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**THE ESSAYS OF FRANCIS BACON.**

College Classics Series.

THE ESSAYS

OF

FRANCIS BACON

WITH

*INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDEX,*

BY

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## PREFACE.

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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.

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## CORRIGENDA.

### TEXT.

ESSAY.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
III.	49	<i>treatises</i>	<i>treaties.</i>
III.	83	<i>subtily</i>	<i>subtilly.</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>uopn</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 licenses 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*.



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## INTRODUCTION.

## THE LIFE OF BACON.

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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 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

(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. 'Multum 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 appositely 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.

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## 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



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	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

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# THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

[1597.]

TO M. ANTHONY BACON,

HIS DEARE BROTHER.

LOVING and beloued brother, I do nowe like some that haue an orcharde ill-neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print: to labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subject to interpretation: to let them passe had beene to adventure the wrong they mought receiue by untrue coppies, or by some garnishment which it mought please any one that should set them forth to bestow vpon them; therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myselfe, as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further di-grace then the weaknessse of the author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing men's conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: so in these particulars I have played myselfe the inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion or Manners, but rather (as I suppo-e) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out, because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the siluer were good, yet the peices were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next myselfe; Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myselfe, that her Majestie mought haue the seruice of so active and able a mind; and I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest: so commend I you to the preservation of the Diuine Majestie. From my chamber at Graies Inne, this 30th of Januarie, 1597.

*Your entire louing brother,*

FRAN. BACON.

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

[1612.]

TO MY LOUING BROTHER,

SIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KNIGHT.

My last Essaiēs I dedicated to my deare brother *Master Anthony Bacon*, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature : which if I myselfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not ; by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next ; in respect of bond, both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies ; wherein I must acknowledge myselfe beholding to you. For as my  
10 business found rest in my contemplations, so my contem-  
plations ever found rest in your louing conference and judgment. So wishing you all good, I remaine

*Your louing brother and friend,*

FRA. BACON.

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

[1625.]

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LO.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

HIS GRACE, LO. HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies, *a good name is as a precious oylment* ; and I assure myselfe such will your *Grace's* name bee with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Merit both haue been Eminent. And you haue planted Things that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes* ; which of all my other workes, haue beene most Currant ; for that, as it seemes

they come home to Men's Businesse and Bosomes. I haue enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it, therefore, agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to 10 prefix your name before them both in English and in Latine. For I doe conceiue, that the Latine Volume of them (being in the Vniuersall Language) may last as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration* I dedicated to the *King*; my *Historie of Henry the Seuenth* (which I haue now translated into Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall History*, to the *Prince*; and these I dedicate to your *Grace*; Being of the best Fruits, that, by the good Encrease which *God* gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* lead your *Grace* by the Hand. 20

Your Grace's most obliged and faithfull Seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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# ESSAYS.

## I. OF TRUTH.

**W**HAT is truth? said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon 10 men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural, though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not show the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps 20 come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy, *vinum dæmonum*, 30



[*the wine of devils*] because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the  
40 belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature.

The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet  
50 excellently well, *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage-ground of Truth* (a hill not to be commanded and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below: so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride.* Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence,  
60 and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those who practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it: for

these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious: and therefore 70  
 Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge? saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men.* For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men; it being foretold that when Christ cometh, *he shall not* 80  
*find faith upon the earth.*

## II. OF DEATH.

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what 10  
 the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* [*It is rather the accompaniments of Death that frighten men than Death itself.*] Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that 20

there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and  
 30 as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eudem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* [Consider how long you have been doing the same thing; not only from heroism or wretchedness but even from ennui a man might be willing to die.] A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same  
 40 men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment: *Livia, conjugii nostri memor vive, et vale.* [*Livia farewell. Ever remember what our married life has been.*] Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio deerant.* [*His bodily strength was now leaving Tiberius, but not his dissimulation.*] Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* [*I suppose I am becoming a God.*] Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,* [*Strike if it be for the good of the Roman people*] holding forth his  
 50 neck: Septimius Severus in despatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum,* [*Come quickly if anything is left for me to do*] and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, *qui finem vite extremum inter munera ponit naturæ,* [*who counts the ending of life among Nature's boons.*] It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as pain-

ful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent 60 upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *Extinctus amabitur idem*. [*He who when living was hated will be loved when dead.*]

### III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a *jealous God*; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mix- 10- ture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of Unity (next upto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt 20 humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity. And, therefore, whensoever it cometh to pass that one saith, *Ece in deserto*, [*Behold He is in the desert*] another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*, [*Behold He*

is in the inner chamber] that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *nolite exire*. [*Go not out.*] The Doctor of the  
 30 Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorners. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, that, in his catalogue of books of a  
 40 feigned library, sets down this title of a book, *The Morris-dance of Heretics*. For, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace; which containeth infinite blessings: it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience; and it turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises  
 50 of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity; the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zelants all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu?—What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement  
 60 between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians,

peuned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us*; and again, *He that is not against us is with us*; that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more 70 generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours*. Whereupon he saith, *in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*. [In the garment let there be diversity, but 80 not division.] They be two things, unity and uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that 90 knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *devita profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ*. [Avoid profane novelties in terms and oppositions of knowledge falsely so

called]. Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and the temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like; tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

[*To deeds so evil could religion prompt*].

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with

great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*; but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness*. And what is it better, to 140 make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set, out of the bark of a Christian church, a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and 150 opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei.* [*The wrath of man doth not fulfil the righteousness of God.*] And it was a notable observation of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

## IV. OF REVENGE.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior: for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Solomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence*. That which is past is gone and irrevocable; and wise men have enough



- 10 to do with things present and to come ; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake ; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me ? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature ; why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy : but then,
- 20 let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish ; else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh ; this is the more generous : for the delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read, saith he,*
- 30 *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies ; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune. *Shall we, saith he, take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also ?* And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate : as that for the death of Cæsar ; for the death of Pertinax ; for the death of Henry the Third of France ; and many more.
- 40 But in private revenges it is not so ; nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches ; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

#### V. OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that *the good things which belong to prosperity*

are to be wished: but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: *Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia*. Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen): *it is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God: Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei*. This 10 would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher; lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the 20 waves of the world. But to speak in a mean: the virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude: which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New: which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many herselike airs as carols: and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. 30 Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed; for

prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best  
40 discover virtue.

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

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

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son ; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius.* And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties, of arts or policy and dissimulation or closeness, are, indeed, habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shown at half-lights, and to whom and when, (which, indeed, are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that  
20 judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general ; like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity ; but then they were like horses well managed ; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn : and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it,  
30 came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is. The second, dissimulation, in the negative: when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third, simulation, in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not. 40

For the first of these, secrecy: it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close air sucketh in the more open: and, as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say 50 truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral. And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying; by 60 how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation; it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity: so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with

70 questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulations, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession; that I hold more culpable and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. And, therefore, a  
80 general custom of simulation (which is this last degree), is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat: for if a man engage  
90 himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a truth*. As if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages, to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a  
100 show of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and

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

#### VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours; but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed: so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance not only of their kind but of their work; and so both children and creatures. 10

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy; especially in the mother; as Solomon saith; *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are, as it were, forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is a harmful error; makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep 20

30 their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and school-masters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes  
 40 resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible: and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo*, [choose what  
 50 is best: habit will make it agreeable and easy.] Younger brothers are commonly fortunate; but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

#### VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are  
 10 who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account wife and

children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For, perhaps, they have heard some talk, *Such a one is a great rich man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children*: as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty; especially in certain self-pleasing 20 and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen; for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates: for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. 30 For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children. And I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and 40 therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, *vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*. [*He preferred his old wife to immortality.*] Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses; companions for



middle age; and old men's nurses. So as a man may  
 50 have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was  
 reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the  
 question, when a man should marry—*A young man no  
 yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen, that bad  
 husbands have very good wives: whether it be that it  
 raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it  
 comes; or that the wives take a pride in their patience.  
 But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their  
 own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then  
 they will be sure to make good their own folly.

