had set that masterful spirit against him, and since then many a private quarrel had helped to sustain the enmity between them. In August 1613 Bacon found the opportunity at once of advancing himself, paining Coke and aiding the King's cause. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench having died, Bacon persuaded the King to promote Coke to his place, to advance the Attorney-General to Coke's position as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and to appoint him Attorney-General. Coke was thus removed from the Court where he was best able to champion the popular cause to a post which though nominally higher was less lucrative, and Bacon was raised to the position which he had so long sought—a position in which he promised to 'defend the prerogative with all his might.' In this higher position not only did legal business require more of his time, but he was more immediately connected both with the Court and with the Government, so that it is little wonder that the seven years which followed are almost barren of literary and philosophical work. His record as Attorney-General is one which the progress of liberty has made abhorrent to the mind of to-day. But it must not be forgotten that he belonged to that transition-time when the Prerogative, long established and little questioned, was first resisted, and when the people for the first time were claiming the right to govern themselves. From the point of view of Law, Prerogative perhaps had as much to say for itself as Liberty, and as a system of Government many still believed in the King's rather than Parliament's rule as best. One of Bacon's first acts as Attorney-General was a defence of a proclamation put forth by James forbidding duelling. But some of his other acts are more doubtful. In the trial of St. John

(1615) for protesting against an attempt to raise a Benevolence he was Counsel for the Crown. In the trial of Peacham (1615) a clergyman who had written but not preached a sermon predicting rebellion against the King, Bacon showed to much worse advantage. He endeavoured to secure the ends of the Crown by tricking Peacham into confession of treason, and when this failed he acted as one of the examiners of the poor man by torture. He persuaded the King to consult the Judges separately, lest Coke's staunchness should shame the rest into resistance to the Court, if they were as usual consulted collectively. In the trial of the old favourite Carr, now Somerset, for the murder of Overbury, (1616) he showed similar weakness. By the custom of the time he might be justified in thinking it his duty when once Government had instituted the prosecution to press the case though the evidence was insufficient. But for a full defence it might be necessary to introduce the King's name, and to prevent this Bacon obsequiously strained every nerve. He recommended that false promises of the royal favour should be sent to induce Somerset to abandon his defence, and failing this that as Judge should be found 'a Steward of Judgment that may be able to moderate the evidence and cut off digressions, for I may interrupt but I cannot silence.'

In a case in which James had granted an illegal monopoly, Bacon, failing to defend it successfully, endeavoured to prevent Coke from delivering sentence by a writ ordering him to wait till he had consulted the King, and he urged its removal to the Court of Chancery on the ground that 'your Chancellor is ever a principal counsellor and instrument of monarchy of immediate dependence on the King; and therefore like to be a safe and tender guardian of the regal rights.' And in a famous case as to the right of the King to commend a vacant living to the charge of a

clergyman, it was again Bacon who intervened with a writ ordering the Judges to wait for the King's opinion. Out of their refusal arose the important attempt of the Council to force the Judges to promise that in any similar case they would obey, to which the noble reply of Coke was that 'when that case should be, he would do that should be fit for a Judge to do.' He alone refused. With such fatal influence had Bacon and others like him endangered the proper administration of the law and established the Prerogative.

Such was Bacon's conduct as the chief Counsel of the Crown from 1613 to 1616. His relations with the Court do not brighten the picture. Carr the favourite of James was anxious to marry Lady Essex. To effect this, she had to secure a divorce from her husband, the son of Bacon's old patron. She succeeded, but her success was a scandal to the nation's sense of justice. Among the festivities which accompanied her marriage with the favourite, Bacon gave a Masque which cost him the extravagant sum of £2,000, refusing the requests of others to share with him the burden of his attempt to gain the favour of the guilty but powerful pair. But two years later a new favourite appeared and the star of Villiers rose as rapidly as that of Somerset sank. Bacon veered round accordingly and while he showed himself the King's servile tool in the prosecution of Somerset he laid himself and his fortunes in the hands of his rival. Struck with some counsel Bacon gave him to guide him in his important position, the young and inexperienced favourite asked for further directions, and in return Bacon wrote the 'Advice to Villiers' in which he gave him fatherly and useful lessons in state-craft. Like many another he hoped much from the ability and good qualities of the favourite, but the flattery with which he above all others addressed him was enough of itself to ruin Villiers' character.

During these years Bacon was almost as conspicuous in the sphere of politics as in that of law. It was very largely owing to his advice that James summoned a Parliament in 1614. The real aim of this step was to obtain a grant in aid of the King's finances which were now in an almost desperate condition. Bacon had strongly urged that Parliament should be summoned, believing that he would have sufficient influence with the members to prevent it from giving trouble, and trusting in his own dexterity to secure the King's objects by skilful 'management.' His plans included the diversion of the attention of the Commons from grievances to foreign politics, the creation of suspicion among the opponents of the Crown by 'dispersing opinions,' the 'bridling' of the lawyers who must be their spokesmen. He hoped thus to 'bury and silence' the burning question of the Customs' duties, and to defer the discussion of grievances till the King had obtained supplies in view of possible Continental complications. But his hopes were all baffled. His plans for controlling elections were carried to an extreme in their execution. It was rumoured that certain 'undertakers' had promised to secure the King a subservient House, and the electors indignantly returned members of whom an overwhelming majority were suspicious of the Government. Bacon's presence even, as Attorney-General, was called in question. The House at once took up the discussion of grievances, and in anger James dissolved it. The 'Addled Parliament' passed no Act, but its importance in the progress of liberty was by no means small.

But though he had so signally failed in his endeavour to induce a Parliament to grant the King's demands, he did not yet despair. He drew up a series of papers, unfortunately lost, to show James how easily he might free himself from debt. The King's failure to accomplish this desirable end combined with the fact of Bacon's perpetual trouble with his own finances would seem to

show that his scheme whatever it was was one more of those impracticable fancies with which Bacon's sanguine temperament was continually deluding him. Very possibly it was not unconnected with the 'Consultation for a Parliament' which he put forward at this time, urging James to summon another Parliament and to trick it into making him a grant of money by pretending he was compelled to seek a remedy for his debts by securing the marriage of his son with the Spanish Infanta—an unpopular match which Bacon thought the Commons would give much to prevent.

But the Parliaments of 1610 and 1614 had exhausted the patience of James, who saw more clearly than Bacon that the Commons were too much concerned with their home grievances to be drawn away from their discussion by any rumours of foreign changes, and were too serious to be dealt with by mere trickery.

Bacon's services then during these three years as Attorney and in Parliament along with his cultivation of Villiers' favour had made his advancement assured. Accordingly when in 1616 Lord Chancellor Ellesmere resigned, there could be no doubt as to his successor. Bacon passed to the head of Chancery with the title of Lord-Keeper, which had in Elizabeth's time marked the office. The offer of it came to him through Villiers, to whom, as well as to the King, he returned thanks with strange adulation.

Coke had been disgraced six months before. He had given his enemies a handle against him by an attempt he had made to prevent an appeal being carried from his own Court to Chancery. Summoned before the Privy Council to explain his action, he had there been condemned for his resistance to the King's prerogative, suspended by the King, and ordered to revise certain rulings of his which were obnoxious to the Crown. Finally the King removed him from the Bench, on the ground of his opposition to the King. But though Bacon

urged that to this ground should be added 'deceit, contempt and slander of the government,' a 'perpetual turbulent carriage,' and an attempt to make himself popular by 'pulling down government,' since he was wanting in all true popular qualities, James was too just to yield to such petty spite and declared that he held him 'no way corrupt but a good justicer' and covered him with compliments. Bacon's promotion following his own disgrace could not fail to strengthen all Coke's old feeling of hostility to the rival whose knowledge of law he despised, whose principles and championship of the prerogative he loathed, and whose preferment he would regard as due solely to subservience to royalty and the most unworthy arts.

Bacon had promised, in his appeals to the King to make him Chancellor, to obey him obsequiously, and to use the power of 'overruling the Judges' which the office brought with it for the support of the King. In his thanks to Villiers for the promise of the post he wrote 'I will now wholly rely on your excellent and happy self..... I will break into twenty pieces before you bear the least fall.' But when once Lord-Keeper, he seems to have forgotten how utterly he depended on Buckingham's favour, and to have considered that he was in a position at last to follow his own conscience or intelligence. Surely as head of the Privy Council, as highest officer in the kingdom, he might use his own judgment. What else did his promotion mean but that he was recognised as what he had always felt himself, the ablest man in the kingdom and that the King trusted him fully? Many of his first acts as Lord-Keeper might well have confirmed the trust of the King. He defended the Spanish Match which he had always hitherto opposed. He used his influence over the Judges in favour of the prerogative. He persuaded them to allow the extension of the jurisdiction of the High



Commission Court. But in the absence of James and Buckingham in Scotland he thought he might govern for them. Consequently acting on his own judgment, supported by the Council, he held back a proclamation sent by James bidding the nobility to leave London, considering it no longer necessary as most had already gone. This offended James, but he gave worse offence to Buckingham. Buckingham's brother sought to marry the daughter of Coke, who assented to the match. Her mother carrying the girl off to prevent it, Bacon took her side in the consequent quarrel with Coke, fearing, as he confessed later to Buckingham, that 'this alliance would go near to lose him' Buckingham's favour, which might be transferred to Coke. Presuming upon his influence with Buckingham, Bacon wrote to him warning him not to allow his brother 'to marry into a disgraced house.' He persuaded the Council to summon Coke before the Star Chamber on a charge of 'riot and force' in carrying his daughter away from her mother's home. But the Secretary of State, being accused of aiding Coke, produced 'a letter of approbation of all his courses from the King' which non-plussed Coke's opponents. James and Buckingham severely reprimanded Bacon, the latter accusing him to all—as a friend at Court wrote to Bacon—'as if it were an inveterate custom with you to be unfaithful unto him, as you were to the Earls of Essex and Somerset,' and reproaching himself for 'not listening to others that dissuaded his affection for you and not to mount you so high.' Already, wrote his friend, 'There is laid up for you many petitions to His Majesty against you.' Coke had hurried to the Court and gained Buckingham's ear. Bacon's fall seemed at hand. Nothing saved him but the most abject submission. He wrote again and again to the King and to Buckingham, till the latter felt that he had learnt the lesson of obsequiousness once for all. According to Buckingham the King was

appeased with greater difficulty. He writes 'I was forced upon my knees to beg of His Majesty that he would put no public act of disgrace upon you and, as I dare say, no other person would have been patiently heard in this suit by His Majesty but myself.' How Bacon expressed his gratitude may easily be imagined. When the Court returned to London the marriage was celebrated and the rich dowry paid by Coke. Coke was re-admitted to the Council, but Bacon was restored to favour. Thus had he averted a disgrace which would have been no dishonour.

Bacon had learnt only too thoroughly the lesson of submission to Buckingham whose malign interference was beginning more and more to be felt in all departments of the State. Bacon who had expected to share in the government of the country found himself merely the favourite's tool. His soul was no longer his own. Scarcely was he restored to favour when Buckingham brought pressure to bear on him on behalf of a suitor in his Court. Bacon showed a little restiveness but finding his expostulation vain submitted. Henceforth as Gardiner puts it 'Bacon was exposed to a constant flow of letters from Buckingham asking him to show favour to this person or that.' In only one case however is Bacon's obsequiousness known to have resulted in the perversion of justice. After deciding a Chancery case against a Dr. Steward who had been guilty of fraud in the administration as guardian of the estate of his nephew, Bacon reopened the case at the dictation of Buckingham, who was friendly to Dr. Steward, and overturned his own judgment.

No wonder that an on-looker wrote 'His Lordship hath of late much insinuated into the King and Marquis' favour.' He was rewarded by being granted the higher rank of Lord Chancellor with an increase of salary of £600 in January 1618, and six months later was raised to the Peerage under the title Baron

Verulam. Meanwhile in all the State trials of the time he bore his part as the mouthpiece of the Court. His conduct in the trial of Raleigh recalls his treatment of Essex. There was the same accusation of hypocrisy and the same bullying of the accused. Against the dead Raleigh as against Essex too his pen was used by the Court to vindicate its action to the people. The Howards, jealous of Buckingham's influence, had put forward a rival to supplant him in the favour of the King. Their failure was followed by the punishment of themselves and their friends. In the trial of their head, Suffolk the Lord Treasurer, before the Star Chamber on the charge of corruption and embezzlement, Bacon did what was expected of him. Daily he reported to Buckingham the progress of the trial. Suffolk wrote a letter of submission to the King, Bacon kept it back. He refused to delay the trial that Suffolk might bring witnesses from Ireland. As he told Buckingham he did 'a little warm the business' by speeches calculated to prejudice the defendant's case. 'On another occasion he reports 'the evidence went well, I will not say I sometime help it as far as was fit for a Judge.'

Still more discreditable was his conduct in the trial of Yelverton, the Attorney-General, a friend of the Howards but distinguished in that age of servility by his sturdy independence. Alone he had stood by Bacon in the crisis of 1617 and dared in his behalf the vengeance of Buckingham. After Suffolk's fall Yelverton's was certain, but so far from defending him Bacon seems deliberately to have stirred up Buckingham to his ruin. He accuses him of remissness and mismanagement in the prosecution of Suffolk, and of half-heartedness in supporting the prerogative in the matter of monopolies. At last Yelverton gave his watchful foes a handle. Having received from James directions as to a new Charter which he was to draw up for the city of London, the Attorney-General

through inadvertence inserted some unimportant clauses which the King had not authorised. He was at once charged before the Star Chamber, and though the worst that could be said was that he had made a mistake, Bacon pressed the case to his ruin. He argued that mistake springs from want of respect, and taking the leading part throughout succeeded in securing a sentence of dismissal from office, a fine of £4,000 and imprisonment during the King's pleasure. Wherever it was possible to make a point however unfair against his former friend he took care to make it, and in the report of their triumph to Buckingham he writes 'How I stirred the Court I leave it to others to speak.'

While such was his work in the Star-Chamber, he did his best for the King also in Council, though his views do not commend themselves in the light of to-day. He proposed that torture should be applied to Peacock, a half-mad fellow who had used witchcraft to injure the King. Protesting that the King's poverty would be found graven on his heart as Calais on Mary's, he suggested devices for remedying it and aided in carrying them out. Thus he succeeded in persuading his colleagues on the Bench to impose a fine of £180,000 on certain Dutch merchants who had carried bullion out of the country. And when neither such expedients nor the retrenchment effected by the new Finance minister Cranfield availed, it was Bacon who again urged the King to summon Parliament and advised him how best it might be managed.

In January 1621 Bacon was at the climax of his prosperity. He was high in the favour of the King and favourite. He believed himself popular in the country. He had just published his most imposing work—the *Novum Organum*. He had just received his eighth promotion—to the title of Viscount St. Alban's. On January 22nd, 1621, he celebrated his sixtieth birthday by a banquet at York House, the

house of his birth, where amidst all the noble and intellectual society of the time Ben Jonson recited his 'Address to the Genius of the House,' in which with words which approaching events were to change to satire he complimented the host on his fortunate life—

Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full  
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.

His own servility had however undermined his fortune. When the King decided to summon Parliament he had consulted his Council as to how he might best conciliate it. In October 1620 a Committee was appointed for the 'perusing of the former grievances and of things of like nature which have come in since.' In the following month this Committee at the head of which was Bacon presented its report, in which it recommended that the King should redress certain grievances before Parliament met—on some of which a word of explanation is necessary. In the old days when trade depended upon the King's Peace, even internal trade was recognised as being under the control of the King. The royal Prerogative in this matter had gradually been restricted, but at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century certain vestiges remained. One of these was the right to grant Monopolies or Patents. Elizabeth had used this right to reward her servants, but the number and character of the grants became such as to interfere seriously with the trade and comfort of her subjects. To save the prerogative she made a virtue of necessity and cancelled most of her grants in 1601. From that time it was recognised that patents could rightly be granted only under certain conditions. It was required that before the grant of a patent was valid it must be pronounced good in law by the Judges and certified to be 'convenient' by the King's advisers. Convenience implied some such benefit as the encouragement of invention, the improvement of manufacture, the remedying of a glut or under-production,

the regulation of dangerous traffic. In his *Advice to Villiers* (1616, Bacon had written 'But especially care must be taken that Monopolies (which are the canker of all trades) be by no means admitted under the pretence or specious colour of the public good.' This advice Buckingham had disregarded. Upon his relatives and friends he had freely bestowed patents more or less lucrative, and no one had more lavishly certified their legality and convenience than the giver of that advice, now Lord Chancellor. The result was that in July 1620 an observer at the Court could write:— 'In truth the world doth even groan under the burthen of these perpetual Patents; which are become so frequent that whereas at the King's coming in there were complaints of some eight or nine Monopolies then in being, they are now said to be multiplied by so many scores.'