## IX. OF ENVY.

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

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to  
 be thought on in fit place), we shall handle what persons  
 20 are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to  
 be envied themselves; and what is the difference between  
 public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth

virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil, and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious: for to know much of other men's matters cannot be 30 because all that ado may concern his own estate: therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.* [*Nobody is inquisitive without being also malevolent.*]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is 40 like a deceit of the eye that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus 50 and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious; for they cannot want work; it being impossible but many, in some one of

those things, should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy: first, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides, there seemeth not so much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a flat. And, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum*. [at a bound.]

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy: for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves 100 what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*: [*what sufferings are ours!*] not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business: and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places: for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy. 110

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true; that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more 120 crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part; as we said in the beginning, that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft: and that is to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another. For which purpose the wiser 130

sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves ; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like : and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy : there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For  
140 public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great : and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment ; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection : for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it ; so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And  
150 therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions : for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy ; which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small ; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the  
160 ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy : that of all other affections it is the most importune

and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then ; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*, [*Envy keeps no holidays*] for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other 170 affections do not ; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved ; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called, *the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*. As it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark ; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

## X. OF LOVE.

The stage is more beholding to love than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief ; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love ; which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of 10 the empire of Rome ; and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and law-giver ; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate ; but the latter was an austere and wise man : and therefore it seems (though rarely), that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus ; *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus* : [*We need no greater spectacle than one another*] as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before 20 a little idol, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to

note the excess of this passion ; and how it braves the nature and value of things ; by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase ; for whereas it hath been well said, *That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self* ; certainly  
30 the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved ; and therefore it was well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all : except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses,  
40 the poet's relation doth well figure them : *That he that preferred Helena quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas* : for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath its floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity ; though this latter hath been less observed ; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do beat, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter ; and sever it wholly from  
50 their serious affairs and actions of life : for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love : I think it is but as they are given to wine ; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many ; and maketh men become humane and charitable ; as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love

maketh mankind ; friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

#### XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great place are thrice servants : servants of the sovereign or state ; servants of fame ; and servants of business. So as they have no freedom, neither in their persons nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty ; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious : and by pains men come to greater pains ; and it is sometimes base ; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, 10 which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* [When you are no longer what you have been, you have no reason for desiring to live.] Nay retire men cannot when they would ; neither will they when it were reason : but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow : like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own feeling, they 20 cannot find it : but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were, by report ; when, perhaps, they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs ; though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind.

*Illi mors gravis incubat,  
Qui notus nimis omnibus,  
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

[On him does Death fall heavy  
who dies too well known to all others,  
unknown to himself.]



In place there is licence to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse; for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts  
 40 (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place; as the vantage or commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut adspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* [And God turned to behold the works which His hands made and saw  
 50 that all were very good.] And then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place: not to set off thyself by taxing their memory; but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself,  
 60 as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular; that men may know beforehand what they may expect: but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence, and  
 70 *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it

more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place ; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four : delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays : give easy access ; keep times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand ; and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption : do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one ; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other : and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore, always, when thou changeth thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change ; and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, 80 and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness : it is a needless cause of discontent : severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery. For bribes come but now and then ; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Solomon saith ; *To respect persons is not good ; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently 100 spoken, ' A place showeth the man : ' and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse : *omnium consensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset, [a man, whom all would have agreed in pronouncing fit to be Emperor, if he had never been Emperor,]* saith Tacitus of Galba ; but of Vespasian he saith ; *solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* [*Vespasian was the only Emperor who improved while reign-*

ing.] Though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place; so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising; and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, When he sits in place he is another man.

## XII. OF BOLDNESS.

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

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

good in execution : so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers ; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII. OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I take goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philantropia ; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity ; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall ; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall : but in charity there is no excess ; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man : insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures ; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds : insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to  
 10 have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb ; *Tanto buon che val niente, So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust :* which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or  
 20 sect, or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the

Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal, 30  
and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of  
the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other  
men; but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies:  
for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest  
mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem,  
who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a  
barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson  
truly: *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine*  
*upon the just and the unjust*; but he doth not rain wealth,  
nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common 40  
benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar  
benefits with choice. And beware how in making the  
portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh  
the love of ourselves the pattern, the love of our neigh-  
bours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it*  
*to the poor, and follow me*: but sell not all thou hast, except  
thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a voca-  
tion wherein thou mayst do as much good with little means  
as with great: for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou  
driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of good- 50  
ness directed by right reason; but there is in some men,  
even in nature, a disposition towards it: as, on the other  
side, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in  
their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter  
sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or froward-  
ness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but  
the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in  
other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are  
ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that  
licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing 60  
upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it  
their practice to bring men to the hough, and yet have  
never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon  
had. Such dispositions are the very errors of human  
nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great

politics of ; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, 70 it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But, above all, if he have Saint Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an 80 anathema from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

## XIV. OF NOBILITY.

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate ; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks : for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not ; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles ; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not 10 upon the persons ; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons ; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel : for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and

potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power ; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice ; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense ; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means. 20

As for nobility in particular persons ; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle, or building not in decay ; or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect ; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time ? For new nobility is but the act of power ; but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility, are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants ; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry ; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business ; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command. 30 40

#### XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when



things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas, before a tempest, so are there in states:

Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus

Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.

10 [Oft too are we warned that blind commotions are impending,  
and that treason and secret wars are about to burst on us.]

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:

Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,

Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæso Enceladoque sororem

Progenit.

20 [Her did mother Earth, enraged against the gods, bring forth,  
last, 'tis said, of her offspring, sister to Cæus and Enceladus.]

As if fames were the relics of seditions past: but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shows the envy great, as

30 Tacitus saith, *conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.* [When a ruler has become very unpopular, his every action, whether good or bad, turns to his discredit.]

Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh

of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi* 40  
 [they went about their duties, but yet as men more disposed to criticise than to execute the commands of their rulers]; disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience: especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by 50  
 uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France: for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence 60  
 of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile*, according to the old opinion, which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, [more freely than is consistent with remembrance of their rulers] it is a sign the 70  
 orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; *solvam cingula regum*. [I will loose the girdles of kings.]

So when any of the four pillars of government are

mainly shaken, or weakened (which are religion; justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

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

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

[Hence usury that eats away wealth, and interest ruinous as time passes, and faith shaken, and war regarded by many as a boon.]

This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate, in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this; whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this; whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling.

¶ *dolendi modus, timendi non item.* [There is a limit to suffer-

*ing but not to fear.*] Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage: but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm; so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.* 120

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak; as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease: and so be left to counsel rather than rule. 130

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake; which is, want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil, the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars), do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number: for a smaller number that spend more and earn less do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and 140

gather more ; Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity. and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy ; for they bring  
 150 nothing to the stock : and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, for as much as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another ; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it : the manufacture ; and the vecture, or carriage. So that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*,  
 160 that the work and carriage is worth more than the material, and enricheth a state more ; as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands : for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring  
 170 trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them ; there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the noblesse and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great ; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort ; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort  
 180 do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the

meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter : which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus with his hundred hands to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth 190  
ulcers and pernicious impostumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments ; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can 200  
hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction : and when it can handle things in such a manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope : which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be 210  
one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular ; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and

220 true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*, [*Sylla had no knowledge of letters, so could not dictate*] for it did utterly cut 230 off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non emi*; [*He levied soldiers, did not buy them*] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech; *si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*: [*If I live, the Roman Empire will no longer need soldiers*] a speech of great despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, 240 and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the state runneth the danger of that 250 which Tacitus saith, *atque is habitus animorum fuit ut per-*

*nimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*  
 [And such was the state of their minds that a few dared the  
 worst villany, many approved it, all submitted to it.]  
 But let such military persons be assured, and well reputed  
 of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good  
 correspondence with the other great men in the state; or  
 else the remedy is worse than the disease.