Among the grievances then dealt within the Report of the Committee Patents naturally were prominent. Passing over many which had created less widespread discontent on the ground that to direct notice to them would 'give more scandal that such things were granted than cause thanks that they be now revoked,' the Committee recommended that certain that were 'most in speech' and were most obnoxious should be withdrawn by the King. Foremost of these were three in which Buckingham was indirectly concerned. Of these Bacon wrote to him as follows: 'Your Lordship may find that in the number of Patents which we have represented as like to be stirred in by the Lower House of Parliament we have set down three which may concern some of your Lordship's special friends which I account as mine own friends; and so I showed when they were in suit. Specially the first two of them are more rumoured both by the vulgar and by the gentlemen yea and by the Judges themselves than any other Patents at this day..... Howsoever let me know your will and I will go your way.'

The King left the Council to decide, apparently showing some unwillingness to make any concession that would seem to restrict his Prerogative, and the Council decided, against Bacon's suggestion, to meet Parliament without first abating the grievances, though with the idea of conciliating opposition and obtaining supplies by doing so when Parliament brought them forward.

The new Parliament met January 30th, 1621, in a more complaisant mood than any other of the reign. But though they were anxious to work in harmony with the King, the members did their duty by the people. Bacon had hoped that they might busy themselves with the state of the Continent and the cause of the Protestant Elector Palatine and so pass over the questions of internal reform and the Prerogative. He was soon undeceived. Within a week of the opening of the Session a Committee of Grievances was appointed. Another was 'set to inquire into abuses in the Courts of Justice and receive petitions about them.' The objectionable Monopolies were at once assailed, the first and worst being Mompesson's Patent for Inns which Bacon had certified in 1616 to be both convenient and legal. The Committee reported this as 'good neither in law nor execution.' Buckingham and the King at once shielded themselves behind those who had certified the patents—the Referees as they were called. James expressly addressed the Upper House on March 10th throwing the blame 'upon others who misled him.' Bacon as the chief of these, seeing his danger, warned the King against the mistake of surrendering his counsellors and threw himself upon Buckingham's help. Coke and Cranfield pressed the matter in the Commons, both having private quarrels with Bacon, but, the King and favourite agreeing to put an end to monopolies, the peril seemed likely to pass. At this point however a new danger opened before him. The Commons' Committee on the Courts

of Justice had received against Bacon 'divers petitions, many frivolous and clamorous, many of weight and consequence.' His management of the Court of Chancery was shown to be faulty. His servants were not innocent of scandalous abuses, and Cranfield accused the Chancellor himself of improperly discharging insolvent debtors. Two days after this however matters took a more serious turn. Two complaints were made to the Committee that the Chancellor had been guilty of corruption. A certain Aubrey asserted that while a suitor before him in Chancery he had presented Bacon with £100, and a certain Egerton that under similar circumstances he had given him £400, nominally for past services as Counsel. In each case the Chancellor had given judgment against the corrupt suitor. On the Committee's Report, the Commons laid the matter before the Lords, as affecting a Peer, and left it with them. The strain made Bacon ill. A proposal by the King that he should appoint a tribunal was rejected—and in the end he left the judgment to the Lords. Before the Committees which they appointed new witnesses constantly appeared, bringing new charges against the falling Chancellor. Bacon's hopes lay in the intervention of James and the influence of Buckingham. But James prided himself on his justice as the British Solomon and was unwilling to seem to shield corruption. The case took its course. Bacon, too unwell to attend, appealed piteously to King and Peers, protesting his innocence in heart. If his acts condemned him, his intentions were pure. The utmost he was guilty of was mistake—strange pleas to come from the prosecutor of Essex and the Judge of Yelverton. Buckingham tried to save him by urging the King to dissolve Parliament, but the King refused. Almost daily the list of charges grew, one of his own servants, John Churchill, making himself conspicuous in bringing evidence. On April 19th the House



gathered all the charges into one brief. When it came informally before Bacon he saw at once that defence was impossible, and immediately sent to the Peers by the Prince of Wales a confession of his guilt in general terms (April 22.) It was useless he said to single out details to which he might justly object. There was 'matter enough to move me to desert the defence and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.' He begged the King to save him from a sentence of the House, asserting that 'the very taking away the Seal upon my general submission will be as much in example for these four hundred years as any further severity. But because he that taketh bribes is apt to give bribes I will go further and present your Majesty with a bribe. For if your Majesty give me peace and leisure I will present your Majesty with a good history of England and a better digest of your laws.' But James would not interfere. When 'The humble submission and supplication of the Lord Chancellor' was read to the Lords, it was unanimously decided to be insufficient. The definite charges made against him must be definitely confessed or definitely met. It was only due to the Commons that when they had accused a Peer of corruption the case should be properly tried, not shelved by a general submission before the articles had been formally laid before the culprit. This was now done and he was required to confess or defend himself on each. At once he acknowledged corruption and drew up a definite confession on each charge. Twenty-eight articles in all formed the accusation and his confession. One of these referred to his careless indifference to the exactions of his servants, twelve to gifts or loans from suitors while their case was before him, three to gifts from rival companies between whom he was arbitrating, and ten to the reception of presents after a suit was ended. The Lords' investigations had thus practically confirmed.

his declaration to the King before they were complete. He had then distinguished 'three cases of bribery supposed in a Judge,' (1) 'a corrupt bargain' of which he wrote 'I take myself to be innocent.....in my heart,' (2) 'carelessness in receiving a gift while the cause is going on' as to which he 'confessed I doubt in some particulars I may be faulty,' and (3) 'receiving a gift after it is ended' of which he declared 'I conceived it to be no fault.'

The Lords were scarcely prepared for this complete abandonment of defence. To a deputation whom they sent to ask him if his signature was genuine, he said 'It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed.' Since he was too ill to come to the House, the verdict and sentence were pronounced in his absence. Unanimously the Lords passed their verdict 'The Lord Chancellor is guilty of the matters wherewith he is charged.' Over the sentence there was more discussion. The King had already taken the Great Seal from him. The idea of punishing him by death was at once set aside. Southampton's proposal to degrade him from the Peerage was also rejected. It was unanimously resolved that he was never again to sit in Parliament. Buckingham pleaded that this might suffice, urging that he was too sick to live long. But these penalties were added, Buckingham alone dissenting:—(1) a fine of £40,000, (2) Imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure, (3) He was to be incapable of holding any public office, (4) He was forbidden to come within the verge of the Court.

Over the exact measure of Bacon's guiltiness in the matters with which he was charged discussion has long raged. Some forgetting how our ideas of right have developed have regarded him as being as guilty as a Judge who acted to-day as he did would be. Others have written on the other hand as if he had been the innocent victim of party spite. Perhaps

Bacon's own view is not far from the truth. He confessed 'the sentence just and for reformation fit,' yet claimed to be the justest Chancellor since his father's death. He had been culpably careless in receiving money from suitors while their cases were in Court. But in none of the cases mentioned was he accused of giving a corrupt verdict. In most cases raised he had decided against the donor. In others he had simply confirmed verdicts already given. Still on these counts surely the sentence was just. To the charges that he had received gifts from successful suitors after their suits were ended from the first he had one reply—he conceived it to be no fault. It was a practice rife in the Courts and indeed in those days these presents were recognised as a regular perquisite, supplementing a Judge's official salary. Bacon's disgrace put an end to it for ever. The sentence was 'for reformation fit.' The pity of it was that he, in so many respects the foremost man of the day, should not have seen what his accusers and Judges saw, that the practice was indefensible. But that for money he had ever sold justice was not established, and scarcely indeed suggested. In this respect indeed his hands were pure. Like his victims Essex and Raleigh and Yelverton, he too could claim that his intentions were purer than his deeds. With his condemnation for corruption, the charges of mismanagement were suffered to lapse, and the proceedings against the Referees were dropped when the King and Buckingham declared for a Bill prohibiting Monopolies, which however was rejected by the Lords. It was perhaps as well for Bacon that his fall came as it did. For more worthy of censure than his negligence and dulness of moral sense, which he shared with many of his time, was his servile purchase of Buckingham's favour by the prostitution of his place and talents not for money but for office, a course useful indeed to the favourite and the King but

supremely dangerous to the liberties of the nation. Few if any but would rate the guilt for which he was condemned lower than the guilt from condemnation for which his fall saved him.

The sentence pronounced upon him though seemingly heavy was in fact light. In response to a request of the Lords, who had begun to think that, through his sickness and the King's consideration for him, he would escape this mark of disgrace, he was actually committed to the Tower, but it was understood that his imprisonment was but nominal, and in three days he was set at liberty. The fine also was rather a mark of the heinousness of his guilt than a real punishment. As the first charge on his estate it shielded him from his other creditors, until it was remitted after no long time. His exclusion from the Verge of the Court was also ended by a royal proclamation, when after one refusal he consented to surrender York Place to Buckingham indirectly. The only penalties which remained in force a year after his sentence were his exclusion from Parliament and his disability to hold office. With the partial remission of the sentence came forgetfulness of the seriousness of the offence. He saw no reason why the King should not employ him again, even in spite of Parliament, and though he had ostensibly given himself over to literary and philosophical pursuits, again and again he thrust himself under the notice of James as a candidate for office. The old struggle between the active political life and the quiet pursuit of knowledge which had always made it possible for him to represent himself as kept out of his native atmosphere—whichever he might for the time be engaged in—continued to the last.

But James was not the man to employ a Judge duly condemned for bribery, so that Bacon was fain to give himself up to the pursuits from which he had so long been more or less debarred. Since his appointment

as Attorney-General his only philosophical work had been the frequent revision of his *Novum Organum* which he had published in October 1620. Now however he was free from the entanglement of public business, and the days flew happily by as he studied, experimented and wrote among his literary dependants and friends in retirement at his Gorhambury house. In 1622 he published his admirable *History of Henry VII.*, and various scientific works—his hankering after a political life appearing however in the publication of the 'Advertisement touching a Holy War.' In 1623 he wrote his *History of Life and Death*, and published his *De Augmentis*, the greatly enlarged Latin form of the *Advancement of Learning*. This year too he sought an office of dignity and ease to which he might have added lustre and which might have afforded him a congenial sphere—that of Provost of Eton; but it had been already promised to another. In 1624 were given to the world his *Apophtegms*, which has been described as the best collection of witty sayings in existence, and his *Translation of certain Psalms*, both made to solace himself in sickness. The following year he published the third and final Edition of his *Essays*.

Many of his hopes it is true were blighted in these years of retirement. Office was to be his no more. His petitions to the King to make it possible for him to live out of debt and want were unheeded. His sentence was not wholly annulled, so that he was not saved as he piteously sought from 'dying in ignominy.' But debt never troubled him much; to necessity he was never exposed; if office was denied him he had abundant resources in himself; and from the thought of ignominy he could easily turn with that happy power of absorption in work which never failed. His Secretary, describing him at this time, says 'He was always the same both in sorrow and joy, as a philosopher ought,' and holds him up to all as 'a

memorable example of virtue, kindness, peacefulness and patience.' Thus amid the admiration of servants, the kindness of friends, the quiet routine of a country home, the delights of literature, the pleasures of scientific pursuits, he found abundant compensation for his exile from office and Court. One solace that might have been looked for perhaps was wanting. What the cause of estrangement was is unknown, but his wife is not mentioned during this period, save that in his will 'for just and great causes' he revokes his former provision for her and leaves her to 'her right' only.

His end came a year after the accession of Charles I. In March 1626 he was riding from London to Highgate, meditating on modes of preserving flesh from decay. Suddenly conceiving the idea that cold would do this, and anxious to experiment forthwith, he alighted, bought a fowl, and stuffed it with snow. In doing so he caught a chill which brought on a fever of which he died on Easter Sunday morning, a fortnight later.

In his Will he had left directions for the foundation of two well-paid lectureships at Cambridge or Oxford in Natural Philosophy. But he died, as he had lived, in debt, his assets scarcely reaching one-third of his liabilities, so that alike his legacies to friends and his intended endowments of science came to nothing. Thus we mark, as in life, so in death, the characteristic combination of kindness of heart, great schemes, good intentions, sanguineness of estimate, and shortcoming in practice.

#### BACON'S CHARACTER.

The foregoing sketch of Bacon's Life might have been left to tell its own tale but for the notoriety of some of the various views expressed as to Bacon's character. The eulogistic biographer, the iconoclastic critic, the antithetical epigrammatist have found

in Bacon a character open to their varied treatment. One has explained away all seeming defects, till Bacon seems compact of goodness. Another has painted each fault in the most glaring colour, till his character seems all evil. And another brings the two views together, and shows us two Bacons in one, the private full of excellence, the public false and corrupt. Perhaps the prevalent view has been hitherto that of Pope who uses Bacon as the illustration of the compatibility of great knowledge and genius with an evil character.

'If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined  
The brightest, wisest, meanest of mankind.'

But the world knows more of Bacon than it did in Pope's days, and is better able alike to fix his place in the ranks of intellect and to judge upon his character. If few are now prepared to assign to Bacon the supremacy in knowledge and thought which was claimed for him by his admirers of last century, equally few would condemn him to the depth of infamy which should attend the meanest of mankind.

The antithesis is exaggerated in each part. The eagerness to point a moral has led the poet and multitudes of his readers into a false estimate at once of Bacon's parts and of his vices.

And yet it is scarcely possible to exaggerate Bacon's parts. In these days of specialists we have learnt that real greatness requires the concentration of one's powers on a few objects, at most. Bacon suffered by a diffuseness of aim. And it is rather for what he might have achieved in any one pursuit than what he did achieve that men now call him great. But perhaps we should fall back upon the test of earlier times and judge him not by supreme achievements in any one pursuit, but by the number of pursuits in which he showed his ability to achieve a certain success. There have been greater scholars, greater lawyers, greater statesmen, greater philosophers, greater scientists, greater orators, greater writers. But who has

united all these characters in himself as Bacon did? Remarkable in each of them, so that in any list of the English representatives of each class his name would occur, he is most remarkable in the versatility which enabled him to shine in all. He had many interests, and while he gave his mind to each, his immense intellectual power enabled him to excel in its pursuit.

His scholarship was wide. The reading of his earlier years gave him a grasp of the literature of the past which he never lost. His allusions and quotations show that he never ceased to read even in his busiest years. His knowledge of Law was 'disparaged' by Coke, but was evidently greater than that of all his other contemporaries. As a statesman he might have ranked among the foremost had he fallen on better days. In the opinion of Mr. S. R. Gardiner, had James given himself up to Bacon's guidance, England might never have known the Revolutions of the Sixteenth Century. The great historian seems however to overlook Bacon's defects as a politician, and to attach too little importance to Bacon's sanguineness and carelessness in estimating what he could do. Of his position among philosophers and scientists a more detailed estimate will be given later. But at least it may be said that in this respect he was the most prominent Englishman of his day. The qualities which give him his eminence as a writer we shall also gangleter. What he was as an orator let Ben Jonson say in oft-quoted words written after Bacon's death. 'Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language (when he could spare a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his (its) own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss.



He commanded where he spoke and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end.'

It is the intellectual power of Bacon combined with its adaptability that gives the key to his life.

Nature intended Bacon for a student. Science claimed him for her own. From the beginning he felt himself 'called' to a life of Philosophy. He saw in such a life the sphere in which he could best serve mankind. And at first he cherished nothing but the desire to devote himself to this career. Even a philosopher however needs sustenance, and in 1592 Bacon is compelled to face the question of a livelihood. He appeals to Burghley for 'some middle place I could discharge,' giving as his reasons his anxiety to deserve well of the Queen and his friends, especially Burghley, the meanness of his estate, and 'the commandment of more wits than a man's own' which he would be able to secure were he in some position of influence.' 'For' he writes 'I have taken all knowledge to be my province.' Failing Burghley's help he adds 'I will sell the inheritance that I have and purchase some lease of quick revenue of some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service and become some sorry book-maker or a true pioneer in the mine of truth.' With this attitude little fault can be found. The philosophic life which God intended him to lead holds the first place in his thoughts, the office he asks is sought only to enable him to lead it more effectually. And in all his best moments till the end of his life Bacon recognised his vocation. In 1597 in his Dedication of the Essays to his brother Anthony he expresses his longing to confine himself 'to these contemplations and studies for which I am best fitted.' In 1603 in a Proem to his 'Interpretation of Nature' he

renounces politics for philosophy. 'When I found that my zeal was mistaken for ambition and my life had already reached the turning-point and my breaking health reminded me how ill I could afford to be so slow, and I reflected moreover that in leaving undone the good that I could do by myself alone and applying myself to that which could not be done without the help and consent of others, I was by no means discharging the duty that lay upon me, I put all those thoughts (of office) aside and in pursuance of my old determination, betook myself wholly to this work (of interpreting Nature).'

Unfortunately however Bacon did not abide by this resolution, and, as we have seen, from 1604 onwards to 1621 became increasingly absorbed in political affairs. Yet his conscience was not quiet. Again and again is the cry wrung from him that he has departed from his duty. 'Mulum incola fuit anima mea'—'My soul has long been a sojourner,' dwelling in alien and uncongenial pursuits—he writes again and again, as he thinks of the pleasures of learning sacrificed for place. To this thought he returns in the pathetic prayer he wrote at the time of his fall. 'Thousand have been my sins and ten thousand my transgressions' he confesses, but *this* is reserved as their culmination. 'I confess before thee that I am debtor to Thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have mis-spent in things for which I was least fit; so as I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for my Saviour's sake.'

'The history of Bacon's life is a record of the temptations by which he was allured from philosophy, of struggles, penitences, relapses and final failure.' So Dr. Abbott writes, and scarcely overstates the case.

Nor were Bacon's penitences unnatural, in view of

the estimate he set upon his vocation. For as he tells us in the Proem he believed that by devoting himself to scientific discovery, he might become, so specially gifted was he, 'the benefactor of the human race, the Extender of the Kingdom of Man over the Universe, the Champion of human liberty, the Destroyer of Man's bonds.'

With this keen sense of his vocation, how then did Bacon come to turn from it? It has been suggested that his financial difficulties were the cause of his degeneration—that finding himself involved in debts at an early age and never being able to free himself from them, he was compelled to seek office and when in office to cling to it in a manner which would under other circumstances have been impossible to him. Doubtless this motive was not absent, but Bacon's financial liabilities always weighed lightly on him, and he has himself given more natural grounds for his conduct. Some of these have already been mentioned in referring to his appeal to Burghley. One of them may well be emphasised. Bacon constantly spoke of his need of helpers if his life-work was to be done, and by that need felt himself justified in seeking influential friends and raising himself to a position in which he could command assistance. 'One must employ factors and merchants' to collect facts, he writes. In his *Commentarius Solutus* he jots down the names of men who on account either of their ability or their influence are to be *drawn in* to assist him in his scientific schemes. These included the collection of observations in all branches of Science on the widest possible scale—a work as he saw 'for a King or Pope or some College or Order' rather than for an individual. Failing the King, he persuaded himself that he might succeed, could he exercise the wide influence of a leading minister of the Crown.

Other motives no doubt combined with this. His love of pomp and power, his consciousness of philan-

thropic aims, his passion for being occupied, his anxiety to show 'pragmatical men' that learning does not disqualify for practical business, all conspired to tempt him from the path of duty. But most of all would he be drawn away by his intellectual force. He had been 'imbued in politics from childhood,' and when mediocrities were muddling the affairs of the kingdom or monarchs were stumbling along, Bacon's training and insight often enabled him to see what line the national welfare or the sovereign's necessities demanded. Too sanguine and self-confident he certainly was, but it is doubtful whether any British politician between Burghley and Pym except Sir Henry Neville had half the political ability of Bacon. It was this sense of mastery of the political problems of the day and his impatience at the shiftlessness of the successive ministers that drew from Bacon the copious letters of advice on religious and political affairs with which he tried to lead Elizabeth and James, and it was the same self-confidence that led him to seek office in the first instance, to cling to it till his fall, and even after his disgrace to advise the King and hope for restoration.

The more exciting career of politics with its show and variety, its publicity and power, its material promise and its present gain allured him from the quiet and steady pursuit of knowledge, till he could but look back on misused talent and a mis-spent life.

For Bacon's choice was made not between two pure careers, but between a path of beneficent philosophical study and a course of demoralising intrigue. A political career may have its dangers now, but political life in the days of Bacon was a weltering mass of corruption. James I. declared that if he dismissed all his servants who took bribes he would have none left. And bribery was less marked than the 'practice,' the falsehood and cunning of faction against faction, and rival against rival. When

Bacon turned from philosophy to politics, he knew how he was lowering his standard of life. He might be able to turn power when he had attained it to the service of Science, but none knew better than he the meanness and trickery, the simulation and dissimulation, the cunning and the treachery through which he must pass to secure and retain that power. Machiavellianism was the road to power, and his *Essays* prove beyond dispute how thoroughly Bacon understood this. If a man sought power, he could not refuse to tread that road. 'It is' says Bacon 'the solecism of power to think to command the end and yet not to endure the mean.' The aptest of Machiavelli's pupils, he set himself without compunction 'to endure the mean' to his end. Hence his treachery to Essex, his adulation of Salisbury, his sycophancy to James, his brutality to Somerset and Yelverton and Raleigh, his corrupt truckling to Buckingham. So that, even if he be credited in his pursuit of power with the purest desire to use it benevolently, he cannot be acquitted of surrendering himself to a course of ever-deepening evil in the very doubtful anticipation that he might from base means secure noble ends. For, as his *Commentarius Solutus* and other writings show, his treacheries and simulations were not faults in which he was overtaken, not sudden temptations by which he was surprised, but incidents often deliberately planned in a cold-blooded system of policy. Whether Machiavelli carried out the Machiavellian principles or not, there is no doubt that Bacon did. He at least perfected the art of self-advancement by self-centred intrigue, and followed it with little more compunction than had it been the noblest of the arts.

The demoralisation that followed Bacon's choice of office-seeking rather than the pursuit of knowledge as his aim may be traced point by point in his life. Yet this does but bring out more clearly one remark-

able feature in his character. Of his vast confidence in his own powers mention has already been made. His self-complacency, his satisfaction with his conduct, was almost as vast. Apart from the occasional regrets for a life of leisured study, he seems to see little to repent of in his life of subservience while it lasted. Never man had greater power of self-delusion. He forgets his baseness in the noble ends it was to secure. Of his bribes he never thinks until they are brought into public notice. Even after his disgrace he shows a tendency to regard himself almost as a just man suffering wrongfully through the petty spite of private foes.

Both his self-confidence and his self-complacency sprang from the combination in him of self-centredness and optimism. Self certainly loomed large in Bacon's mind. His Essays on 'Parents and Children,' 'Marriage,' 'Friendship,' show how incapable he was of any kind of real affection. The old Greek proverb of worldliness was often on his lips 'Love as if you were sometime to hate, and hate as if you were sometime to love.' And his whole life—and especially his connexion with Essex—proves how thoroughly he acted up to his precepts. Yet this selfishness was compatible with kindness. Nothing pleased him better than that others should be helped by him. To his dependants he was unvaryingly benevolent, and one and all speak of his goodness. But this was only of a part with the pleasure he felt in having all the accompaniments of power—troops of followers, servants, helpers, contributing to his own magnificence. His ostentation equalled his ambition, and even in his ruin he maintained almost as much state as in his prosperity.

Compatible with his self-centredness too was his innate desire to benefit mankind as a whole. As we have seen he could subordinate this to personal gain, but it filled a large place in his character. He felt

himself born to be, and really longed to be and be recognised as, the great Benefactor of Mankind, to whom men should owe a mastery over Nature which would make all its agencies useful instruments in their hands. But with all these great schemes in which he himself was to be the main agent, he shows no special humanity when he himself was not concerned. He treats war as a mere incident in the political game without any thought of its agonies. The love of men, especially men of science, for the beasts and birds of Nature seems wanting in him. No man with a heart could have written of the torture of a bird as he does in Essay XIII. The only sign of such love recorded of him is his rebuke to one who ill-treated Bacon's dog, 'Every gentleman loves a dog.'

His easy optimism led him to over-estimate himself and to overlook his defects and difficulties. He never could believe that the House of Commons could not be managed. Up to the very moment of his fall he regarded himself as secure in the esteem of the people and Parliament. He believed his own advice was best, but was always confident that if it was set aside he could, if so commissioned, carry through successfully the inferior. As we shall see later, some of his philosophical schemes were as crudely over-sanguine as his political. His optimism extended to everything and everybody connected with him. It is probable that he never fully realised the weakness of James or the selfishness of Buckingham. The abuses of his Court of Chancery he never saw. For the laxity and corruption of his servants he had no eyes. His debts he always under-estimated; his assets as his will shows he exaggerated. His confidence in the strength of his country even at a time when its military power was insignificant and its navy neglected, may perhaps be pardoned.

Next to his 'parts,' his self-centredness, and his

optimism, must be mentioned his magnificence. This shows itself in every part of his life. His household was excessively large. His expenditure was lavish. The state he kept up was almost royal. In gratuities to servants and messengers as Chancellor he spent £1,000 a year. His great income was quite unequal to his expenses. And throughout his life it had always been the same. So long as he could have show and pomp, cost was forgotten. The same magnificence extended to his inward life as well as his outward. His goodness has been described as 'grandiose.' All his plans were on the large scale. His hopes were at all times magnificent. His chief literary productions were cast in the same mould. His Latin style was commonly what Cicero would have called 'Asiatic.' His mind in its comprehensive survey ranged over all Nature and embraced all Mankind.

But if he believed in himself, he was able to make others believe in him too. The friends of his fallen estate have left on record their appreciation not only of his greatness but also of his goodness.

And in this connexion it is worthy of notice that throughout his life he counted in the circle of his friends many whose praise may well cover a multitude of sins. It is not only that a student of human nature like Ben Jonson appreciated the real goodness of Bacon. A greater tribute to it still is the lasting friendship of Bishop Andrewes and George Herbert, two of the saintliest names in the roll of the English Church: Bacon claimed to be a religious man, and certainly religion had its part in his singularly complex life. How profoundly interested he was in the ecclesiastical controversies of his earlier days needs no further exposition. How familiar he was with the Bible and with the system of Christian doctrine almost every page of his writings will testify. No one has brought more effectually out the contrast between



the moral power of Christianity and the practical barrenness of the ancient systems of philosophy. It is true that he regarded religion as requiring to be dealt with apart from Science, so that Reason had little to do with faith. In theory at least he admitted its claim to regulate his life, and though his self-complacency and perhaps his magnificence at times made him deaf to its commands, its consolation in trouble at any rate was very real to him.

Such then was Bacon—a man endowed with the brightest parts, alike of intellectual power and of winsomeness, acknowledging himself divinely called to devote them to the service of man in the development of his knowledge of Nature, yet turning them to the attainment and maintenance of place and pomp; hiding his fall from himself through his power of self-delusion; religious at heart, nowise a conscious hypocrite; filled with a comprehensive benevolence, yet setting up self as the centre of his universe; taking almost a cynically practical view of the wicked world around him, yet utterly unpractical in the management of his private affairs; oddly combining his father's genial commonsense with his mother's cultured idealism; corrupt and intriguing in his conduct, yet ever cherishing the loftiest conception of the possibilities and duties of life; the herald of the kingdom of Man over Nature, the type of man's blindness to the subtle allurements of worldliness and his weakness in face of temptation.

#### BACON'S PLACE IN LITERATURE.

Even apart from his philosophical work Bacon's writings would give him a prominent place in the history of Literature. Leaving on one side even the *Advancement of Learning* which is rather popular than technical and which Church calls 'the first great book in English prose of secular interest,' and postponing consideration of the immortal *Essays*

in which he succeeded in a unique undertaking which defies even attempts at imitation, he wrote at least three works which would have made him memorable. These are *The New Atlantis*, *The History of Henry VII*, and *The Wisdom of the Ancients*. The first of these—a work of imagination on the lines of More's Utopia—was intended to sketch the constitution of an ideal state in which provision should be made for the interpretation of Nature. It remains a fragment, but to the description of 'Solomon's House'—the great College for the study of Nature—which it contains, was due the foundation in 1645 of the College of Philosophy from which the Royal Society sprang. It is one of the most characteristic of Bacon's writings—rich and magnificent in style, instinct with his love of knowledge and inspired by that sanguineness of project which is one of his most strongly-marked traits.

In his 'History of Henry VII' Bacon did much to place English historical literature on right lines. The narrative is lucid, orderly, and based on research; the character of the King is clearly grasped and vividly drawn. Like many a book now little read its importance in the development of literature is by no means small. 'The Wisdom of the Ancients' is an attempt to show the right way of approaching classical mythology. Unlike some who treated the myths as fact and others who read into them their own extravagant fancies, Bacon sketches out a method of interpretation by which he sees in each a parable embodying some truth of Physics or Morals, or an allegory on such a subject as War or Imposture. The sanity of his interpretations as compared with the confused mysticism of others of the day set an example in the matter of the use of these myths which has borne good fruit in the self-restraint of literature from that day to this.

On his other miscellaneous writings little need be

said. His political and controversial pamphlets are interesting as contributions to history rather than to literature. His religious writings, meditations and prayers illustrate his character and help to explain the seriousness and stately solemnity which often mark his other writings. His very unpoetical translation of certain Psalms into English verse is only interesting as showing the utter want of a critical spirit in those enthusiasts who persist in the face of every possible argument in believing that Bacon wrote Shakspeare's Plays: His Apophthegms add one more evidence of his humour and his power of pithy expression.

At times alike his philosophical work and his influence on the progress of Science have received perhaps exaggerated applause, as when he was almost deified in the Eighteenth century as the embodiment of the critical spirit. By some perhaps under a natural reaction they have been unduly depreciated. But no one who keeps his mind unprejudiced can fail to see that few have done more for knowledge than did Bacon.

A philosopher in the narrow sense of the word he was not. He himself said that he did not 'wish to found a new sect in philosophy.' The comparative absence of Metaphysical inquiry from his writings has led to his depreciation by some who confuse knowledge with speculation. The student of Mental Philosophy will find little to repay attention in Bacon's views under that head. And of morals he writes almost entirely from the stand-point of a man of the world.

But to the title of a philosopher in the proper sense of the word few have a better claim. He was essentially a lover of knowledge. It is characteristic that to *Truth* he gave the first place in his Essays, and no less characteristic are the words in which he lays down 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.* Nor was it for himself alone that he sought truth and knowledge. As we have seen in considering his character he regarded himself as a messenger chosen by God to reveal to Man the knowledge of Nature. 'For the glory of God and the relief of man's estate' he was like a later Moses to bring men out of the bondage of ignorance into a Land of Promise blessed with all that makes life rich. 'Knowledge is Power' and to diffuse power amongst all was his noble aim.

To secure this end it was necessary at once to prevent men's minds from being drawn away from the pursuit of real knowledge and to furnish them with a method by which Truth might be attained. Bacon is never weary of protesting against the misdirection of intellectual energy which marked the Middle Ages.

Mediæval education was bound up with what is known as Scholasticism—the attempt to harmonise the systems of Aristotle and the Catholic Church. It dealt in universals and abstract ideas. The main controversies which characterised it were as to the theories of Realism and Nominalism. The result of it was a devotion to Dialectic and the absorption of the thought of the age in speculation. Natural science was neglected. Subtlety in hair-splitting and classification took the place of observation, and authority usurped the seat of Nature as the ultimate appeal.

It was as the cause of this misdirection of energy that Bacon assailed Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. To his mind they were perverters of human thought. Under an impulse not unknown in our own day he looked back to primitive speculation as being superior to its successors, and ascribed to the Egyptian and earlier Greek philosophers merits which they scarcely display. So much foundation he had for his view, that while Thales and other early philosophers were

concerned with Physics, Socrates turned Greek philosophy to the study of man. He felt the barrenness of the physical speculations of his time and deliberately sought a more fruitful field of inquiry. The result was that while Greek *Physica* is forgotten, there has scarcely been any advance upon Greek *Metaphysics* from that day to this. Aristotle, the great systematiser of that newer Greek Philosophy, imposed his sway on the Arab conquerors of Africa and Spain, ruled with almost unchallenged authority Mediæval Europe, and after all the criticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stands to-day as high in the respect of thinkers as ever.

But in the Middle Ages the attempt to combine in one hard system Aristotelianism and orthodox dogma created an Aristotelian tyranny which bade fair to prevent the growth of any intellectual life. The system despite all the subtlety of its contrivers could not be consistent. Bacon's revolt against it dated from his sixteenth year while he was still at Cambridge. From that time onward, confusing Aristotle with the Aristotelians of his own day, Bacon assailed his great predecessor in season and out of season, realising that till the slavery to 'Aristotle' was broken, progress in Scientific Knowledge was impossible.

If Scholasticism had come to be a bane to the pursuit of knowledge, Mysticism—its only serious rival in the world of mediæval thought—had brought with it dangers scarcely less. To its fancifulness, which saw resemblances and relations between the most diverse objects, were largely due the falsehoods of mediæval Science—its Alchemy, Astrology and other misleading studies. Sentimental impulses and impatience of research subjected men to the dominion of that strange mythology which made of the science of the centuries preceding Bacon the strange jumble of fact and fancy that it was. For example it requires an effort to-day to realise that the medicine of

Elizabethan times could ever have been respected or was anything but conscious quackery based upon the ignorant superstition of the masses.