## XVI. OF ATHEISM.

I had rather believe all the fables in the legend, and  
 the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal  
 frame is without a mind. And, therefore, God never  
 wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary  
 works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy in-  
 clineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy  
 bringeth men's minds about to religion: for while the  
 mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may  
 sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it  
 beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked to- 10  
 gether, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay,  
 even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth  
 most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus,  
 and Democritus, and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times  
 more credible, that four mutable elements and one immu-  
 table fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God,  
 than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds un-  
 placed, should have produced this order and beauty without  
 a divine marshal. The scripture saith, *The fool hath said in*  
*his heart, there is no God*: it is not said, *The fool hath though* 20  
*in his heart*: so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as  
 that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe  
 it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God but  
 those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It ap-  
 pareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip  
 than in the heart of man, than by this; that atheists will  
 ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in



it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others ; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects : and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant ; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves ? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced ; for his words are noble and divine : *Non Deo, vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* [It is not profane to reject the gods of the common people : but it is profane to hold concerning the gods the notions of the common people.] Plato could have said no more. And, although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the West have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God : as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc., but not the word *Deus* ; which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare ; a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian, perhaps, and some others ; and yet they seem to be more than they are ; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites ; which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling ; so as they must needs be canterized in the end. The causes of atheism are divisions in religion, if they be many ; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides ; but many divisions

introduce atheism. Another is scandal of priests ; when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, *non est jam dicere ut populus sic sacerdos ; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.* [It cannot now be said *As the people, so the priest, for the people are better than the priest.*] A third is a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters ; which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And, lastly, 70  
 learned times, especially with peace and prosperity : for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility : for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body ; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature ; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man ; who to him is instead of a God, or 80  
*melior natura ; [a better nature]* which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations : never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. 90  
 Of this state hear what Cicero saith ; *Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus ; tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos ; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hæc una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.* [Let us be as partial to ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as we will, yet we have not surpassed the Spaniards in

100 numbers, nor the Gauls in strength, nor the Carthaginians in cunning, nor the Greeks in art, nor finally the Italians and Latins in the homely and inborn intelligence which seems characteristic of our common race and land; but we have surpassed all other nations in our sense of duty to man and God, and in this single wisdom, that we have recognised that all things are guided and governed by the will of the immortal Gods ]

#### XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him: for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely*, saith he, *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one, Plutarch, that would eat his children as soon as they were born*, as the poets speak of Saturn. And as the contumely is greater towards God, 10 so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther: and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states; and bringeth in a new 20 *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena,

though they knew there were no such things : and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice 30 of the church. The causes of superstition are : pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies ; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness ; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church ; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre ; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties ; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations ; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is 40 a deformed thing ; for, as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received : therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad ; which commonly is done when the people is the re- 50 former.

## XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education ; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well ; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before ; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young 10 men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange

thing that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries, but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are: the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors: the courts of justice, while they sit and hear  
 20 causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic: the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant: the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours: antiquities and ruins: libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are: shipping and navies: houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities: armories, arsenals, magazines: exchanges, burses, warehouses: exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort;  
 30 treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities: and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go: after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he  
 40 must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth; which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long: nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the

town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance. Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth; that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers than forwards to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts: but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

## XIX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings; who being at the highest, want matter of desire; which makes their minds more languishing;

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

To speak now of the true temper of Empire: it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction: Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, some-*  
 40 *times to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that

nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may 50 come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories. *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrarise.* [As a rule the desires of kings are strong and inconsistent.] For it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their 60 second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one, which ever holdeth, which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels 70 to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance



it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war : and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that League (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King  
80 of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the Schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation. For there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives ; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband : Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned  
90 prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession : Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children ; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever  
100 unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood ; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house ; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths ; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him.  
110 The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second

of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet: and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people. 120

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain to do all things himself. 130

For their second nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt: besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent: and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions. 140

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*; and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will

have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue ; for that which he wins in the hundred he leeseth in the shire ; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of  
150 trading rather decreased.

For their commons ; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads ; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war ; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and prætorian bands of Rome ; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places and under several commanders, and with-  
160 out donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times ; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances : *memento quod es homo* ; [*Remember that you are a man*] and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei* : [*Remember that you are God, God's vicegerent*] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

#### XX. OF COUNSEL.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair ; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole : by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without ; but hath made  
10 it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. Solomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stabi-*

*lity.* Things will have their first or second agitation ; if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune ; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel ; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned : 20 that it was young counsel, for the persons ; and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings : the one in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth Counsel ; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel : the other in that which followeth, which was thus : they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child ; but 30 Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up ; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire ; how kings are to make use of their council of state : that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation ; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and 40 direction, as if it depended on them ; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves, and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been  
 50 noted in calling and using counsel are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate  
 60 all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum*. [*I am full of chinks.*] One futile person that maketh it his glory to tell will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two  
 70 persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable showeth the re-  
 80 medy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his

council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves: certainly, *non inveniet fident super terram*, [*he shall not find faith upon the earth,*] is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct; not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.*

[*A ruler's greatest merit is to know his subjects.*]

100

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in his master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both: and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; and of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither it is enough to con-

110

sult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, [according to their classes] as in an idea of mathematical description, 120 what the kind and character the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consilarii mortui*: [Our best counsellors are the dead.] Books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings; where matters are rather talked on than debated. 130 And they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium*. [Night brings counsel.] So was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland; which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions: for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance; and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere* [have nothing else to do]. In choice of committees for ripening 140 business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one Council of Estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions; save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mint-men, and the like), be first heard 150 before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats

about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business: but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth: for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of *plucebo*. [*I will please you.*] 160

## XXI. OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market, where, many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. 10  
Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light: and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands: 20  
first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto,



which makes the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel, and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air  
30 which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

## XXII. OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of  
10 business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*, [*send both naked to strangers and you will see*] doth scarce hold for them. And, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom  
20 you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to queen Elizabeth of Eng-

land with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by saying things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider, especially of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

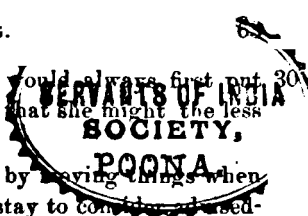
And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender and displeasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad*.

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.

I knew another that when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth



and come back again, and speak of it as a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party, that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; 70 to the end, they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and 80 that he did not affect it, the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning which we in England call, *The turning of the cat in the pan*; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it 90 to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, *This I do not*; as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare*. [*I look not, he said, to various hopes, but to the safety of the Emperor alone.*]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure. 100

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of a great patience but yet of much use. 110

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise. 120

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, *Pro-* 130  
*denus advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.* [*The wise man taketh heed to his steps; the fool turns aside to deceit.*]

## XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself ; but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society ; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others : especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right Earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre : whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they

10 benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends : which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark ; except they mean their service should be made but the accessory.

20 That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's ; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants ; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And, for the most part, the good such

30 servants receive is after the model of their own fortune ; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs ; and yet these men many

times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes sine rivali*, [*Lovers of themselves without a rival*,] are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of Fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

#### XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of Time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For ill to man's nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance: but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for Time is the greatest innovator: and if time, of course, alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their incon-

formity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired,  
 20 and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still ;  
 which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a forward re-  
 tention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation ;  
 and they that reverence too much old times are but a  
 scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in  
 their innovations would follow the example of Time itself,  
 which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees  
 scarce to be perceived : for otherwise, whatsoever is new  
 is unlooked for ; and ever it mends some and pairs others :  
 and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks  
 30 the time ; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth  
 it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments  
 in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility  
 evident ; and well to beware that it be the reformation  
 that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change  
 that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the  
 novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a sus-  
 pect : and, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand  
 upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover  
 what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

## XXV. OF DISPATCH.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to  
 business that can be. It is like that which the physicians  
 call predigestion, or hasty digestion ; which is sure to fill  
 the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases.  
 Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting,  
 but by the advancement of the business. And as in races  
 it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the  
 speed ; so in business the keeping close to the matter, and  
 not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It  
 10 is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time ;  
 or to contrive some false periods of business, because they  
 may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate  
 by contracting, another by cutting off : and business

so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna; Let my death come from Spain;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming. 20

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches: for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor. 30

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction, in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter. 40

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never



enter well into business; and he that divideth too much  
 50 will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save  
 time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air.  
 There be three parts of business: the preparation, the  
 debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if  
 you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of  
 many, and the first and last the work of few. The pro-  
 ceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the  
 most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be  
 wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of  
 direction than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative  
 60 than dust.

## XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than  
 they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are.  
 But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so  
 between man and man. For as the apostle saith of godli-  
 ness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power*  
*thereof*; so certainly there are in point of wisdom and  
 sufficiency that do nothing or little very solemnly; *magu-*  
*conatu nugus*. [*That effect trifles with a great effort.*] It  
 is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of  
 10 judgment to see what shifts these formalists have, and  
 what prospectives, to make superficialities to seem body that  
 hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved as  
 they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and  
 seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they  
 know within themselves they speak of that they do not  
 well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of  
 that which they may not well speak. Some help them-  
 selves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs:  
 as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he  
 20 fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the  
 other down to his chin; *respondes, altero ad frontem sub-*  
*lato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi*

*non placere.* [You answer with one eyebrow fetched up to your forehead and the other bent down to your chin that you do not approve of cruelty.] Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are 30 never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty blanch the matter; of whom Aulus Gellius saith, *hominem delirum, qui verborum minutis rerum frangit pondera.* [A silly person who by his verbal quibbles fritters away his weighty matter.] Of which kind also Plato in his *Protagoras* bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties: for when 40 propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work, which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man some- 50 what absurd than over formal.

## XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, 'Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god.' For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most

untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a  
 10 higher conversation : such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen, as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana ; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth : for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, *magna civitas, magna solitudo* ; [*Great city, great solitude*] because  
 20 in a great town friends are scattered ; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness : and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of  
 30 all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body ; and it is not much otherwise in the mind : you may take sarza to open the liver ; steel to open the spleen ; flour of sulphur for the lungs ; castoreum for the brain ; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend ; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great  
 40 kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak : so great, as they purchase it many

times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be, as it were, companions, and almost equals to themselves; which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth 50 the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum*; [*Participators of their cares*] for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey 60 (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him 70 to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream. And it seemed his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter, which is recited verbatim in one

of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica*,—*witch*; as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa 80 (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultari*: [*In consideration of our friendship I have not concealed this from you,*] and the whole Senate dedicated 90 an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus. For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son: and did write also, in a letter to the Senate, by these words: '*I love the man so well, as I wish he may overlive me.*' Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of 100 nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly, that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire: and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he 110 would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely

Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras, is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito; Eat not the heart*. Certainly if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone, for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds. 120

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another: he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself, and that more by an hour's discourse than by 140

150 a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *that speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure, whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they indeed are best): but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better  
 160 relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas. '*Dry light is ever the best.*' And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched  
 170 in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first; the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine  
 180 sometime too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case, but the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of

the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune. For, as St. James saith, they are *as men that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*. As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say; better perhaps than if he asked none at all), but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed, partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in the way for present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind; and so cure the disease, and kill the patient. But a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; for they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the



affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself*; for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times  
 230 in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man  
 240 can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg: and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms; whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to  
 250 enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part: If he have not a friend he may quit the stage.

## XXVIII. OF EXPENSE.

Riches are for spending; and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing

may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often: for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable: and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long: for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may not despise small things: and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

## XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, has been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied a large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city*. These words (helpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) 10 those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle; as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly, those degenerate art and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than *fiddling*; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves 20 only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, (*negotii pares*), [*able to manage affairs*,] and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in 30 their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth

fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundation of great monarchies. 40

Walled towns, stored arsenals, and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like: all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, *It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people as did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *he would not pilfer the victory:* and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it and said, '*Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.*' But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly 50 60

70 make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing. For Solon said well to Cræsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), '*Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.*' Therefore, let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have  
80 subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens: neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become  
90 valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude; *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

100 Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods;

if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for a helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army: and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the History of his life), was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

*Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ.*

[*A land made strong by arms and fruitfulness of soil.*]

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, who are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And, therefore, out of all question, the splendour, and magnificence, and great retinues, the hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness: whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

140 By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the strange subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the word, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice

150 people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*), [*rights of citizenship*] and to grant it in the highest degree; that is, not only *jus commercii*,

160 *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis* [*right of trading, right of intermarriage, right of inheritance*] but also *jus suffragii*, [*right of voting*] and *jus honorum* [*right of holding office*]; and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was

170 the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards: but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And, beside, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which

is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sauction, now published, appeareth. 180

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm: have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by 190 the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds; tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c.; not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we 200 formerly have spoken of are but habitations towards arms: and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though 210



in great declination. Of Christian Europe they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon, it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those  
 220 that have profess'd arms but for an age have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels.  
 230 The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done; yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and  
 240 succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans: insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently

made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified : as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia, or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies : or when 250 wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice that no estate expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic : and, certainly to a kingdom or estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever ; but a foreign 260 war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health ; for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt ; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still for the most part in arms : and the strength of a veteran army, (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may be well seen in Spain ; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years. 270

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est : putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri* ; [*The plan of Pompey is exactly that of Themistocles ; for he thinks that the master of the sea is master of everything,*] and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of 280

the Turk. There be many examples, where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

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

Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general. 320

To conclude: *no man can by care-taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms. For by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs as we have not touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

#### XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it* than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same thing still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again; for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully-disposed at hours of meat and sleep, and of exercise, is one of 10 20

the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contem-

30 plations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sick-

40 nesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so

50 pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

## XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

Suspicion\* amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain, for they take place in the stoutest natures: as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man 10  
nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little: and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than 20  
to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best means to clear the way in this same wood of suspicion is frankly to communicate them 30  
with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this would not be

done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede*, [*Suspicion gives license to faith*,] as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

## XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat  
 10 else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments; tales with reason; asking of questions with telling of opinions; and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep,  
 20 except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled.

*Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.*

[*Boy spare the spur and pull harder at the reins.*]

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he

asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on: as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *he must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself*; and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, '*Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?*' To which the guest would answer, '*Such and such a thing passed.*' The Lord would say, '*I thought he would mar a good dinner.*' Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.



## XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displaced to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lease almost twenty years profit, 10 and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and 20 spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, 30 which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour: but with peas and beans you may begin; both because they ask less labour, and because they serve

for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to disease. and multiply fastest: as swine, goats, cocks, 40 hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Consider likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation: 50 so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business; as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ure, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. 60 Soap ashes, likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel: and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and His service before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in 70

the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants: for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make the best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers in marish and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and otherlike discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength then it is time to plant with women as well as with men that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulllest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness: for, beside the dishonour, it is the guiltines of blood of many commiserable persons.

## XXXIV. OF RICHES.

I cannot call riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta*. For as the

baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit. So saith Solomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? And what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles, as Solomon saith, *Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ apparbat non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitatis quæri,* [*In his pursuit of wealth it was clear that he sought not gain for his avarice to enjoy, but material for his kindness to use.*] Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.* [*He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.*] The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come

tumbling upon a man : but it might be applied likewise  
40 to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come  
from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust  
means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are  
many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best,  
and yet is not innocent : for it withholdeth men from  
works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the  
ground is the most natural obtaining of riches ; for it is  
our great mother's blessing, the Earth's ; but it is slow.  
And yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry,  
it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a noble-  
50 man in England that had the greatest audits of any man  
in my time ; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great  
timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great  
lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points  
of husbandry. So as the earth seemed a sea to him in res-  
pect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed  
by one, that him-self came very hardly to a little riches,  
and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is  
come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets,  
and overcome those bargains which for their greatness  
60 are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of  
younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains  
of ordinary trades and vocations are honest ; and furthered  
by two things chiefly, by diligence, and by a good  
name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains  
are of a more doubtful nature ; when men shall wait upon  
others' necessity, broke by servants and instruments to  
draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be bet-  
ter chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and  
naught. As for the chopping of bargains, when a man  
70 buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly  
grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer.  
Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen  
that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain,  
though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat

his bread, *is sudore vultus alieni*: [in the sweat of another's face,] and, besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws: for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar-man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain shall hardly grow to great riches: and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have 80 intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*) [the wills of the childless were caught as it were with a snare] it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem 100 to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings; and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred or to the public: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment. Likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices 110

without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure, and defer not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

## XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.

I mean not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, 'To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me.' Homer hath these verses:

At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,  
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:  
[But the house of Æneas shall rule over every shore. Aye,  
his children's children and those who of them shall be born]

10 a prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca, the tragedian, hath these verses:

Venient annis  
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novas  
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule:

[In the years yet to be ages shall come when ocean shall unloose the bonds of space, and Earth lie vast extended, and the Pilot open up new  
20 worlds, and Thule be no more earth's utmost land.]