These were the two main factors that influenced the general culture of the time when Bacon began to write. Each depended for its supremacy on authority. Scholasticism assumed that Aristotle and Catholic tradition were infallible. The corrupted Mysticism of Science postulated the truth of the relations between things which its fancy detected. The result was intellectual bondage. It is true that the Renaissance had set up Plato as a rival to Aristotle and the Reformation had embodied a protest against the Papal right to suppress liberty of thought. But old customs die hard. When it is remembered that the encouragement of the study of Natural Science in English Universities dates as it were only from yesterday, it is scarcely surprising that despite Renaissance and Reformation the old system remained still in vogue in Bacon's days.

In his 'Praise of Knowledge,' while acknowledging that many students of the Middle ages and 'many in the Universities of Europe at this day' had 'greater wits far above mine own,' Bacon continues 'But alas they learn nothing there but to believe; first, to believe that others know that which they know not; and after, that themselves know that which they know not.' Not alone in religion were the Middle Ages the Ages of Faith. The intellectual world was in bondage to the written word.

As in all such periods of transition, so after the Renaissance individuals found their freedom; and long before Bacon some bright spirits had broken away from the restraints of tradition and had dared to think, observe and experiment for themselves. Earliest and perhaps greatest of all was Roger Bacon who in many points strangely anticipated the work of his better known namesake. The fifteenth

century saw Scholasticism attacked by Valla, Pomponazzi and many others. The sixteenth century produced the first serious revolt against the rule of Aristotle. The leader was a certain Bernardino Telesio whose writings can be shown to have influenced Bacon. But the influence of these and similar revolts was narrow. Aristotle remained the master of thought and scholasticism still dominated the education of the West. The Inquisition lent its aid to maintain established beliefs. Bruno, one of the best known of the intellectual reformers, was burnt to death and somewhat later Galileo imprisoned.

Galileo's name will serve to show that as in opposition to Aristotle so in his denunciation of fancy's displacement of research Bacon had his predecessors. Here also Roger Bacon may be taken as the pioneer. Copernicus had died before Bacon was born. Contemporary with him was Paracelsus who may be regarded as the first to study Chemistry. Only a few years younger was Vesalius with whom Anatomy may be said to have begun. Tycho Brahe, the great astronomer, and Gilbert who initiated the study of Magnetism did their main work while Bacon was a lad, while Galileo's work, Napier's invention of Logarithms, Kepler's discovery of the Laws of Celestial Motion and Harvey's observation of the circulation of the blood were achieved quite independently of any influence which their contemporary Bacon exerted in favour of experiment. Indeed as an experimentalist and observer Bacon cannot be ranked along with these.

If then Bacon is not as has been sometimes ignorantly claimed for him the pioneer in the revolt against the authority of Aristotle and the author of experiment in Science, what is his position? The answer need not be doubtful. His is the great name which marks the conscious break of Science from the Mediæval to the Modern.

Every reform has its pioneers, isolated and more or less obscure, leavening Society slowly in the midst of opposition till the heaven-sent leader comes, confident, organising, turning the struggle into victory. As there were Protestants before Luther, so were there scientists before Bacon. But as in the one case, so in the other, it is the cheery faith and the impressive personality of the leader that is associated with the triumph of his cause. A Telescope appealed to the few, Bacon made his influence felt throughout the world. In the common sense of the word it is true his philosophical works are not popular. But as Macaulay says 'he moved the intellects which moved the world.' Before Bacon the scholastic system dominated even Protestant education. With Bacon's work it ceased to rule. Before Bacon, dialectic was the pursuit of scholars. He set up Nature for their study. Before Bacon experiment was an eccentricity. From his day it was in honour. His name sums up the movement of which he was indeed a great part—that transition from the dead dogmatic systems of the Middle Ages to the progressive Science of the modern world. The grave-clothes of dialectic subtlety, inaccuracy in detail, loose generalisations, which he brings from the past, may lead one to rank him as the last philosopher of the Middle Ages, or the life of inquiry and projects and sanguine visions of the future may lead another to call him the first of the Moderns. He may be not the Joshua to give men possession of the realm of knowledge, but merely, as Cowley called him, the Moses looking forth over those realms with prophetic vision. But at least with him bondage ended and liberty and life returned to Science, and from him dates an unvaried progress.

There is one feature of this change which he did so much to effect which cannot be passed over without remark. 'The aim of the Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the



Baconian philosophy was to supply our vulgar wants.' So writes Macaulay in a characteristic antithesis. The one sentence is as exaggerated as the other. Bacon loved knowledge for its own sake as well as for its results. He as well as Plato could enjoy the contemplation of Truth. Still his aim was mainly a practical one, to benefit mankind, to confer upon it the advantages of understanding how to make use of the powers of Nature. Macaulay does not exaggerate when he adds 'The philosophy of Bacon began in observations and ended in arts.' His sneers at the barrenness of Greek philosophy have been deservedly condemned, but they are not useless if they enable us to realise more fully the anxiety for 'fruit' and the dissatisfaction with the lifeless Aristotelianism of the schools of his day which drove Bacon into the ranks of scientific reform.

Bacon then is the great Reformer in the intellectual world. He is the modern counterpart of Socrates. The Athenian turned philosophy from Physics to Metaphysics: the Englishman from Metaphysics to Physics.

That this change was due to him has been gratefully acknowledged by scientists of all nations. Diderot in the Prospectus of the great *Encyclopédie* wrote 'If we emerge from this vast operation, we shall owe it mainly to the chancellor Bacon.' Kant recognised in him 'one of the greatest physicists of modern times.'

His constant advocacy of scientific pursuits, the matchless style of his works, and the phrases never to be forgotten with which they abound, his pride in his mission, the influence he could exert as the highest subject of the Crown, all combined to raise Natural Philosophy to honour. When experiment was confined to some crack-brained alchemists, science might be lightly treated. But when the sanest ablest man of his time gave himself to it, it became the fashion.

The Royal Society owes its foundation to the impulse Bacon gave to scientific research, and as the years passed his influence increased.

Nature being the great subject of study, by what method is its study to be approached? Already a partial answer has been given to this question. Observation and experiment were the means on which above all he insisted as the foundation of his method. The fancies which in his contemporaries were accepted as facts, the hypotheses which satisfied them as explanations of phenomena were entirely obnoxious to his mind. The duty of taking nothing on trust but of seeking the truth from Nature at first hand was never so eloquently preached as by Bacon. But behind the phenomena lie the causes and great principles of Nature, in the understanding of which consists true knowledge. Man must be 'the interpreter of Nature.' And it is in the method which Bacon devised for its interpretation that the peculiarity of his philosophy lies. The mind left to itself is not fit to be trusted. Sense is liable to error and the understanding is subject to disturbance by the will and the affections. First therefore Bacon guards us against four classes of 'idol,' or 'phantom of the mind,' by which man is liable to be misled. The Idols of the Tribe are those predispositions which beset each member of the race, impatience of research, prejudice due to first impressions and the like. The Idols of the Cave are prejudices peculiar to the individual arising from his surroundings, such as education, or habits of life. The Idols of the Market-place are delusions arising from the influence of language, as when Fortune is treated as a real person or abstract ideas are regarded as possessing an existence because they have names. Idols of the Theatre are the false systems of philosophy, whether sophistical, empirical or superstitious, which captivated and held entranced the minds of the ignorant and un-

thinking. Avoiding these idols then the Baconian disciple will collect his observations, and conduct his experiments. He will beware of all *a priori* reasoning, of the use of the syllogism, of hasty generalisation from isolated or scanty facts. With characteristic sanguineness Bacon believed that it was possible without much labour to read all Nature's secrets. He believed that Nature was finite and comparatively simple. Just as a language is simply a number of combinations of a few letters, so he regarded the phenomena of Nature as but the variations of a few elementary principles. The alphabet of Nature once learnt, all would be known. And so he spoke grandly of the 'key' by which he would unlock all Nature's seeming difficulties. With this key all minds would be on the same level, for all men would be equally capable of using it, and its use would give absolute certainty. Evidently what he contemplated was procedure by some rule or rules of thumb, purely mechanical in its character. But Nature is less finite and more complete than he imagined, and his plan was a failure. What it was is by no means certain. It may have been some method which, after vaguely dreaming of it, he found to be impracticable and so left unmentioned in his later works, or it may be that method of Induction which he there describes. If it be this latter, his method does not attain the certainty he promised. It is true that his scheme of Induction appears to be incomplete, but however he may have thought of completing it, it could never become infallible. Briefly Bacon's Induction may be described as follows. Three tables are drawn up, first the table of Affirmatives, a collection of all the known instances of the principle under enquiry; second a table of Negative Instances, examples of things similar to the former from which however the principle is absent; third a table of Comparison, gathering together instances of the presence of the principle in different

degrees. From this point he pursues the method of exhaustion, by the rejection of everything extraneous, until the cause of the phenomena under investigation is discovered. Assuming that Nature is finite these rejections must speedily end in the exclusion of all explanations but the correct one. It is this assumption that is fatal to the soundness of his plan, and that distinguishes Bacon's Induction from that of to-day. The modern Induction is only a guide, confessedly fallible, to conjectures which may be true. Bacon claimed for his Induction that it was an unerring machine.

It has often been said that Bacon is the founder of Induction and that he surrendered Deduction entirely. Neither statement is strictly true. Induction was practised by Aristotle and other earlier philosophers, even if we rule out the inductive processes of ordinary men in every-day life to which Macaulay refers in order to disparage the importance of Bacon's work. But it is true that while the ordinary reasoning before Bacon was syllogistic, *a priori* and deductive, since his time Science has availed itself more specially—not of course solely—of Inductive Methods. Just as Bacon disparaged Deduction, yet found his advantage in using it from time to time, so while he denounces hypothesis and announces that his method will render it entirely unnecessary, at times he resorts to this: Without such hypothesis, Scientific knowledge could not have become what it is. The Law of Gravitation, and the principle of Evolution cannot be *proved* either by Induction or Deduction. Each is a splendid guess, but modern Science depends largely on them. And for many of the discoveries and inventions that have marked the last two centuries we should still be waiting, had not scientists in defiance of Baconian censures conjectured from incomplete collections of facts, causes and principles which proved to be sufficiently correct for all practical purposes.

But despite these defects, despite also his ignorance of the work of many of his contemporaries like Kepler and Napier, and his many strange mistakes on matters of fact and his constitutional inaccuracy in points of detail, Bacon stands out as a great Reformer alike in the subjects of study and in the methods of investigation, a Reformer whose influence can be felt to-day in a hundred different directions in beneficent effects not merely upon Science and Art but also upon the happiness of mankind.

One more point deserves notice. Bacon was perhaps the first who really appreciated the unity of Science. What he wrote to his uncle—that he had taken all knowledge for his province—was characteristic of his sense of the inseparable connexion of one Science with another. How in his *Advancement of Learning* he stated their inter-relation is well-known. But the value of his classification of Sciences needs no further guarantee than this that it formed the basis of that followed in the French *Encyclopédie*. And the scheme he sketched out of what was known in each Science, what were the deficiencies in each, and what should be sought by each is one of those suggestive ideas which assist the development of Knowledge in all its parts.

### THE ESSAYS.

The work of Bacon which is best known is undoubtedly his *Essays*. His Latin writings are now almost unread. His admirable *Advancement of Learning* though it can never become obsolete is not indispensable to the furnishing of an English student, but not to have read Bacon's *Essays* is to abandon all claims to literary culture.

### NAME.

Bacon would seem to have borrowed the name from the French *Essai* of Michel de Montai

published in 1580 and following years. Both writers appear to use the word in its proper meaning as equivalent to *Assay*. The aim of both was to analyse life, through the analysis of the great subjects which occupy life. Bacon writes '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.' But though Seneca—and indeed other classical writers—had written dispersed meditations on various subjects, the *Essay* proper, at least the modern *Essay*, begins with Montaigne. The discussion of moral topics, hitherto confined to elaborate disquisitions and academic disputations, he boldly transferred from the academy to the street and from a dialectic jargon unintelligible to the mass to the language of conversation. Hallam describes his *Essays* as 'the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy.' His style was simple, vigorous and homely. His *Essays* abound in illustrations and quotations, so apposite as to seem the most natural mode of expression. He allows himself perfect freedom, often discursively wandering far away from the subject which furnished his title. His aim was to embody himself in his work, so that his *Essays* should be a true picture of life. 'Myself am the groundwork of my book.' 'Others fashion man, but I repeat him.' 'I write not my gestures (deeds) but myself and my essence.' The success of his work was immediate. In eight years it passed through five editions. It founded a school of writers in France who, influenced also by the reaction against the prevalent Aristotelianism, endeavoured to set forth a more practical wisdom, which should be a useful guide to life. Bacon whose residence in France with Sir Amvas Paulat would put him in a position to keep in touch with French literature even more than most of his contemporaries, neces-

sarily was influenced by this movement. He appears to have early become familiar with Montaigne. Even before Florio's translation of his *Essays* was published in 1603, Montaigne was a household name in English cultured society. It is probably not too much to say that but for Montaigne, Bacon's *Essays* would never have been written. As compressed in style as Montaigne's are diffuse, as reticent about the author as Montaigne's are communicative, the later *Essays* yet owe their inspiration to the former and often follow the same lines.

### THE EDITIONS.

Bacon first published his *Essays* in 1597. In the Dedication to his brother Anthony he states that he did so because they were pirated by others. The *Essays* of this edition were but ten in number—on Study, Discourse, Ceremonies and Respects, Followers and Friends, Suitors, Expense, Regiment of Health, Honour and Reputation, Faction, Negotiating. The book was republished in 1598 without any change. In 1612 he issued a new Edition, containing thirty-eight *Essays*. Bacon intended to dedicate this edition to Henry, eldest son of James I., but as that Prince died before its publication, the dedication is addressed to the author's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable.

In 1625 a third edition was published, dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, containing fifty-eight *Essays*, the new ones comprising those of Truth, Plantations, Usury, Building, Gardens and others of the most characteristic

In both the two later editions, not only were new *Essays* added but also the earlier ones revised. Bacon wrote in the dedication of the Third Edition to Buckingham 'I have enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work.'

The *Fragment Of Fame* was first printed by Bacon's chaplain and biographer Rawley in 1657.

The Essays at once became popular. Of all his works Bacon states they were 'most current.' Even of the first Edition he can refer to 'its often printing.' One printer brought out several unauthorised Editions, and beyond England they found a public. Before 1625 they were translated into French and Italian and Latin and were well known throughout the continent. The Latin translation seems to have been carried out under Bacon's supervision by various scholars, among them Ben Jonson, Hobbes and perhaps Selden. Macaulay saw in the different Editions of the Essays a proof that Bacon's judgment matured faster than his fancy. He quotes a passage from the *Essay Of Studies* published in 1597 as an example of his earlier compressed style and sets in contrast with it a 'richer and softer' passage from the *Essay Of Adversity* published in 1625. There would seem to be some ground for this opinion. No one can notice the revisions effected by Bacon without observing that he systematically enriched his earlier Essays with illustrations and examples drawn from his later reading. The additions to Essays like XXIX. and XLIII. are largely of this kind. At the same time the difference in style to which Macaulay calls attention is due much more to the difference of the subjects dealt with than to any development in the author. From the first, as his other writings show, Bacon had at command almost every variety of style. His later Essays are no more ornate or rich than some of his earliest effusions, and his earlier Essays are not essentially different in style from his *History of Henry VII.* which was one of his later works. But when we notice the change of subject, it is not surprising to find the style of such Essays as *Of Truth* and *Of Adversity* differing from that employed in writing *Of Motions* or *Of Regiment of Health*.



## SUBJECTS.

The subject-matter of the Essays cannot therefore be hit off in one phrase. Bacon in the title-page of one edition called them 'writings in Morality, Policy and History;' in that of the third edition, 'Counsels Moral and Civil,' and perhaps this last phrase is as exact as is compatible with brevity. Many of the subjects like Truth and Adversity fall under the classification Moral. Almost all refer to men as members of a State, too often as members of a party or as vying with one another for power. Hallam, who in one passage speaks of them as 'writings on moral prudence,' in another more correctly says 'His Essays are more often political than moral; they deal with mankind not in their general faculties or habits but in their mutual strife, their endeavours to rule others or to avoid their rule.' Hence the discussion of such topics as Cunning, Suspicion, Followers, Great Place. The political interest predominates even where this rivalry is lost sight of. Unity in Religion, Vicissitudes in Things, Prophecies, Atheism and many another subject are viewed primarily for the standpoint of the politician. But as there are some Essays, such as those of Beauty or Of Regiment of Health, that do not rise to the height of political considerations, so one or two like that Of Truth in parts soar above them. For the most part however it is the commoner motives of men and their less noble occupations that are dealt with. Not without truth did Bacon attribute the popularity of his Essays to this that 'they come home to Men's business and bosoms.'

This variety of subject naturally produces inequality of treatment. The best Essays are those which most partake of the character of Civil Counsels. The least satisfactory are those like that *Of Usury* which deal with subjects on which Bacon had no special knowledge.

## METHOD.

In dealing with these various subjects Bacon's method is consistently the same. He has allowed us to see his Essays in the 'making. The Antitheta of which he gives us examples in his 'De Augmentis' were the foundation of his Essays. Everything has two sides. Something may be said against as well as for almost every proposition. His aim is to put down as it were under suggestive headings what may be said on a subject whether favourable or unfavourable.

Thus some of his shorter Essays are little more than the setting out of Antitheta which he has met with in his reading or thought out in his experience. Where he has gone beyond this, it is to insert similarly brief phrases or illustrations, often drawn from the stores with which he had filled his common-place books. Hence his method differs altogether from that of Montaigne. Where the earlier Essayist rambles unrestrained, the later strictly measures his steps. Montaigne's Essays are long and diffuse, Bacon's short and pregnant. Bacon's titles often cramp his treatment. Montaigne writes 'The titles of my chapter embrace not always the matter; they often but glance at it by some mark.' Montaigne sets before us a feast amply spread and rich. Bacon's Essays are what in his Dedication to Prince Henry he expressed his hope they might be, 'as graynes of salt that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with satiety.' Thus they are not so much connected discourses as 'brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously (elaborately).'

## LANGUAGE.

Bacon had little trust in modern languages. That anything written in English could be immortal he did not believe. Whenever he desired to secure permanence to anything he wrote, he gave it a Latin form.

For him Latin was the universal language, the language of literature and dignity. In 1623 he wrote as follows to his friend Toby Matthew: 'My labours are now most set to have those works which I had formerly published—as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry VII*, that of the *Essays* (being retractate and made more perfect), well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens which forsake me not. For these modern languages will at one time or other play the bank-routs (bankrupts) with books; and since I have lost much time with this age I will be glad, as God shall give me leave to recover it with posterity.' Even the remarkable popularity of the English form of the *Essays* failed to convince him of its chance of survival. In dedicating both the Latin and English versions of the third Edition to Buckingham, he treated the latter as far the more important, 'for I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last.' The contrast is completed by his words to Prince Charles in dedicating to him the Latin translation of his *Advancement of Learning*. 'It is a book I think will live and be a citizen of the world as English books are not.' To the language he slighted he owes the literary immortality which he sought elsewhere. While his Latin works are almost obsolete, his English writings are more and more read. Strange that Bacon, who, breaking away with the boldness of a reformer from the trammels of the past, in so many points belonged to and lived for the future far more than any of his contemporaries, should in this matter be behind many of them, and that one whose confidence in the greatness of Britain came in no degree short of any Englishman of his time should have been slow to see the capacities of its language and been almost ashamed to employ it in serious writing. Here he was echoing the tone of that culture of the schools

against which his life was one great protest. How slowly even in face of the great works of the Seventeenth Century the English language won its way is seen by the fact that it was only after long deliberation and upon the strenuous advice of Hume that Gibbon chose it as most likely to secure immortality to his great work. In Bacon's days then it is no wonder that it was regarded in the schools as merely the tongue of business and of common life, unfitted by its roughness and want of rhythm to be a literary language. The academic opinion of it may be gauged by the fact that once when Elizabeth ordered an English play to be performed before her at Cambridge, the University petitioned to be allowed to substitute a Latin one on the ground that it was derogatory to the dignity of the University to give such recognition to English and that the students were offended at being set such an unbecoming task.

The fact then that the Essays were originally written in English shows that Bacon at first attached little importance to them. In the dedication of the first Edition he represents himself as having written the ten Essays which it contained long before, as being only induced to publish them because they were being printed by others in an unauthorised form and that 'to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies or by some garnishment which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them.' In his abortive dedication of the second Edition to Prince Henry he is careful to explain that the Essays are not 'just (proper) treatises' for which indeed he has not the necessary leisure. Nor was it till the vogue of this Edition convinced him almost against his will that the Essays might be regarded as serious literature and still he was prepared to deal with subjects like Truth that he felt the book 'weighty' enough to be committed to Latin, the language of culture.

## STYLE.

The language of the *Essays* then is English, but it is the English of one who regarded Latin as the proper vehicle of thought. The style of the *Essays* belongs to a by-gone age, the age when Latin dominated the world of letters. It is scarcely more suitable for imitation than is Euphuism.

The *vocabulary* of the *Essays* is singularly full. Bacon shows a remarkable command of the ordinary English of the day. At the same time he does not shrink from borrowing from Latin, French and other languages to express his meaning. An archaism attracts him, and, if need be, he will coin a term or modify some form to suit his purpose.

In his *sentences* similarly his sole aim is to express his meaning. His characteristic carelessness of detail shows itself sometimes in an inexact use of words or in a breaking off without regard to grammar when enough has been said to suggest his thought. Pronouns naturally suffer the most. Rapid changes of Number, the use of a Personal Pronoun to take up an Abstract Noun, a vague use of *it*, a carelessness as to Relatives are met with in almost every *Essay*. And in general the construction of sentences is loose. There is little attempt to unite clause with clause. For the most part the period is even scrupulously avoided. But the crisp clauses follow one another with a cumulative effect that is most striking.

The *structure* of the *Essays*, the combination of the sentences into the whole, is of the same nature. There is no introduction, no peroration. Nothing could afford a greater contrast than the style of these *Essays* and that for example of Johnson. The swelling period of the latter, the care with which he links sentence to sentence by connecting particles, the formal opening and the elaborate conclusion are the very features which Bacon avoids. As Church has said 'these short papers say what they

have to say without preface and in literary undress, without a superfluous word, without the joints and bands of structure: they say it in brief rapid sentences which come down, sentence after sentence, like the strokes of a great hammer. No wonder that in their disdainful brevity they seem rugged and abrupt 'and do not seem to end but fall.' Yet the Essays are really built up with consummate art. A parallelism of clause and of sentence which reminds one of the poetical books of the Bible; an antithetic balancing almost as striking as Macaulay's; a careful distribution of proposition and illustration; an arrangement which secures order while apparently careless and disorderly make the Essays almost a unique illustration of the art which conceals art.

The *brevity and condensation* which mark the Essays as wholes are characteristic of them in their detail. The 'crowded excellence' of Bacon's style is perhaps its most striking feature. To rewrite one of his sentences without expanding it is impossible. Next to Shakspeare he is the greatest master of phrasé-making in English literature, and *Hamlet* alone probably has furnished proportionately more quotations than the *Essays*. *Proverbial Philosophy* might more appropriately be used as the title of his Essays than as that of books which have adopted it. No one was ever more succinctly sententious, or in more concise form bodied forth some suggestive parallel or illustration.

Yet this brevity is not without its drawbacks. Usually it is true it is combined with crispness and clearness. But occasionally it is gained by abruptness or vagueness. His mother complained of his 'enigmatical folded writing,' and there are not a few passages in the Essays where excessive brevity has resulted in ambiguity or obscurity.

Associated with this brevity is Bacon's use of *quotations*. His common-place book was ever at hand

to receive some terse phrase which might aid brevity of expression. Hence the difference which has often been traced in this matter between Montaigne and Bacon. The quotations of the former are natural, springing lightly from his mind. Bacon's, never so thoroughly appropriated, have often a certain stiffness which betrays the borrower of other's plumes. His reading had been wide and he turned it to good account. English writers he never quotes, for English had no literature which to him seemed worthy of notice. His quotations from the Bible, especially the books of Hebrew Wisdom, are numerous, but they are drawn from no English Version, not even the great translation of 1611, but from the Latin Vulgate. A list of the books which have left their mark upon Bacon's writings would include the best French and Italian works of his time along with all the chief Greek and foreign books which were translated into English. But it was mainly from Latin literature and in special from the Latin historians that he drew.

But his quotations are seldom exact. Often he would seem to be adapting the original to his own necessities. More often he quotes loosely from memory. Sometimes it seems as if he has taken a phrase away from its context regardless of its original meaning and uses it simply because its brevity can be turned to account. In the Index will be found a list of misquotations, in some of which the original author's meaning is perverted, in one or two cases being even reversed.

Closely akin to Bacon's use of quotation is his employment of *illustrations*. In his *Proem* to the *Interpretation of Nature* written in 1603 he says 'I found in my own nature a special adaptation for the contemplation of truth. For I had a mind at once versatile enough for that most important object—I mean the recognition of similitudes—and at the same time sufficiently steady and concentrated for the

subtle shades of difference.' With one part of this opinion it is impossible to disagree. Bacon possessed an extraordinary quickness to discern analogies. His fancy was prolific in illustrations. But it would seem as if he approached thought through fancy rather than used his fancy on his thoughts. In many cases it is evidently the 'illustration' that suggested the truth, not the truth that suggested the illustration. Hence the quaintness of many of the metaphors which stud his pages. Similarly is it with many of the illustrations drawn from his reading. Often when he employs a Greek myth to illustrate some maxim of Government, we feel instinctively that the maxim owes its presence to the myth, not the myth its use to the maxim. This perhaps is not true to the same degree of the numerous examples drawn from history. The insertion of so many historical instances in the Edition of 1625, especially from North's translation of Plutarch, suffices to show that he was well aware of the value of illustration for its own sake.

Few writers have excelled Bacon in wealth and variety of illustration. The metaphor, dignified and homely, the simile, the parallel, the instance, the quotation, the statement of a converse, all abound. But here too he sometimes falls into the danger that besets the gift. His analogies are sometimes far-fetched, sometimes delusive. And he often presses analogy too far, using it as if it were equivalent to demonstration. Indeed this is perhaps one of Bacon's chief weaknesses. Wanting in reasoning power and logical exactness, he too often allows himself to be led by his fancy.

But to his fancy he owes the telling phraseology which makes an impression never to be forgotten. Men may write without much effect about 'prejudices due to one's surroundings,' but Bacon's term 'Idols of the Cave' startles the mind and remains. And it



is largely to this quality that the stimulation of thought which is inseparable from reading Bacon is due.

But this fancy of Bacon's is limited. It needs itself the stimulus of the fancy of others. It can play round some figure created by another, even give new life to it. But of entirely original creation it seems incapable. Let Plato suggest, Bacon will body forth an image. Let Virgil use a metaphor with one application, Bacon will use it with another, sometimes so oppositely as to inseparably wed it to the new thought. But we look in vain to Bacon for any *creative* fancy in the strict sense of the word.

The *variety* of styles in the Essays has already been mentioned, but it should be added that this variety extends to detail as well as wholes. It is not merely that one Essay differs from another in style, but that often we find a bold variety in one and the same. The mixture of dignity and familiarity which may be noticed in many of the Essays (*e. g.*, in LVIII.) possesses an attraction of which Bacon would not be unconscious. A similar effect is produced by the constant interchange of reflection and illustration, of concrete and abstract. The last fault that Bacon can be charged with is monotony.

Another feature that lends charm to his writing is what may be called the *spaciousness* of his work. His Essays though brief are comprehensive in plan and have a wide outlook. The vastness of the subjects discussed imparts itself to their treatment. Indeed here also Bacon does not escape the dangers that beset genius. For sometimes the vastness of the subjects becomes vagueness, and as in *Of Truth* and *Of Beauty* there is a want of definiteness of object which prevents the Essay forming an harmonious whole. On the other hand few have succeeded in giving to such subjects as *Regiment of Health* the touch of greatness as Bacon did.

Connected with this is one feature which cannot fail to impress the reader. The style is the man, and in the Essays Bacon is as he was in his life the superior person. He never exposes himself to the charge of enthusiasm, or gives way to common sentiment. Throughout he is the expert giving advice. He claimed that the Essays were 'of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in books.' He would supply the deficiency in the education of men. Moreover men might be deceived by the outward appearance of things. These Essays were to be as he called them in their Latin form 'Faithful Discourses or the Interiors of Things.' So he deigns to enlighten the ignorant, and to guide the inexperienced and unwary among the pitfalls of civil life. Similarly superior is he with regard to his subject. To him it presents no difficulties; be it what it may—Truth or Usury, Empire or Death—he feels himself equally competent to deal with it. He treats it with a calm familiarity and leaves it, if not with 'contemptuous dismissal' as Reynolds says, at least with the self-complacency of a patron who has done well by the object of his condescension.

And yet one cannot read a single Essay without feeling how singularly *appropriate to the matter* is the style. With all the drawbacks of a brilliancy without relief, of occasional obscurity, of a symmetry almost too regular, of a certain absence of lightness and humour in treatment, of grammatical looseness, the *Essays* are marked by that quality of matchless style which defies imitation, and which consists so largely in the indissoluble wedding of matter and form. Instinctively we feel that any alteration of the words affects the thought and that the thought could be expressed in no different words. And this is a tribute that literary genius of the highest class alone extorts.

## TEACHING.

A few words must be added in reference to the doctrines embodied in the Essays. For the most part as we have seen these deal with the man engaged in political strife. Though intended to be of general application, the Essays keep English politics chiefly in mind. They are written from the point of view of the monarchist, but we look in vain for any reference to the ideal of Kingship. Nobles, counsellors, judges are to be but the instrument of royalty. Bacon is utterly devoid of sentiment. His Essays reveal 'the interiors of things' as he saw them. Human nature is stripped of its trappings and treated as self-seeking and depraved (IV. 16, XXIV. 6.) Hence in politics it was vain either to look for or to attempt anything but what was selfish. And since under existing conditions men were unable to use force to obtain their factious ends, recourse must be had to practice or intrigue. Hence rascality was inseparable from a political career and the less scruples a man possessed the more likely was he to succeed (XIII. 66). It was useless to act as if politics were pure. If a man would make his way, he must lower his ideals. Bacon therefore sets forth in such Essays as those *Of Cunning*, *Of Followers*, *Of Great Place*, the arts by which a man may be 'the architect of his fortune.' Alike to meet the attacks of others and to make his own way, the politician must be ready to flatter and to cringe, to intrigue and to feign, to take advantage of others without scruple and to betray his party. In all this Bacon was but repeating the current political philosophy of the day. Niccolo Machiavelli, whose *The Prince* was written in 1513 but not published till 1532 after his death, was the founder of the school. Driven from the service of the Florentine State by a revolution which substituted for a republican form of government the rule of the Medici, he set himself

to regain office by expounding for the benefit of Giuliano de Medici the science of statecraft. Machiavelli sincerely desired the deliverance of Italy from foreign oppression. The only hope of this he saw in the rise to supremacy of some one petty prince who should unite Italy in the struggle for independence. Not unnaturally he turned to the Prince of his own state as his hope and though banished offered him the counsels by following which he might attain to the rule of a united Italy. He faced facts as they were, recognised the unscrupulous immorality of Italian politics, and taught the Medici how to meet every emergency by fair means or by foul. But the thoroughness of his treatise made parts of it a text-book in the arts of tyranny and intrigue. The knowledge of evil—as well as of good—which it spread made it a source of baleful infection. In Italy and perhaps even more in France the arts of intrigue became an object of scientific study. The corruption of the court of Elizabeth and James I rendered a knowledge of these arts almost essential and at any rate supplied abundant room for their practice. Hence Bacon became a thorough Machiavellian. With the *Prince* and *Discourses on Livy* of the Florentine it is evident that he was intimately familiar. His practice may be said to have been moulded by Machiavelli's precepts. And it would not be difficult to select passages from the *Essays* which would embody some of the worst features of the school. But it is only fair to put side by side with these the antitheses which the *Essays* contain. If the *Essay Of Great Place* reminds us that 'All rising to great place is by a winding stair,' it also sets before us 'power to do good' as 'the true and lawful end of aspiring.' The morality of the *Essays* is in fact strangely mixed. Some of their maxims lead to treachery and deceit; others to virtue. But the very fact that Bacon could set down the former with the air of a benevolent instructor

is sufficient to condemn his callous want of scruples. The general tendency of the moral teaching of the Essays can only be described as unsettling, the art they teach that of a selfish worldly prudence.

Their political doctrines—*e.g.*, those of Essays XXIX.—are equally misleading. To treat greatness as equivalent to size needs only to be pointed out to be censured. The insistence on a warlike or even quarrelsome spirit as a characteristic to be sought by a nation equally carries its own condemnation.

On economic questions Bacon is behind even his own times. His Essay *Of Usury* is almost ludicrously wrong-headed and unpractical. And his unthinking support of the Mercantile system in its worst forms shows that he was untouched by the intellectual movement on economic questions which was one of the features of the age.

On theological questions he gives no certain sound. The Bible is to him the Word of God; Christ the Divine teacher; Mahomet an impostor. But the Puritanism of his youth has fallen from him, and the Anglicanism of the High Churchmen he has not adopted. From the outside in unruffled calm he contemplates the war of religious parties, condemning all alike.