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander, the soothsayer, told him that his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A

phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to 30  
 him, *Philippis iterum me videbis.* [Thou shalt see me again  
 at Philippi.] Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba,*  
*degustabis imperium.* [Thou also, Galba, shalt taste of Em-  
 pire.] In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the  
 East, that those that should come forth of Judæa should  
 reign over the world; which though it may be was meant  
 of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian.  
 Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a  
 golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and  
 indeed the succession that followed him for many years 40  
 made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of  
 Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him  
 water, 'This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which  
 we strive.' When I was in France, I heard from one Dr.  
 Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious  
 arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calcul-  
 ated under a false name: and the astrologer gave a judg-  
 ment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the  
 queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above chal-  
 lenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, 50  
 the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his  
 beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a  
 child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years,  
 was,

When hemspe is sponne,

England's done:

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes  
 had reigned which had the principal letters of that  
 word hemspe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip,  
 and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; 60  
 which, thanks be to God, is verified in the change of the  
 name; for the king's style is no more of England but of  
 Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year  
 of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,

Between the Bough and the May,



The black fleet of Norway.  
 When that that is come and gone,  
 England build houses of lime and stone,  
 70 For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight : for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

*Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,*  
 [The eighty-eighth shall be a year of wonders.]

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's  
 80 dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon, and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind : especially if you include dreams and predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief : for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they  
 90 have done much mischief ; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss ; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions many times turn themselves into prophecies : while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect : as that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demon-  
 100 stration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea : and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus*,

and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event passed.

## XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye; and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of 10 a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive, and not retrograde: which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious: for the use of their 20 service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy: for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be

30 used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous; there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be  
40 over great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and  
50 that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that  
60 plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage-ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince, that can discern of these

intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery: and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind. 70

XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly 10 (a bass and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the 20 same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied: and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candle-light are white,

- 30 carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green ; and oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizars are off : not after examples of known attires ; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let antimasques not be long ; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As
- 40 for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques ; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.
- 50 For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry ; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts, as lions, bears, camels, and the like : or in the devices of their entrance ; or in the bravery of their liveries ; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

## XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return : doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune : but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks : for the first will make him dejected by often failings ; and the second will make him

a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And, at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise 10 with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry: then to go less in quantity: as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal: and, lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the 20 best:

Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus  
Vinoula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

[*He best sets free his mind who by one effort bursts the bonds that gall his heart, and in one pang is done with grief.*]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right: understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause 30 reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her. Therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, 40 or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for

there is no affectation ; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts ; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men, whose natures sort with their vocations ; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*, [*my soul has been long a sojourner*] when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it : but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times ; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves ; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds ; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

#### XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions ; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings ; but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard ; yet this rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation : and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible ; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before : as if

they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of 30 England, an Irish rebel condemned put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: 40 this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and 50 collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds.



But the misery is, that the most effectual means are not applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune : favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*, [every man is the artificer of his own fortune] saith the poet. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by other's errors. *Serpens, nisi serpentem comederit, non fit draco*. [A serpent becomes a dragon only by eating another serpent.] Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praises; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortunes, certain deliveries of a man's self which have no name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*, [graceful ease] partly expresseth them : when there be not stonks no restiveness in a man's nature ; but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For as Livy, after he had described Cato Major in these words : *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*, [he possessed such vigour of body and mind that he would probably have made fortune attend him, in whatever station he might have been born,] falleth upon that that he had *versatile ingenium*. [A versatile mind.] Therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune : for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the Milken Way in the sky ; which is : meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italian note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will thro

in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto* [a little of the fool]. And, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*.) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two Felicity breedeth: the first within a man's self; the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus*. 40 [It is Cæsar and his fortune that you carry.] So Sylla chose the name of *Felix*, [fortunate] and not of *Magnus* [Great]. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy end unfortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, and in this fortune had no part, never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whose fortune are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the 60 verses of other poets: as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilans or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

## XLI. OF USURY.

Many have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which

is the tithe : that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker because his plough goeth every Sunday ; that the usure is the drone that Virgil speaketh of :

*Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arvent ;*

[*Forth from the hives they drive the drones, a lazy swarm*]

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made fo  
mankind after the Fall, which was, in *sudore vultus tu*  
10 *comedes panem tuum* ; [*In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread*] not, in *sudore vultus alieni* ; [*in the sweat of another's face*] that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize ; that it is against nature for money to beget money ; and the like. I say this only : that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis* : [*thing allowed on account of the hardness of heart*] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of  
20 banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to see before us the incommodities and commodities of usury that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are : first, that it mak  
fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of  
usury, money would not lie still, but it would in great  
part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the *ren-*  
30 *porta* of wealth in a state. The second, that it mak  
poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his  
ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant  
cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at a great usury.  
The third is incident to the other two ; and that is, the  
decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow  
with merchandizing. The fourth, that it bringeth the  
treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For th

usurer being at certainties, and the other at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more 40  
equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land: for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are: first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchan- 50  
dizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth 60  
but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country that would say, '*The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds.*' The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the 70  
abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate; other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all, the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandizing. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five; this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that

times obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable; but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold. First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep; as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that, upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times (and at this present in some countries), were wont to put great trust in eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spies and good whisperers than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice: and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilans, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

## XLV. OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for

beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with  
 10 higher hills round about it; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places, at some near distance, for sports of hunting,  
 20 hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh everything dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can: and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so that what he wanteth in  
 30 the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator*; whereof the

former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the 40  
perfection. We will, therefore, describe a princely palace,  
making a brief model thereof: for it is strange to see, now  
in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escorial  
and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in  
them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace,  
except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet,  
as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the  
household: the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other  
for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only 50  
returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without,  
though severally partitioned within; and to be on both  
sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front,  
that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I  
would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only  
goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and  
under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times  
of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household  
side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel  
(with a partition between), both of good state and bigness: 60  
and those not to go all the length, but to have at the  
farther end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and  
under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under  
ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries,  
and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would  
have it two stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the  
two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top railed with  
statuas interposed; and the same tower to be divided into  
rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the  
upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and 70  
finely railed in, with images of wood cast into a brass colour:  
and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if  
you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining-place  
of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants'  
dinner after your own; for the steam of it will come up



as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

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

Beyond this court, let there an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the  
 110 garden on all sides : and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first

story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotta, or place of shade, or estivation. And only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst on this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy gallerjes. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be 120 for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, anticamera and recamera joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be 130 thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts: a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces 140 leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

## XLVI. OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refresh-

ment to the spirits of man ; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works : and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely ; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year ; in which, severally, things of

10 beauty may be then in season. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter ; holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue, germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved ; and sweet marjoram warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms ; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey ; primroses, anemones, the early tulippa, the

20 hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris, fritellaria. For March there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest ; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulippa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damson, and plum-trees in blossom, the white-thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree.