Though he was to be known as the Reformer of Science, the Essays show few departures from the science of the passing age. Depreciation of Socrates and Aristotle reminds us that he partially reversed their work. But the Copernican theory had his contempt. He clung to the old Ptolemaic system with its cycles and epicycles and its *primum mobile* and spheres. The diurnal rotation of the earth he regarded as an absurdity. Astrology was for him a real science. In witchcraft he had a firm belief. Some of the fables of the Natural History of the time he accepts without hesitation.

But with all their defects the Essays contain much that stimulates thought, and abound in maxims of practical wisdom, many of which remain sound even in the changed circumstances of to-day.

---

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	A. D.
Francis Bacon born	1561
End of the Council of Trent	1563
Shakspeare born	1564
The Turkish Fleet destroyed at Lepanto	1571
St. Bartholomew's Day	1572
Bacon goes to Cambridge	1573
Bacon goes to France	1576
Death of Sir Nicholas Bacon	1579
North's Translation of <i>Plutarch's Lives</i>	1579
Publication of Montaigne's <i>Essays</i>	1580
The United Provinces declare themselves independent of Spain	1581
Assassination of William of Orange	1584
Organisation of the League	1584
The Spanish Armada	1588
Assassination of Henry Duke of Guise	1588
Assassination of Henry III. of France	1589
<i>The Controversies of the Church of England</i>	1589
Spenser's <i>Fuerie Queene</i>	1590
<i>Venus and Adonis</i> —Shakspeare's first work	1593
Bacon forbidden the Queen's presence	1593
Henry IV. abjures Protestantism and is admitted into Paris	1594
Hooker's <i>Ecclesiastical Polity</i>	1594
First Edition of the <i>Essays</i>	1597
Death of Burghley	1598
Essex in Ireland	1599

	A. D.
Trial and execution of Essex ... ..	1601
Death of Anthony Bacon ... ..	1601
James I. becomes King of England ... ..	1603
Bacon knighted ... ..	1603
His <i>Proem to The Interpretation of Nature</i> ... ..	1603
Hampton Court Conference ... ..	1604
The Commission of Union with Scotland ... ..	1604
Cervantes publishes <i>Don Quixote</i> ... ..	1605
<i>The Advancement of Learning</i> ... ..	1605
Gunpowder Plot ... ..	1605
Bacon's Marriage ... ..	1606
Bacon Solicitor-General ... ..	1607
The Plantation of Virginia... ..	1607
Schemes for the Plantation of Ireland ... ..	1609
Bacon put on the Council of Virginia ... ..	1609
<i>The Wisdom of the Ancients</i> ... ..	1609
Truce between the Netherlands and Spain ... ..	1609
The Great Contract ... ..	1610
Assassination of Henry IV. ... ..	1610
The Authorised Version of the Bible ... ..	1611
Death of Salisbury ... ..	1612
Second Edition of the <i>Essays</i> ... ..	1612
Bacon Attorney-General ... ..	1613
Trial of Peacham ... ..	1614
The Addled Parliament ... ..	1614
Death of Shakspeare ... ..	1616
Bacon's Advice to Villiers ... ..	1616
Suspension of Coke ... ..	1616
Bacon Lord Keeper ... ..	1617
Bacon Lord Chancellor ... ..	1618
The Thirty Years' War begins ... ..	1618



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

lxxvii

	A. D.
Execution of Raleigh	1618
Bacon made Baron Verulam	1618
The Synod of Dort condemns Arminius	1619
Bacon made Viscount St. Alban	1620
The <i>Novum Organum</i>	1620
The Pilgrim Fathers	1620
James I's Third Parliament	1621
The Commons attack Bacon's administration and accuse him of corruption	1621
Bacon's confession and imprisonment	1621
The Commons' Protestation of their Rights	1621
<i>History of Henry VII.</i>	1622
<i>De Augmentis</i>	1623
Negotiations for the Spanish Match	1623
War proclaimed against Spain	1624
Third Edition of the <i>Essays</i>	1625
Accession of Charles I.	1625
Death of Bacon	1626

## THE TABLE OF ESSAYS.

	PAGE-
1. Of Truth ... ..	5
2. Of Death ... ..	7
3. Of Unity in Religion ... ..	9
4. Of Revenge ... ..	13
5. Of Adversity ... ..	14
6. Of Simulation and Dissimulation ... ..	16
7. Of Parents and Children ... ..	19
8. Of Marriage and Single Life ... ..	20
9. Of Envy ... ..	22
✓10. Of Love ... ..	27
11. Of Great Place ... ..	29
12. Of Boldness ... ..	32
13. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature ... ..	34
14. Of Nobility ... ..	36
15. Of Seditions and Troubles ... ..	37
16. Of Atheism ... ..	45
17. Of Superstition ... ..	48
18. Of Travel ... ..	49
19. Of Empire ... ..	51
20. Of Counsel ... ..	56
21. Of Delays ... ..	61
22. Of Cunning ... ..	62
23. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self ... ..	66
24. Of Innovations ... ..	67

## THE TABLE OF ESSAYS.

lxxix

	PAGE.
25. Of Dispatch ... ..	68
26. Of Seeming Wise ... ..	70
27. Of Friendship ... ..	71
28. Of Expense ... ..	78
29. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates ...	80
30. Of Regiment of Health ... ..	89
31. Of Suspicion ... ..	91
32. Of Discourse ... ..	92
33. Of Plantations ... ..	94
34. Of Riches ... ..	96
35. Of Prophecies ... ..	100
36. Of Ambition ... ..	103
37. Of Masques and Triumphs ... ..	105
38. Of Nature in Men ... ..	106
39. Of Custom and Education ... ..	108
40. Of Fortune ... ..	110
41. Of Usury ... ..	111
42. Of Youth and Age ... ..	115
43. Of Beauty ... ..	117
44. Of Deformity ... ..	118
45. Of Building ... ..	119
46. Of Gardens ... ..	123
47. Of Negotiating... ..	130
48. Of Followers and Friends ... ..	131
49. Of Suitors ... ..	133
50. Of Studies ... ..	135
51. Of Faction ... ..	136
52. Of Ceremonies and Respects ... ..	138
53. Of Praise ... ..	139
54. Of Vain-Glory ... ..	141
55. Of Honour and Reputation ... ..	143

	PAGE.
56. Of Judicature ... ..	... 144
57. Of Anger ... ..	... 149
58. Of Vicissitude of Things ...	... 151
A Fragment of an Essay of Fame ...	... 157



## INDEX.

[The references are to the lines of the Essays. Thus ABOUT, XVI, 7, means that ABOUT occurs in line 7 of Essay XVI. But ADVERSITY, ESSAY V, means that Adversity is the subject of Essay V. LIX stands for the FRAGMENT OF FAME.]

### A.

- About, xvi, 7.  
 Abridgement, xxix, 270.  
 Abstract, xxxiv, 24.  
 Absurd, vi, 70, xxvi, 50.  
 Absurdly, xliii, 30.  
 Abuseth, xlii, 30, 23.  
 Abusing, xxii, 128.  
 Accessary, xv, 55, xxiii, 19, xxix, 293.  
 Accessions, lviii, 135.  
 Accident, xxx, 36.  
 Accommodate, iii, 57.  
 Acting, i, 4.  
 Action, xii, 4.  
 Actium, xxix, 279.  
 Accurate, lviii, 51.  
 Adamant, xviii, 48.  
 Adage, xxvii, 18.  
 Adjective used as Adverb, v, 19.  
 Admirable, xxvii, 121.  
 Admire, lv, 15.  
 Ado, ix, 31.  
 Adrian, ix, 60.  
 Aduſt, xxxvi, 4.  
 Advancements, liv, 113.  
 Advantage, i, 16.  
 Adverb, i, 20, xv, 24, xxvii, 147, xlvi, 6.  
 Adversity, Essay v.  
 Advised, lvi, 8.  
 Advocate, lvi, 21.  
 Advoutresses, xix, 96.  
 Æſop, xiii, 35, xlv, 49, liv, 1.  
 Ætolians, liv, 15.  
 Affect, xxxviii, 49.  
 Affecting, i, 4, ix, 49, xliii, 1.  
 Affection, xi, 109.  
 Affections, i, 28, xxvii, 138, xlii, 52.  
 Agamemnon, iii, 126.  
 Agesilaus, ix, 50, xlv, 39.  
 Agitation, xx, 12.  
 Agrippa, xxvii, 29.  
 Alarm, vi, 87.  
 Albert Durer, xliii, 19.  
 Alchymist, xxvii, 128.  
 Alcibiades, xliii, 11.  
 Alcoran, xvi, 2.  
 Alexander, xix, 27.  
 Alleys, xlv, 87.  
 Allow, xviii, 5, lii, 40.  
 Alloy, i, 65.  
 Almaigne, lviii, 133.  
 Alphonsus, lv, 35.  
 Ambition, xi, 113, Essay xxxvi.  
 An, xxxvi, 1.  
 Anabaptists, iii, 136.  
 Anathema, xxx, 80.  
 Ancient, lvi, 118.  
 And, xxiii, 33, xl, 43.  
 Anger, Essay lvii, lix, 14.  
 Anselmus, xix, 119.  
 Answerable, xlviii, 21.  
 Antic, xxxvii, 37.  
 Anti-camera, xlv, 122.  
 Anti-masques, xxxvii, 36.  
 Antiochus, liv, 15.  
 Antiptosis, xxxix, 23.  
 Antonius, xxvii 77, li, 24.  
 Apelles, xliii, 19.  
 Apollonius, xix, 35, xxvii, 13.  
 Apparent, xl, 10.  
 Appius Claudius, x, 11.  
 Apply, xxxii, 29.  
 Apposed, xxii, 70.  
 Apricocks, xlvi, 40.

Arbela, xxix, 56.  
 Arguments, xxix, 29.  
 Argus, xxi, 23.  
 Arians, lviii, 89.  
 Arietations, lviii, 165.  
 Aristotle, xxvii, 1, liv, 35.  
 Armada, xxxv, 72.  
 Arminians, lviii, 90.  
 Arras, xxvii, 151.  
 Artificial, xv, 197.  
 As, iii, 99, viii, 22, xi, 3, xxii, 85, xxiii, 33, xxxix, 3, xli, 17, xlvi, 145.  
 Aspects, ix, 9.  
 Astrological, xxx, 23.  
 Astrology, ix, 9, xix, 161, xxxv, 45, lviii, 51.  
 Astronomy, i, 60, xv, 63, xxiii, 7, li, 56, 58, lviii, 46.  
 At a stay, xix, 22.  
 Atheism, Essay xvi.  
 Atlanticus, xxxv, 103.  
 Augustus, ii, 40, xlii, 15, xliii, 9, lv, 40.  
 Aurelianus, lv, 40.  
 Aversation, xxvii, 5.  
 Avert, iii, 35.  
 Avoidances, xlv, 133.

## B.

Baltazar Gerard, xxxix, 12.  
 Band, iii, 1.  
 Banks, xli, 20.  
 Banquet, xlv, 47.  
 Barriers, xxxvii, 50.  
 Bartholomew's day, iii, 130.  
 Bashaws, lix, 43.  
 Battails, lviii, 174.  
 Baugh, xxxv, 66.  
 Be, i, 2, ix, 1.  
 Beat over, l, 47.  
 Beauty, Essay, xliii.  
 Beaver, xxxv, 52.  
 Because, viii, 14, xxxiv, 15.  
 Become, xlv, 100.

Behold, x, 1.  
 Bench, xi.  
 Beware, xxiv, 33.  
 Bion, xvi, 55.  
 Blacka, ii, 19.  
 Blanch, xx, 134, xxvi, 32.  
 Blood, i, 7.  
 Boldness, Essay xii.  
 Borderers, xxix, 137.  
 Bowed, xxvii, 205.  
 Bowl, xxiii, 27.  
 Bowling, l, 40.  
 Brave, xxxiii, 55.  
 Bravery, xi, 58, xxv, 42.  
 Briareus, xxi, 24.  
 Broke, xxxiv, 66.  
 Broken music, xxxvii, 12.  
 Bruit, liv, 11.  
 Brutus, li, 24.  
 Building, Essay xlv.  
 Burses, xviii, 27.  
 Busbechius, xiii, 18.  
 Busy, ix, 29.  
 But, i, 27.  
 Butteries, xlv, 64.  
 By how much, vi, 60.  
 Byword, xxv, 16.

## C.

Cabinet councils, xx, 57.  
 Cabinets, xlv, 128.  
 Cæsar, li, 21.  
 Cain, ix, 70.  
 Calendars, xv, 1.  
 Calpurnia, xxvii, 73.  
 Can, xi, 38.  
 Cannibals, xxvii, 120.  
 Canticles, ii, 62.  
 Caracalla, xix, 16.  
 Carbuncle, i, 22.  
 Card, xviii, 42.  
 Cardinal, lii, 47.  
 Cards, xxix, 38.  
 Care, viii, 6.  
 Carol, v, 28.

- Carriage, ix, 119, xxxiii, 85.  
 Carry, xxxiii, 76, liv, 3.  
 Cashiered, li, 38.  
 Cassius, li, 24.  
 Cast, xvi, 136.  
 Casteth them, li, 38.  
 Castoreum xxvii, 34.  
 Catching, lvi, 99.  
 Catchpoles, liii, 53.  
 Cato, xl, 17.  
 Celsus, xxx, 41.  
 Censure, xxix, 3.  
 Ceremonies and Respects, Essay, lii.  
 Certify, xxxiii, 20.  
 Cessions, liv, 49.  
 Challenging, xlix, 30.  
 Chambers of presence, xlv, 93.  
 Chapmen, xxxiv, 68.  
 Character, xiii, 6.  
 Chargeable, xxix, 265.  
 Charles, v, xix, 28.  
 Charles the Hardy, xxvii, 109.  
 Check, x, 50.  
 Check with, xxxi, 4.  
 China, lviii, 161.  
 Chop, lvi, 89.  
 Chopping, xxxiv, 69.  
 Christ's coat, iii, 77.  
 Cicero, xxiii, 44.  
 Circumstances, xxxii, 63.  
 Civil, i, 62, xii, 14, liv, 12.  
 Civility, xlvi, 5.  
 Clarify, xxvii, 145.  
 Cleon, xxxv, 79.  
 Codlins, xlvi, 39.  
 Coemption, xxxiv, 88.  
 Collation, xix, 125.  
 Collect, xxxv, 98.  
 Collegiate, xxxix, 51.  
 Collier, xxxiv, 52.  
 Colour, xli, 124.  
 Comforteth, xxxix, 52.  
 Comineus, xxvii, 108.  
 Commandeth, xxxviii, 49.  
 Commendatory, lii, 12.  
 Commiserable, xxxiii, 103.  
 Commission of union, xx, 134.  
 Commodus, xix, 16.  
 Common places, xxxii, 5.  
 Communia maledicta, lvii, 50.  
 Communicate, xxxi, 30.  
 Communicated, xxx, 25.  
 Comparison, xxxii, 8, xxxiii, 100, xxxiv, 73, li, 4, 14.  
 Composition, vi, 107, xxxi, 11.  
 Compositions, xlii, 18.  
 Compound, lv, 38.  
 Comprehend, xlvi, 53.  
 Conceit, xxxiv, 7.  
 Conceits, vi, 102.  
 Conditions, lviii, 161.  
 Conditores Imperiorum, lv, 29.  
 Confer, i, 29.  
 Conference, i, 29.  
 Confessor, vi, 39.  
 Confidence, xvi, 82.  
 Conformable, xxx, 50.  
 Conscience, xi, 44.  
 Consistories, xviii, 20.  
 Constant, iii, 6.  
 Constructio ad sensum, xxix, 224, lviii, 150.  
 Construction, lvii, 33.  
 Contain, iii, 2, lvii, 47, xx, 171.  
 Conventicles, iii, 27. [193.  
 Converse, xxxviii, 48.  
 Convince, xvi, 4.  
 Copulate, xxxix, 50.  
 Cordial, xlvi, 63.  
 Corrupt, xxxiv, 112.  
 Cosmus, iv, 38, xlii, 16.  
 Council of Trent, xvii, 24.  
 Counsel, Essay, xx.  
 Courages, xxix, 262.  
 Creatures, vii, 15.  
 Crispus, xix, 104.  
 Crooketh, xxiii, 15.  
 Crossed, ix, 117.  
 Crystalline, xlv, 129.  
 Cunning, Essay, xxii, vi, 66, lviii, 176.

Cunningly, xxix, 12.  
 Curiosities, ix, 18.  
 Curiosity, xxxvii, 15, xlvi, 151.  
 Curious, ix, 11, xxv, 37, xxxv, 45.  
 Curius, lii, 45.  
 Currently, xxxi, 5.  
 Custom and Education, Essay  
 xxxix.  
 Cymbal, xxvii, 17.  
 Cymini Sectores. l, 46.  
 Cyrus, lv, 30.

## D.

Darken, ix, 86, lv, 5.  
 David's harp, v, 27.  
 Death, Essay ii.  
 Deceivable, xlvi, 200.  
 Deceive, xlvi, 42.  
 Decent, xliii, 14, xlv, 111.  
 Decii, lv, 63.  
 Decimus Brutus, xxvii, 68.  
 Decline, xlii, 7.  
 Deduced, lvi, 134.  
 Deformity, Essay xlv.  
 Delays, Essay xxi.  
 Deliveries, xl, 12.  
 Demetrius, xix, 110.  
 Democritus, xvi, 14.  
 Demosthenes, xii, 4.  
 Denying, xlix, 29.  
 Dependances, xxxvi, 51.  
 Depraving, xlix, 23.  
 Derive, ix, 132.  
 Destitute, xxxiii, 101.  
 Desemboltura, xl, 13.  
 Device, xxxvii, 7.  
 Diagoras, xvi, 55.  
 Diet, xviii, 50.  
 Dignities, xiii, 5.  
 Diocletian, xix, 28.  
 Disabling, xlix, 23.  
 Disadvantageable, xxvii, 29.  
 Discern of, xxx, 8.  
 Discerned, iii, 66.  
 Discommodities, xxxiii, 85.

Discontent, xxxvi, 8.  
 Discourse, Essay xxxii.  
 Discourse, l, 3.  
 Discoursing, i, 6.  
 Discover, v, 39.  
 Discovery, vi, 44, 59.  
 Dispatch, Essay xxv.  
 Dispenseth, xxxvi, 21.  
 Disputations, xviii, 24.  
 Disreputation, xviii, 42.  
 Dissimulation, Essay vi.  
 Distasted, xlix, 28.  
 Distastes, v, 31.  
 Diversions, lviii, 177.  
 Divinely, xlii, 7.  
 Doctors, iii, 8.  
 Doctrine, xx, 56.  
 Dole, xxxiv, 11.  
 Dolours, ii, 61.  
 Domitian, xix, 16, xxxv, 38.  
 Doubt, lviii, 80.  
 Doubting, xxviii, 14.  
 Dry, xxxii, 55.  
 Dry light, xxvii, 166.  
 Duces belli, lv, 53.

## E.

Eccentric, xxiii, 16.  
 Eccentrics, xvii, 26.  
 Edgar, lv, 35.  
 Edward IV, xliii, 10.  
 Effeminate, xxix, 262.  
 Either, xxx, 55, liv, 19.  
 Ejaculations, ix, 10.  
 Embaseth, i, 68, x, 61.  
 Embossments, xlvi, 183.  
 Embracing, xix, 68.  
 Empedocles, xxvii, 12.  
 Empire, Essay xix.  
 Engaged, xxxix, 35.  
 Engines, xvii, 27.  
 Engrossing, ix, 106, xv, 170.  
 Enow, xxix, 67.  
 Enrich, xxxiv, 42.  
 Ensueth, xlvi, 10.



Enterpriser, xl, 40.  
 Entertainment, xlix, 14.  
 Entire, xlvi, 104.  
 Entreprenant, xl, 41.  
 Envy, Essay, ix, xv, 29, xxxvi, 24.  
 Epaminondas, xl, 61.  
 Epicure, iii, 133.  
 Epicureans, i, 49.  
 Epicurus, xvi, 26.  
 Epimenides, xxvii, 11.  
 Epimetheus, xv, 192.  
 Equinoctia, xv, 4.  
 Equipollent, xxxix, 17.  
 Escurial, xlv, 44.  
 Escutcheon, xxix, 300.  
 Espials, xlviii, 17.  
 Estate, ix, 31.  
 Estates, ix, 156.  
 Esther, xlv, 48.  
 Estivation, xlv, 112.  
 Every, xv, 64.  
 Evil eye, ix, 8, xxxvi, 9.  
 Exaltation, xxxix, 53.  
 Exchanges, xviii, 27.  
 Excusations, xxv, 39, liv, 49.  
 Execute, lv, 59.  
 Expense, Essay, xxviii.  
 Express, vi, 9.  
 Extern, xlii, 42.

## F.

Facility, xliii, 34.  
 Faction, Essay, li.  
 Facts, iii, 150.  
 Falleth, xl, 22.  
 Fame, ii, 65, ix, 69.  
 Fame, Essay, lix.  
 Fascinate, ix, 2.  
 Fashions, xlvii, 41.  
 Fast, xlv, 53.  
 Fathers, i, 30, xvii, 14.  
 Favour, xxvii, 190.  
 Favouritea, lv, 55.  
 Favours, xliii, 14.

Fearful, xxix, 33.  
 Fearfully, xv, 46.  
 Fetch, xxii, 104.  
 Fetching, lviii, 162.  
 Fiddle, xxix, 12.  
 First Table, iii, 123.  
 Fix, xxxix, 47.  
 Flashy, l, 28.  
 Flour, xxvii, 33.  
 Fly, lix, 19.  
 Followers and Friends, Essay xlviii.  
 Fond, xxvii, 195.  
 Footpace, lvi, 99.  
 For, iii, 17, viii, 31, xvi, 56, xix, xxvii, 177, 59, 102, xxxiv, 77, xlv, 19.  
 Formalists, xxvi, 10, 50.  
 Fortune, Essay, xl.  
 Forwards, xviii, 74.  
 Foundations, vii, 8, xxxiv, 110.  
 Fowlers, xxxiii, 24.  
 Francis the First, xix, 72.  
 Friar Clement, xxxix, 12.  
 Friarly, xxxiv, 24.  
 Friars, ii, 8, liii, 48.  
 Friendship, Essay, xxvii.  
 Froward, viii, 44.  
 Fume, lviii, 50.  
 Fury, x, 4.  
 Futile, vi, 54.

## G.

Galba, ii, 47.  
 Galen, liv, 35.  
 Galliards, xxii, 37.  
 Gallo-Græcia, lviii, 112.  
 Gamester, xxvii, 192, xlviii, 48.  
 Gardens, Essay, xlv.  
 Gasca, xlv, 40.  
 Gaston de Foix, xlii, 16.  
 Gaudery, xxix, 311.  
 Generative, xxv, 59.  
 Generosity, xvi, 78.  
 Giants, lix, 13.

Giddiness, i, 3.  
 Gingles, xxxiii, 91.  
 Ginnitings, xlvi, 38.  
 Globe, xi, 52.  
 Glorious, xxxiv, 110, liv, 6.  
 Glory, lvi, 72.  
 Gonsalvo, lvii, 40.  
 Goodness, Essay, xiii.  
 Gracing, lvi, 82.  
 Grammar School, xii, 1.  
 Grave, xviii, 5.  
 Gravely, xvii, 23.  
 Great Turk, lix, 43.  
 Great Year, lviii, 48.  
 Gregory the Great, lviii, 40.  
 Grotta, xlv, 112.  
 Growing Silk, xxxiii, 57.

## H.

Haberdashers, xxii, 17.  
 Habitations, xxix, 201.  
 Half piece, xxvii, 104.  
 Hand, ix, 27, xxv, 21.  
 Hendiadys, ix, 77.  
 Henry II, xix, 116.  
 Henry III, iv, 37.  
 Henry IV, lv, 43.  
 Henry VII, xxix, 117, lv, 41.  
 Heraclitus, xxvii, 165.  
 Hercules, v, 15.  
 Hermits, xxvii, 14.  
 Hermogenes, xlii, 55.  
 Herse-like, v, 28.  
 His, xxiii, 8, xxxvi, 3, liv, 38, lviii, 182.  
 Holly-oaks, xlvi, 45.  
 Honour, xi, 111.  
 Honour and Reputation, Essay, lv.  
 Hortatives, viii, 32.  
 Hortensius, xlii, 60.  
 Humanity, xiii, 3.  
 Humorous, viii, 21.  
 Humour, xxx, xxxvi, 1, l, 10.  
 Humours, xv, 102, 189.

Hundred, xix, 148.  
 Husband, lv, 14.  
 Husbandry, xxxiv, 54.

## I.

Idol, x, 21.  
 Ill, xlv, 14, xlix, 1.  
 Ill-intelligence, xlvi, 10.  
 Impedimenta, xxxiv, 2.  
 Impediments, viii, 2.  
 Impersonal construction, xxvi, 49, xxvii, 159, li, 11, xlix 53.  
 Impertinences, viii, 11.  
 Impertinency, lvi, 69.  
 Impertinent, xxvi, 29.  
 Implicit, iii, 102.  
 Importune, ix, 165, xxxviii, 3, xlvi, 4.  
 Imposeth, i, 10.  
 Impostumations, xv, 191.  
 Improper, xxix, 317.  
 Incensed, v, 38.  
 Inconformity, xxiv, 18.  
 Incorporate, iii, 107.  
 Incurreth, ix, 67.  
 Indians, xvi, 47, xxxix, 24.  
 Indifferent, vi, 66, viii, 28, xx, 140, li, 11.  
 Indignities, xi, 9.  
 Indisposition, i, 167.  
 Induce, xxvii, 30, xlv, 15.  
 Industriously, vi, 39.  
 Infamed, xix, 88.  
 Infinitive construction, xxiv, 39, xxvi, 39, xxix, 146, xlvi, 114, lvi, 37.  
 Influences, ix, 8, lviii, 51.  
 Infortunate, iv, 42, xl, 54.  
 Infused, xxxix, 3.  
 Innovations, Essay, xxiv.  
 Inquire, xlvi, 18.  
 Insolency, xiv, 22.  
 Instruments, xxxiv, 66, xlvi, 12.  
 Intend, xxix, 204.

Intention, xxix, 202.  
 Interested, iii, 158.  
 Intervention, lvi, 131.  
 Invention, xxxiv, 80, xlii, 5.  
 Inward, xx, 74.  
 Isabella, lii, 11.  
 Ismael, xliii, 11.  
 Issachar, xxix, 86.  
 It, xx, i, xix, 120, xxvi, 25,  
 xxvii, 18, xxxiv, 115, xxxvii,  
 12, li, 36, liv, 3.  
 Iterations, xxv, 34.  
 Its, x, 44.

## J.

Jade, xxxii, 16.  
 James, xxvii, 188.  
 Janizaries, xix, 157, lix, 44.  
 Jaureguy, xxxix, 12.  
 Jehu, iii, 54.  
 Jesuits, xxii, 20.  
 Job, iv, 32.  
 Judah, xxix, 86.  
 Judaize, xli, 13.  
 Judicature, Essay lvi.  
 Julia, xxvii, 82.  
 Julianus, xix, 109.  
 Julius Cæsar, xlii, 10.  
 Jupiter, xxxiv, 34.  
 Just, xv, 128, xxxvii, 50.  
 Justinian, lv, 35.

## K.

Knap, xlv, 9.  
 Knee timber, xiii, 66.

## L.

Laodiceans, iii, 56.  
 Latinism, i, 27, ii, 65, x, 37, xi,  
 3, 75, xx, 12, xxvii, 138, 176,  
 xxxiv, 66, xxxv, 36, xl, i,  
 xliii, 14, xlv, 15, 31, xlix, 29,  
 liv, 6, lvii, 14, lix, 32.  
 Lay, xxxviii, 36.

Leads, xlv, 67.  
 League, xv, 53, xix, 78, li, 51.  
 Leeseth, xix, 148.  
 Leese, xxix, 31, xxxi, 4, xxxiii,  
 9.  
 Legend, xvi, 1.  
 Lepanto, xxix, 280.  
 Lethe, lviii, 5.  
 Letting, xlv, 119.  
 Leucippus, xvi, 13.  
 Licence, xi, 36.  
 Licentious, xv, 11.  
 Lights, xlv, 95.  
 Lightsome, xlv, 32.  
 Like, xxii, 66, xlv, 13, xlix, 45.  
 Limited, xxviii, 5.  
 Livia, ii, 40, xix, 18.  
 Livy, xl, 17.  
 Loose construction, xi, 21, 91,  
 xxi, 173, xix, 133, xxii, 113,  
 xxvii, 153, xxviii, 11, xxix,  
 123, 171, xxx, 30, xxxi, 31,  
 xxxii, 26, xxxiv, 92, xxxvii,  
 45.  
 Looses, xxii, 125.  
 Lorenzino Medicea, xix, 80.  
 Louis the Eleventh, xxvii, 15.  
 Love, Essay x.  
 Low Countries, xiv, 14.  
 Lucian, i, 12, xvi, 55.  
 Lucretius, i, 58, iii, 25.  
 Lucullus, xlv, 30, li, 19.  
 Lurcheth, xlv, 23.  
 Lycurgus, lv, 35.

## M.

Machiavel, xiii, 25, lviii, 39.  
 Mæcenus, xxvii, 81.  
 Magistrate, xxxix, 38.  
 Mahomet, xii, 30, iii, 115.  
 Mainly, xxxiv, 61.  
 Maketh, xxix, 263, xvi, 24.  
 Manage, xxix, 23, xlii, 26.  
 Managed, vi, 27.  
 Manners, iii, 19, xxvii, 176,  
 xxix, 262.

- Manure, xxxiii, 47.  
 Marcus Antonius, x, 10.  
 Marcus Aurelius, xxvii, 98.  
 Marish, xxxiii, 84.  
 Marriage and single Life, Essay  
 viii.  
 Masks, i, 19.  
 Masques, xviii, 33.  
 Masques and Triumphs, Essay  
 xxxvii.  
 Masteries, xix, 45, xxx, 49.  
 Mate, xv, 112.  
 Mates, ii, 22.  
 Materials, xv, 80.  
 Matter, i, 46, xix, 49.  
 Mean, xix, 58, xlix, 7.  
 Medicine, xxiv, 9.  
 Mercury rod, iii, 149.  
 Mere, xiii, 57, xxvii, 23.  
 Merely, iv, 16, xxix, 291.  
 Mere-stone, lvi, 12.  
 Meum and tuum, lvi, 134.  
 Mew, xxix, 25.  
 Militia, xxix, 78.  
 Milken, xl, 26.  
 Mintmen, xx, 149.  
 Miracle, ix, 49.  
 Misanthropi, xiii, 61.  
 Misquotation, xlili, 32, lviii, 6,  
 i, 29, iii, 62, 76.  
 Model, iii, 72.  
 Moderator, xxv, 32.  
 Moil, xxxiii, 62.  
 Momus, xlv, 15.  
 Monopolies, xxxiv, 88.  
 Montaigne, i, 71, ii, 52.  
 Morris-dance, iii, 41.  
 Mortally, ix, 60.  
 Mortification, ii, 8.  
 Morton and Fox, xx, 78.  
 Motions, xiii, 43.  
 Mought, xxii, 31, xxvii, 114,  
 xxxiv, 39, xxxv, 101.  
 Mountainous, lviii, 23.  
 Mountebanks, xii, 25.  
 Nucianus, vi, 9, liv, 44, lix, 31.  
 Muck, xv, 167.  
 Mummeries, i, 19.  
 Muniting, iii, 110.  
 Mystery, v, 15.  
 Mysteries, vi, 50.  
  
 N.  
 Name, vi, 25.  
 Narcissus, xxii, 54.  
 Narses, ix, 50.  
 Naturalization, xxix, 145.  
 Nature in Men, Essay xxxviii.  
 Naught, xxxiv, 69.  
 Nebuchadnezzar, iii, 107.  
 Negative, xi, 3.  
 Negatives, vii, 2, xxxix, 12.  
 Negotiating, Essay xlvii.  
 Nehemiah, xxii, 48.  
 Nero, xix, 16.  
 Nerve, xxix, 110.  
 New Academy, i, 5.  
 Newel, xlv, 70.  
 Nice, xxix, 149.  
 Niceness, ii, 30.  
 Nobility, Essay xiv.  
 Note, xlix, 36.  
 Noted, ix, 1.  
 Nourish, xix, 146.  
 Numa, xxii, 12.  
 Nunc Dimittis, ii, 63.  
  
 O.  
 Objects, xxx, 30.  
 Obnoxious, xxxvi, 46, xlv, 31.  
 Obtain, vi, 19.  
 Obtaineth, lvi, 83.  
 Occasion, xxi, 5.  
 Oes, xxxvii, 30.  
 Of, vi, 75.  
 Optimates, li, 20.  
 Oraculous, vi, 72.  
 Orange-lawny, xli, 12.  
 Orbs, lviii, 71.  
 Orchard, xxiii, 2.  
 Ostracism, ix, 140.