30 In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush pink ; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later ; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower ; herbamuscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, ginnitings.

codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricocks, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods 40 of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardens, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, holly-oaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London. But my meaning is perceived that you may have *ver perpetuum*, [*one continuous Spring,*] as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music) 50 than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet-marjoram. That which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and 60 about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, which [yield] a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers specially the matted pink, and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honey-suckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean flowers I speak not, 70 because they are field-flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints. Therefore you are to set

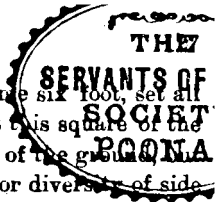
whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

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

bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath. 120

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden-stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. 130 I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments, and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the 140 other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern;



that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it  
150 doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statuas. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and  
160 then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honey-suckle, and  
170 some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses. For these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set with some wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with liliun convallium, some with sweet-  
180 williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps to

be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like : but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade ; some of them wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them 190 likewise for shelter, that, when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind ; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep ; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the 200 end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order ; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to 210 walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day ; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants



and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statuas, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye, upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go: and, generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter, in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein

you have employed them, for that breeds confidence; and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business and so ripen it by degrees.

## XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factional followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against.

10 some other : whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves a trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience ; for they taint business through want of secrecy ; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials ; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others ; yet such men many times are in great favour

20 for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to the which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able ; and besides, to speak truth

30 in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally ; for to countenance some extraordinarily : to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due. But contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good ; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious, because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first ; because

40 one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one is not safe ; for it shows softness and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation ; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracte

with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for *lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill*. There is little friendship in the world, and least 50 of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

## XLIX. OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the meantime of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an in- 10 formation, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served: or generally to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely, there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his counte- 20 nance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may

report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits: first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by his advantage be not taken of the note but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof: want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them, to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal timing I say, not only in respect of the person who should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*, [ask more than is fair that you may get what is fair] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise, a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

## L. OF STUDIES.

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them: for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested: that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously, and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics

subtle; natural philosophy deep; moral grave; logic and rhetoric able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores.* [*Pursuits pass into character.*] Nay, there is no stound or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises.

- 40 Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like. So, if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find difference, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *Cymini sectores.* [*Men who tithe cummin.*] If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases; so
- 50 every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

#### LI. OF FACTION.

- Many have an opinion not wise; that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising,
- 10 must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction, and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining sub-divideth; as the

faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out awhile 20 against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar: but when the Senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius held out likewise for a time: but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and sub-divided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction sub-divideth, prove principals: but many times also 30 they prove ciphers and cashiered: for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have their first sure; and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of modera- 40 tion, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*, [*father of all*] and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation, paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis*; [*as one 50 of us*] as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions



under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs; which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains. For the proverb is true *That light gains make heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note; whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on  
 10 festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms. To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured: how can a man comprehend great  
 20 matters that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself: especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a  
 30 little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors, one shall

be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. 40  
Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free 50  
for exercise or motion.

## LIII. OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all: but shows and *species virtutibus similes* [qualities that look like virtues] serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that 10  
beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid: but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum*

*instar unguenti fragrantis* [A good name is like a fragrant ointment.] It filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the archflatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spreta conscientia*. [Despite his self-knowledge.] Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere*; [to teach by praise] when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*; [the worst kind of enemies are those that praise] insomuch as it was a proverb among the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose*; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, *he that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse*. Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases: but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for

they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judi- 50  
 cature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*; which is *under-  
 sheriffries*; as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs  
 and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriff-  
 ries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul,  
 when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like  
 a fool*; but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo  
 apostolatam meum*. [*I will magnify my apostleship*.]

## LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the  
 axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, *What a  
 dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons that what-  
 soever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if  
 they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they  
 that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be fac-  
 tious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They  
 must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts;  
 neither can they be secret, and therefore, not effectual;  
 but according to the French proverb *beaucoup de bruit, peu* 10  
*de fruit*; — *much truit, little fruit*. Yet certainly there is  
 use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an  
 opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or great-  
 ness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus  
 Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians,  
*there are sometimes great effects of cross lies*; as if a  
 man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them  
 to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces  
 of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and  
 sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth 20  
 his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest  
 than he hath in either. And in these, and the like kinds it  
 often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing: for  
 lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on  
 substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain-  
 glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so

by glory one courage sharpeneth another, In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those  
 30 that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* [*Those who write books urging men to despise fame put their own name to them.*] Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly, vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus  
 40 borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves: like unto varnish, that make ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator*: [*He had the knack of making the best of all he had said and done*], for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion: and, in some persons, is not only comely but  
 50 gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny, very wittily, in commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend, is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior: if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious men are the scorn of wise men; the admira-  
 60 tion of fools; the idols of parasites: and the slaves of their own vaunts.

## LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtues and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance; he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection; like diamonds cut with facets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* [All a man's fame comes from his servants.] Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores, laugivers*; which are also called second founders, or *perpetui principes* [perpetual rulers] because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone: such

were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. [*Seven Tables*.] In the third place are *liberatores* or *salvatores*; [*deliverers*] such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores*, or *propugnatores imperiæ*, [*extenders or champions of the Empire*] such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, [*fathers of the country*] which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are; first *participēs curarum*, [*participators of the king's cares*,] those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs: their right hands as we may call them. The next are *duces belli*, *great leaders*; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, *favourites*; such as exceed not this scantling; to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotii pares*; [*men of affairs*] such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely: that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

## LVL OF JUDICATURE.

Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*; to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the Church of Rome; which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce

that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty; more reverend than plausible; and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame: but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of land-marks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream; the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Solomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causa sua coram adversario.* [*A righteous man failing in his suit against his adversary is like a troubled fountain or a corrupted spring.*] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue; unto the advocates that plead; unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them; and to the sovereign or State above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood; and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour.* The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open; and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills; so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem,* [*He who wrings his nose violently brings forth blood*] and where the wine-press is



hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos*: [*he shall rain snares upon them*] for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the  
 50 people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution:

*Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.*

[*It is the duty of the judge to consider not only the action but its circumstances also.*]

In causes of life and death judges ought (as far as the law permitteth), in justice to remember mercy; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

60 Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice, and an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate  
 70 the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much; and proceedeth either of glory or willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail

with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest*. But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites; which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is 80 due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause 90 anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace, and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, *grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles*; neither can 100 justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits: which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, [*friends of the court*] but *parasiti curiæ*, [*parasites of the court*] in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left 110

hands of courts ; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees ; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court and doth many times point the way to the judge himself

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and Estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables, *Salus populi suprema lex* : [*The welfare of the nation is the highest law*] and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and state do often consult with judges ; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state : the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum and tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate. I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent ; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy ; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides ; let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne : being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points c

sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime.* [We know that the law is good, provided a man use it lawfully.] 150

## LVII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined, both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first; there is no other way but to meditate 10 and ruminatè well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well that *anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us to *possess our souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

.....animæque in vulnere ponunt.

[and leave their lives in the wound they cause.]

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well 20 in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it: which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point; the causes and motives of anger

are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt: and, therefore  
 30 tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be in the circumstances thereof full of contempt. For contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein  
 40 the remedy is that a man should have, as Gonsalvo went to say, *telam honoris crassiorem*. [*Honour of too thick a texture.*] But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time; and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come: but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the meantime, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words  
 50 especially if they be aculeate and proper; for *communi maledicta* [*insults to everybody*] are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger: but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another; it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are froward and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering  
 60 (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first

to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much. And the other is to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt: imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion or what you will.

## LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Solomon giveth his sentence, that all novelty is but oblivion. Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well as above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment.* Certain it is that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy. Phæton's car went but a day. And the three years drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge 10 and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the Old World. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian 20

30 priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But, on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africa and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much  
 40 extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fame of those that conceive the  
 50 celestial bodies have more accurate influence upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things: but they are rather gazed upon and waited upon in their journey than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

60 There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as great

frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like: and they call it the Prime. It is a thing I do the rather mention because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions. 70

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal; and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established: for nothing is more popular than that. The other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manners of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles: by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion: and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of 80 90



100 new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars in ancient time seemed more to move from East to West: for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were 110 the invaders) were all Eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs; the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the East or West, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed: and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far Southern people have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the Northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in 120 respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the North: whereas the South part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the Northern parts, which is that which without aid of discipline doth make the bodies hardest and the courages warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their 130 own protecting forces: and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman Empire; and likewise in the Empire of Almaine, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should

break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars. For when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations: which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot: casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war. 140

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements are; first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger: as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all ariettions and ancient inventions. The third is the commodious use of them: as that they may serve in all weathers; that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like. 160

170 For the conduct of the war : at the first, men rested extremely upon number : they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour ; pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match : and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battailes. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast : they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like : and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battailes.