- Other, xxxvii, 22.  
 Otho, ii, 27.  
 Ottoman, lv, 30.  
 Overcome, xxxiv, 59.  
 Oxidrakes, lviii, 158.
- P.**
- Pace, xxxiv, 36.  
 Padre commune, li, 43.  
 Pairs, xxiv, 28.  
 Palace, xlv, 41.  
 Pallas, xx, 33.  
 Pantries, xlv, 65.  
 Parable, xxvii, 117.  
 Parables, lviii, 188.  
 Parasite, liv, 60.  
 Parataxis, lviii, 139, lix, 3.  
 Parents and Children. Essay vii.  
 Partially, iii, 70.  
 Participles, viii, 37, xi, 62, xiii, 41, xx, 37, 85, xxii, 44, xxii, 66, xxiv, 29, xxix, 6, 152, xxx, 8, xxxiv, 36, xxxiv, 93, xxxix, 7, xli, 79, xlv, 128, liv, 37, lviii, 186.  
 Particular, lviii, 17.  
 Parts, xii, 17.  
 Passable, li, 14.  
 Passages, xxv, 39.  
 Passion, ii, 21, xxx, 22.  
 Passport, xxxi, 38.  
 Paul, ii, 21, iii, 29, lvi, 149.  
 Pawns, xli, 62.  
 Peal, ii, 78.  
 Peculiar, xiii, 42.  
 Perceiving, liii, 8.  
 Perfection, xxv, 53.  
 Periods, xxv, 11.  
 Perish, xxvii, 113.  
 Person, xx, 102, xxvii, 244.  
 Personate, iii, 139.  
 Persuaded, iii, 157.  
 Pertinax, iv, 13.  
 Petty, xxiii, 27.  
 Phaeton, lviii, 16.  
 Pharisaical, xvii, 33.
- Philanthropia, xiii, 2.  
 Philip of Macedon, xxxiv, 25.  
 Philip the Second, xix, 110.  
 Philip le Bel, xliii, 10.  
 Philippics, xxvii, 78.  
 Philology, lviii, 188.  
 Pilate, i, 1.  
 Pinioned, xxiii, 50.  
 Place, xii, 17.  
 Placebo, xx, 162.  
 Plantations, lviii, 93. Essay xxxiii.  
 Platform, xlvi, 219.  
 Plato, xvi, 44, xxxv, 102, lviii, 2.  
 Plausible, ix, 150, xv, 27.  
 Plautianus, xxvii, 94.  
 Play-pleasure, ix, 132.  
 Pliny, liv, 39.  
 Plutarch, xvii, 4.  
 Pluto, xxi, 25, xxxiv, 35.  
 Plutus, xxxiv, 33.  
 Ply, xli, 62.  
 Point, xlv, 73.  
 Point device, lii, 50.  
 Pointing, lviii, 172.  
 Politic, xii, 26.  
 Politics, iii, 43, vi, 4, xiii, 66.  
 Poll, xxix, 108.  
 Poller, lvi, 114.  
 Polling, lvi, 102.  
 Polycrates, xxxiv, 22.  
 Pompey, xxiii, 45, xxvii, 60, li, 21.  
 Popular, xv, 255, xxxvi, 34.  
 Poser, xxxii, 33.  
 Possessive, xxix, 272, xxxix, 30.  
 Post, lix, 46.  
 Practice, iii, 119.  
 Prætorian bands, xix, 157.  
 Pragmatical sanction, xxix, 180.  
 Praise, Essay liii.  
 Praying in aid, xxvii, 131.  
 Pre-occupation, xxv, 31.

Pre-occupieth, ii, 26.  
 Prepositions, i, 11, ii, 36, xxvii, 224, xxiii, 32, 44, xxx, 22, xxxiv, 12, 42, 79, xxxv, 81, xxxvi, 18, 21, xxxviii, 49, xxxix, 3, 16, xlv, 27, xlvi, 38, l, 14, lii, 8, liv, 1, lvi, 13, lviii, 186, lix, 42.  
 Precedent, xix, 83.  
 Present, xxxii, 18.  
 Presently, xxvii, 189.  
 Prest, xxix, 239.  
 Pretended, xxiv, 35.  
 Prettily, i, 71.  
 Prevent, lvi, 35.  
 Prick in, xviii, 76.  
 Pricked, xlvi, 182.  
 Prime, lviii, 66.  
 Primum mobile, i, 60, xv, 63, xvii, 20, 224, li, 58.  
 Prince of Darkness, iii, 40.  
 Principal, xxxv, 78.  
 Privadoes, xxvii, 49.  
 Proceed, lviii, 101.  
 Proceeding, xv, 200.  
 Prodicus, xxvii, 36.  
 Profiting, xix, 21.  
 Prometheus, v, 15.  
 Proof, vii, 29.  
 Propagatories, lvi, 43.  
 Proper, vii, 7, xxvii, 244, lvii, 50.  
 Property, xxxvi, 10.  
 Prophecies, Essay xxxv.  
 Propriety, iii, 29.  
 Prosecution, lvi, 35.  
 Prospect, i, 57.  
 Prospectives, xxvi, 11.  
 Proyoked, ii, 28.  
 Proynning, v, 12.  
 Pulings, xxxviii, 27.  
 Purchase, iv, 13, li, 36, lv, 10.  
 Purprise, lvi, 98.  
 Pursuit, xxvii, 63.  
 Push, liii, 37.  
 Pythagoras, xxvii, 117.

## Q.

Quality, xv, 147.  
 Quarrel, xxix, 229.  
 Quarter, x, 49.  
 Queching, xxxix, 29.  
 Queen Mother, xxxv, 45.  
 Quintessence, xvi, 15.  
 Quire, xxxvii, 6.

## R.

Rabbin, xlii, 45.  
 Rabelais, iii, 39.  
 Raisers, vii, 13.  
 Ranging, lviii, 174.  
 Ravillac, xxxix, 12.  
 Recamera, xlv, 122.  
 Receipt, xxvii, 35, xlvi, 141, xlix, 50.  
 Reciproque, x, 35.  
 Reduce, xi, 61.  
 Redundancies, viii, 36, xv, 33, xxii, 88, xxxii, 25, xxxvi, 5, xxxvii, 31, xlvi, 14.  
 Referendaries, xlix, 27.  
 Refrained, lvii, 8.  
 Refrainings, lvii, 42.  
 Reflection, liii, 1.  
 Regiment, xxx, 1.  
 Regiment of Health, Essay xxx.  
 Regiomontanus, xxxv, 74.  
 Reglement, xli, 74.  
 Regress, xi, 10.  
 Regulus, lv, 63.  
 Reins, l, 40.  
 Relates, xxvii, 160.  
 Relatives, viii, 10, ix, 25, 153, xi, 118, xii, 6, 19, xiii, 2, xv, 44, xxii, 59, 62, xxiii, 43, xxiv, 17, 28, xxvii, 25, 167, xxviii, 34, xxix, 29, 192, xxxii, 38, 41, xxxvii, 25, liv, 56, lvii, 14.  
 Remembrances, xix, 164.  
 Removes, xviii, 52.

- Remuant, xl, 41.  
 Reposed, xlii, 15.  
 Representations, xix, 5.  
 Reserved, lvii, 22.  
 Resorts and falls, xxii, 121.  
 Respect, xxx, 53.  
 Respects, xi, 97.  
 Rest, xxvii, 35.  
 Resteth, xxxvi, 30.  
 Restrained, xxvii, 155.  
 Retiring, l, 2.  
 Returns, xlv, 51.  
 Revenge, Essay iv.  
 Ribes, xlvi, 35.  
 Riches, xxxiv, 3.  
 Rid, xxix, 189.  
 Right, xxiii, 7.  
 Romulus, xxix, 203, lv, 30.  
 Round, vi, 101.  
 Roxolana, xix, 88.  
 Rnin, lvii, 14.
- S**
- Sabbath, i, 44.  
 Sabinius, lviii, 44.  
 Sad, v, 34.  
 Salisbury, xlv, Introductory  
 Remarks.  
 Salt, xl, 14.  
 Saltness, xxxii, 25.  
 Sarza, xxvii, 33.  
 Saturn, xvii, 9.  
 Saul, xxxv, 4.  
 Save the phenomena, xvii, 27.  
 Sbirrerie, liii, 51.  
 Scene, xxxvii, 22.  
 Sceptics, i, 5.  
 Schisms, iii, 17.  
 School, i, 13.  
 Schoolmen, xvii, 25, xix, 82,  
 l, 46, liii, 48.  
 Scope, xxix, 207.  
 Scraps, lvi, 109.  
 Scrivener, xxxix, 77.  
 Seconds, li, 29.  
 Secreted, vi, 15.  
 Secure, xv, 114.  
 Security, v, 9.  
 Seditious, Essay xv.  
 Seeded, xxxvi, 25.  
 Seelings, liv, 41.  
 Seeming Wise, Essay xxvi.  
 Seldom, xxxii, 40, lviii, 33.  
 Selymus I, xix, 115.  
 Selymus II, xix, 103.  
 Seneca, ii, 14, v, 1, xxxiv, 96.  
 Sense, ii, 14.  
 Sensible, viii, 21, xi, 122, xxix,  
 236, xxxvi, 68.  
 Sensual, xvii, 32.  
 Sentence, lviii, 3.  
 Septimius Severus, ii, 50.  
 Sequester, xviii, 49, xxvii, 9.  
 Services, xlvi, 44.  
 Set up their rest, xxix, 283.  
 Several, li, 5.  
 Sforza, xix, 80.  
 Shadows, xix, 5.  
 Shall, ii, 7, vii, 8, 21, viii, 30,  
 xvi, 29, xlv, 98, xlvii, 4, lii,  
 29.  
 Shew, i, 18.  
 Sheweth, i, 21.  
 Shire, xix, 148.  
 Shivering, lviii, 126.  
 Shoals, lviii, 144.  
 Should, i, 15, ii, 8, iii, 86.  
 Shows, liii, 8.  
 Shrewd, xxiii, 1.  
 Shrift, xxvii, 38.  
 Sibylla, xxi, 3.  
 Side, xi, 115.  
 Simulation, Essay vi.  
 Singular, xxix, 163.  
 Siren, x, 4.  
 Slang, li, 24.  
 Slide, xiv, 48.  
 Slight, xii, 39.  
 Slope, xlvi, 111.  
 Smother, xxvii, 161.  
 So, i, 57, vii, 36, xix, 100, xxxii,  
 51, xxxiv, 54, xxxvii, 18, lii,  
 34, lv, 6.

- So.....as, xxvii, 41.  
 Socrates, xliv, 40, liv, 35.  
 Sold, xxxiv, 21.  
 Solecism, xix, 56.  
 Solomon, iv, 7, vii, 19, lvi, 142.  
 Solomon's son, xx, 16.  
 Solon, xxix, 74, lv, 35, lviii, 30.  
 Solution, iii, 20.  
 Sometime, xxvii, 180.  
 Sophy, xliii, 12.  
 Sort, xxxviii, 46.  
 Sorted, vi, 5, vii, 34, xxix, 74.  
 Sorteth, xxvii, 47, xxxvii, 248.  
 Spangs, xxxvii, 31.  
 Spartans, xxv, 22.  
 Speculative, xx, 102.  
 Spials, xliv, 33.  
 Spirits, ix, 15, x, 8, xii, 47, lvi, 141.  
 St. Bernard, xvi, 65.  
 Staddles, xxix, 105.  
 Stale, xii, 49.  
 State, xxix, 131.  
 States, lvi, 121.  
 Statua, xxvii, 161, xxxvii, 39, xlv, 68.  
 Stay, lviii, 76.  
 Still, i, 47, ix, 9.  
 Stirps, xiv, 8.  
 Stock, xv, 141.  
 Stoics, ii, 52, v, 2, lvii, 1.  
 Stond, xl, 14, l, 37.  
 Strait, xv, 169.  
 Studies, Essay 1.  
 Style, xxix, 305.  
 Sufficiency, xxvi, 7.  
 Suit, lviii, 64.  
 Suitors, Essay xlix.  
 Sultan, xxxiv, 110.  
 Sumptuary, xv, 136.  
 Superstition, Essay xvii.  
 Surcharge, xiv, 25.  
 Suspect, xxiv, 36, li, 42, liii, 18.  
 Suspicion, Essay xxxi.  
 Sustentation, lviii, 145.  
 Switzers, xiv, 12.  
 Sylla, xxvii, 60.
- T
- Tacitus, ii, 43, vi, 5, xxxiv, 96.  
 Take a fall, vi, 91.  
 Taken, xii, 13.  
 Talmud, xvi, 2.  
 Taxing, xi, 57.  
 Tamerlane, ix, 51.  
 Temper, xix, 32.  
 Temperature, vi, 107.  
 Tendering, xxx, 41.  
 Tiberius, ii, 43, xxvii, 85, xxxvi, 28.  
 Tigranes, xxix, 61.  
 Timber, xii, 65.  
 Timæus, xxxv, 102.  
 Timoleon, xl, 61.  
 Timon, xiii, 63.  
 Timotheus, xl, 55.  
 Tiphys, xxxv, 15.  
 Tithe, xli, 3.  
 Titus, xliii, 10.  
 That, iii, 126, vi, 38, xiv, 22, xv, 26, xix, 99, xxvii, 62, 68, 80, xxxiii, 69, xxxiv, 58, xxxv, 68, 72, xxxvi, 50, xl, 15, xlvi, 216, lviii, 34, lix, 29.  
 That..... as, vi, 13.  
 That..... which, xxix, 221.  
 Thales, viii, 51.  
 Theatre, xi, 46.  
 Themistocles, xxix, 1, 275.  
 Theodoricus, lv, 41.  
 Theologues, lviii, 48.  
 Things, xxiii, 24.  
 Thorough, v, 20, xlv, 95.  
 Thomas à Becket, xix, 119.  
 Thule, xxxv, 15.  
 Toy, lviii, 60.  
 Toys, xxxvii, 1.  
 Tourneys, xxxvii, 50.  
 To seek, xli, 85.  
 Tract, xlii, 64.  
 Tracts, vi, 59.



- Trajan, xxvii, 98.  
 Trash, xiii, 78.  
 Travel, Essay xviii.  
 Travels, ix, 95.  
 Trifles, xxxiii, 91.  
 Triumphs, i, 19, xviii, 33,  
     Essay xxxvii, xlv, 49.  
 True greatness of kingdoms,  
     Essay xxix.  
 Treaties, iii, 49.  
 Trivial, iii, 69, xii, 1.  
 Truth, Essay i.  
 Troth, vi, 96,  
 Trivially, xxix, 72.  
 Turquets, xxxvii, 38.  
 Tully, xlii, 60.  
 Tunnel, xlv, 76.  
 Twelve tables, lvi, 124.  
 Tribunitious, xx, 152.
- U.**
- Ulysses, viii, 42.  
 Underfoot, xli, 59.  
 Understanding, lvi, 119.  
 Undertakers, xxxiii, 70.  
 Undertaking, ix, 36.  
 United Provinces, xiv, 14.  
 Unity of Religion, Essay iii.  
 Unproper, xxvii, 182.  
 Unsecreting, xx, 63.  
 Unready, xlii, 33.  
 Ure, vi, 84, xxxiii, 54.  
 Use, xxvii, 128, xxxii, 36, xxxv,  
     29.  
 Use of Scripture, xlv, 3, lvi,  
     33, lviii, 17.  
 Usury, xv, 170, xxxii, 36, xxxv,  
     29, Essay xli.  
 Utopia, xli, 73.
- V.**
- Vain-glory, ix, 121, Essay liv.  
 Vantage, i, 54, xxix, 288.  
 Vatican, xlv, 43.  
 Vecture, xv, 157, xli, 29.  
 Vein, i, 7, ix, 62, xxxii, 21.
- Vena porta, xix, 144.  
 Verb of motion, liii, 16.  
 Verbatim, xxvii, 77.  
 Version, lviii, 57.  
 Vespasian, ii, 46, xxxv, 34, lv,  
     40.  
 Vicissitudes of Things, Essay  
     lviii.  
 Vindictive, iv, 40.  
 Virgil, xv, 15.  
 Virginia, xxxii, 12.  
 Virtue, xliii, 1.  
 Virtuous, xiv, 36.  
 Vizars, xxxviii, 34.  
 Voice, xi, 70.  
 Vulgar, xxvii, 164, 194.
- W.**
- Walsingham, xxii, 28.  
 Wantons, vii, 23.  
 Wardens, xlvi, 43.  
 Weathers, xiv, 33, lv, 117.  
 Wells, xlvi, 126.  
 What, iii, 140.  
 Which, iii, 87.  
 Will, vi, 64, xlvii, 11.  
 Windfall, xxix, 153.  
 Wisdom for a Man's Self,  
     Essay xxiii.  
 Wit, vi, 2, xxxii, 2.  
 Wits, i, 6.  
 Witchcraft, iv, 42.  
 Wittily, liv, 54.  
 Wood, xxxvi, 53.  
 Would, xvii, 48, xxii, 22, xxxii,  
     21, xxxiii, 57, xxxvii, 10, xlvi,  
     197.  
 Wormwood, lvi, 25.  
 Worthy, ii, 20.
- Y.**
- Youth and Age, Essay xlii.
- Z.**
- Zanger, xlv, 39.  
 Zelants, iii, 53.