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

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A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY,  
OF FAME.

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THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities; but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the Giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is that rebels, figured by the Giants, and seditious fames, and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner: there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid

dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force as there is scarcely any great action  
30 wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia  
40 settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the bashaws to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes king of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships, which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the  
50 more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

*The rest was not finished.*

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NOTES.

## REMARKS.

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EXCEPT in the case of quotations from the Classical writers, the references in these Notes are mainly confined to books to which the student may be supposed to have access. It is assumed that he will have at hand SKEAT's *Concise Etymological Dictionary* (referred to as *Skeat*) and ABBOTT's *Shakespearian Grammar* (referred to as *Sh. Gr.*) Illustrations of phraseology and grammar have been mainly drawn from the two great contemporary productions familiarity with which will always be essential to a knowledge of the English language, the Works of Shakspeare and the Authorised Version of the Bible. Where it has seemed desirable to illustrate a passage from other works of Bacon, the essential point has—it is hoped—been so brought out in the Notes that the student need not consult them for himself, except in the case of *The Advancement of Learning (Adv. of Learn.)* of which several good College editions are available, and *The Wisdom of the Ancients* which was published by the late Professor MORLEY in *Cassell's National Library*. In addition the thorough and interested student has been referred to MACHIAVELLI's *Prince* and MONTAIGNE's *Essays*, which the reader of Bacon's *Essays* should have within reach. Cheap and handy editions of these may be found respectively in MORLEY's *Universal Library* and Sir JOHN LUBBOCK's *Best Hundred Books*, both published by Routledge.

Partly to elucidate the Text, partly to illustrate Bacon's ways of working, the Antitheta bearing on each Essay have been given at the head of the Notes on it. These Antitheta are taken from a collection made by Bacon, following a suggestion of Cicero that the speaker should have common-places ready at hand in which the question is argued and handled on every side. In his *De Augmentis* he writes 'I would have in short

all topics which there is frequent occasion to handle, studied and prepared beforehand; and not only so, but the case exaggerated both ways with the utmost force of the wit, and urged unfairly as it were and quite beyond the truth. And the best way of making such a collection, with a view to use as well as to brevity, would be to contract those common places into certain acute and concise sentences; to be as skeins or bottoms of thread which may be unwinded at large when they are wanted. A few instances of the thing, having a great many by me, I think fit to propound by way of example.' It is from the collection thus given that the Antitheta of the Notes are taken.

As a rule when a reference is given in the Notes to an earlier passage in the *Essays*, the note on that earlier passage will be found to contain some information which may be of service.

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# ESSAYS.

## I. OF TRUTH.

This Essay first appears in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—Some are careless of truth. Men seem to love a lie often for its own sake. Truth is not so attractive as a lie in the artificial light of the world, and a mixture of a lie adds pleasure. Lies are harmful, Truth is the sovereign good. It is to the mind what light is in the world. From truth to look down upon error is a pleasure, and to turn upon the poles of truth is heaven upon earth.

Truthfulness is honorable, deceit low. It is the most disgraceful vice. It challenges God, and will bring on itself divine punishment.

The Antitheta (see Remarks introductory to the Notes) bearing on the subject of this Essay may be translated thus.

### ANTITHETA ON KNOWLEDGE AND CONTEMPLATION.

#### *For.*

1. No pleasure can be said to be in accordance with nature if it breeds satiety.

2. No sight is so sweet as the wanderings of others below one.

3. How blessed it is to have the orbit of the mind concentric with the Universe!

4. All depraved feelings are but false estimations; goodness is the same as truth.

#### *Against.*

1. Contemplation is specious sloth.

2. Good thoughts are little better than good dreams.

3. Providence takes care of the world; do thou take care of thy country.

4. The statesman turns his very contemplations into seeds.

1. *What is Truth?*—Pilate's question to Jesus recorded in the Gospel of *John* xviii, 38. Jesus had spoken of himself as come into the world to 'bear witness unto the truth.' See Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Chap. 2, p. 12.

*Jesting*.—This scarcely seems an appropriate Adjective. Pilate probably turned away from Christ rather sadly pitying than jesting. To him the world and its prosperity were everything, truth was a phantom undiscoverable or not worth searching for. Yet he could not but pity one who took it as a serious aim and was ready to die for it.

*Pilate*.—Pontius Pilatus, the procurator or Governor of Judæa during the ministry of Jesus. He it was who handed Jesus over to the Jews to be crucified, though he found no fault in him.

2. *Stay*.—'And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews,' *John* xviii, 38.

*Be*.—Now superseded as an Indicative by *are*. See ABBOTT Shaksperian Grammar § 300.

*There be that*.—There are those who.

3. *Giddiness*.—Changeableness. Connected with 'gad,' so wandering, now here, now there.

*Fix a belief*.—To have a fixed belief.

4. *Affecting*.—In Bacon's days to affect was usually to aim at, desire. Cp. *Galatians* iv, 17.

*Free-will*.—Here power to follow one's caprice. Usually, but not here, it implies a contrast with compulsion from God.

*Acting*.—Conduct.

5. *Sects*.—From the Lat. *sequor*, to follow—nothing to do with *seco*, to cut, from which *section* is derived. Usually *sect* is used of a religious party or following, *school* of a philosophical.

5. *Of that kind*.—Probably the Sceptics, whose founder was Pyrrho, who taught at Athens about B. C. 300. Their position was that it was impossible to know anything and that there was no standard either of Truth or of Right. Or perhaps the New Academy founded by Carneades about 180 B. C. These held that certainty was unattainable, and that probability was to be the rule of life.

6. *Discoursing*.—From the Lat. *discurro*, to run to and fro. *Rambling* or perhaps *chattering*.

*Wits*, intellects. 'The reference may be to Franciscus Sanchez whose treatise *Quod Nihil Scitur* [nothing can be

known] 1578 seems to have been known to Bacon' (Reynolds). Some think the French essayist Montaigne, (1533-1592) is included. His style is rambling. He frequently shows up the fallibility of so-called knowledge. But he expressly disclaims the sceptic theory.

7. *Veins*.—Of the veins of the body, then applied to mines, here to the mind, the two earlier uses being blended in the metaphor. The mental disposition, Cf. XXXII, 25.

*Be*.—Indicative, as above.

*Blood*.—The type of life and vigour.

9. *Finding out of truth*.—Notice how *finding out* is treated as a compound noun.

10. *Imposeth*.—Here used absolutely in the sense of *lays a yoke upon*, restrains. Truth when found claims to control us. Falsehood brings no such moral obligation.

11. *That*.—Is the Relative.

*In*.—Into.

12. *One*.—Lucian of Samosata, a satirist of the Second Century, A. D. One of his writings is called *Philopseudes*—The lover of falsehood. In it the question is asked what is it that makes most men love lying? and reference is made to men who prefer lying to truth for the lie's own sake.

13. *The later school*.—School like *sect* above.

14. *Is at a stand*.—Is brought to a stand, is at a loss.

*What should be in it*.—What there is in the nature of the case to account for the fact.

15. *Should*.—Common in Bacon's time in questions to express doubt. Cf. *Tempest* I. 2. 389. 'Where should this music be?'

*Where*.—In cases in which.

16. *With poets*.—Poetic imagination creates scenes and characters which never existed—'lies;' but this gives pleasure. Such fictions are not intended to deceive, and therefore it is scarcely fair to call them 'lies.'

*Advantage*.—It was only in Cent. XVI. that *d* intruded itself into this word. It originally meant progress, from the French *avant*, before.

17. *For the lie's sake*.—For the mere pleasure of telling a lie.

*But I cannot tell*.—I cannot explain it, and yet there is something to take into account.

*This same Truth.*—The use of *same* implies that while Truth's claims are so high, there is something to be said against it.

18. *Naked and open.*—The same combination occurs in *Hebrews* iv, 13, though there in a Passive sense. Here, apparently it is used in an Active sense, equivalent to *laying bare and open*.

*Shew.*—We now say show off.

19. *Masks.*—Masquerades, Essay XXXVII. More commonly now spelt *masques*. Entertainments in which all wore vizors to disguise themselves. Shakspeare introduces them as scenes in his plays more than once—*e. g.*, in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Milton's *Comus* was a Masque, and Ben Jonson wrote several in Bacon's lifetime.

*Mummings.*—From *mummer*. Cf. German *Mumme*, a mask. Much the same as *masks* but more depreciatory.

*Triumphs.*—Shows, properly triumphal processions. See Essay XXXVII.

20. *Stately.*—Here used as an Adverb.

*Daintily.*—Dainty and dignity are from the same Latin word, the transition through French having altered the former more.

*Candle-lights.*—See Essay XXXVII. 29.

21. *Sheweth.*—Intrans., makes (the best) appearance.

22. *Diamond.*—Connected with *adamant*.

*Carbuncle.*—Diminutive from Lat. *carbo*, a coal. A gem so called from its glowing like a small coal—a property noticed by other writers of the time as well as here.

23. *Varied lights.*—Apparently here means lights varied with darkness. The diamond and carbuncle proverbially flash in the dark.

*Mixture.*—With Truth.

*Lie.*—Here means not an intentional falsehood, but anything that is untrue, unreal, as the next sentence shows.

25. *Fain.*—Empty, groundless.

26. *Valuations.*—Estimates of men and things.

*Imaginations as one would.*—Fancies believed because we wish them to be true. Cf. 'The wish is father to the thought.'

27. *But.*—After *doubt*—a Latinism.

29. *Indisposition*.—Not sickness, but unwillingness to undertake anything—the state of not being disposed. The Latin translation has 'languor.' Cf. *Timon of Athens*, II. 2. 39.

*One of the Fathers, &c.*—The same quotation is given in *Advancement of Learning* II. c. 22. Like many of Bacon's quotations it seems to be from memory and inexact. It is probably a confusion between sayings of two Fathers, Jerome who calls the strains of the poets *the food of devils*, and Augustine who terms poetry *the wine of error*.

30. *Fathers*.—The early Christian writers of whom Jerome (died 420 A. D.) and Augustine of Hippo (A. D. 354-430) were two of the most famous.

30. *Poetry*.—A purer form than poetry—coming direct from the Greek *poïēsis*.

32. *Shadow of a lie*.—A poetic fiction scarcely deserves to be called a lie. It passes through the mind, leaving as it were but its shadow.

34. *Doth the hurt*.—The hurt which we all know a lie does.  
*Such*.—Refers to lie not hurt.

35. *Howsoever*.—In whatever way it comes about that these things are so.

36. *Truth*.—Right reason which alone can judge what is true.

37. *Inquiry*.—Investigation, search for. From the same Latin word as *inquest*.

38. *Love-making*.—A common metaphor with Bacon to express a man's ardent pursuit of knowledge.

39. *Presence*.—The metaphor is still maintained. The knowledge of Truth brings us into the presence of the Truth whom we have wooed.

40. *Belief*.—Is knowledge in action or prepared for action.

*Is the sovereign good*.—The three together inquiry, knowledge, belief are the subject of *is*.

*Sovereign*.—Supreme, highest. The derivation is from Low Latin *superanus*. The spelling *-eign* is on the false analogy of *reign* with which it has nothing to do.

42. *Creature*.—Thing created.

*Works of the days*.—See the account of Creation in *Genesis* I.

43. *Light of the sense*.—The light which affects our sense of sight.

*Light of reason.*—On the last day of Creation God made man 'in his own image' a *reasonable* being. Bacon dwells upon this elsewhere. Thus in the Latin prayer which closes his general introduction to his works he begins 'Therefore do Thou, O Father, who gavest visual light as the first fruits of Creation and breathedst into the face of man intellectual light as the crowning of Thy works, &c.'

44. *Sabbath work.*—Sabbath *i. e.* seventh day. God is represented in *Genesis* as having created all things in six days and resting on the seventh. This sabbath the Jews understood to be still continuing. Jesus spoke of God as nevertheless 'working hitherto.' This work, continued throughout God's sabbath rest, Bacon explains as the illumination of His Spirit—the shedding forth of light upon man through the working of His Divine Spirit.

46. *The matter.*—*i. e.*, the chaotic mass of matter out of which the universe was formed.

*Chaos.*—The name given to the state of the universe when 'the earth was without form and void' as described in *Genesis* I.

Notice the gradation—*matter, man*, God's *chosen* people—*i. e.*, the good.

47. *Still.*—Probably here *always*, as usually in the English of that time.

48. *Poet.*—Lucretius, a great Latin poet. (b. c. 95—51). His great poem 'on the Nature of the Universe' sets forth the Epicurean theory of the physical world, and of religion. His views may be gathered from Tennyson's poem *Lucretius*. The first ten lines of the Second Book of his poem are here paraphrased.

*Beautified.*—Was an ornament to.

49. *Sect.*—The Epicureans, founded by Epicurus (b. c. 342—270). They held that pleasure is the end of life, and that the Universe is a vast space, crowded with hooked atoms whose combination forms matter. Bacon having no sympathy with their ethical teaching regards them as inferior to other schools except in their possession of Lucretius.

*Yet.*—Though he was of this inferior sect, or perhaps, moreover.

*Excellently.*—We should use exceedingly. The two words though based on different metaphors—outshining and out-going—practically mean the same.

54. *Vantage*.—From *avantage* by loss of the initial vowel. See note on *advantage*, line 15.

*Commanded*.—Overlooked. Now extended in military use to a position which the fire of an enemy's guns can reach.

55. *And where*.—A Relative like *where* should not be preceded by *and* unless another Relative is the word linked with it.

57. *So always that*.—Provided always that.

*Prospect*.—Looking forth, abstract. We now use it generally in the concrete—what is seen when we look forth.

58. *Swelling*.—Conceit. Cf. the Fable of the Frog who tried to be as big as the Ox.

*Heaven upon earth*.—Perhaps here scarcely meaning more than the utmost possible happiness—as often.

60. *Move . . . rest . . . turn*.—A favourite metaphor of Bacon's, drawn from the old Astronomy. The *Primum Mobile* (see *Essay XV*, 63, *XVII*. 20, *LI*. 55) or *Prime Orb* as Milton calls it (*P. L.* *IV*. 592) was the outmost of the series of nine spheres round the earth of which the Universe was composed. It rotated on its axis in twenty-four hours, communicating its motion to the lesser spheres. Though thus *moving*, the Universe *rested* in its position in space; it rotated but did not change its station. And it was on its Poles, or the axis which joins them, that it *turned*.

These ideas had been overthrown by Kepler, but Bacon, like Milton still later, hesitated to abandon them.

61. *To pass*.—From this point abstract Truth is no longer under consideration. The subject is truthfulness or as we might say honourable conduct. The Latin translation marks this by inserting after the second *truth* 'or rather truthfulness.'

62. *Civil*.—Social, (lit. relating to a citizen) as opposed to philosophical.

63. *Clear and round*.—Probably represents the Latin proverbial phrase '*teres atque rotundus*,' corresponding to our English *square*, straightforward. Cf. *round* in *Essay VI*. 90, and *clearness VI*. 30.

64. *The honour of*.—That which does honour to.

*Mixture*.—As in line 22, that with which falsehood is mixed is omitted.

65. *Alloy*.—Here used for the baser metal. It properly means the mixture of two metals—(Lat. *alligare*, to bind to.

gether). Its old form was *ullay*, but from a mistaken derivation from *à loi*, as if it meant such mixture as was *according to law*, it reached its present form.

66. *Work*.—Used passively for *be worked*. Cf. This rice cooks badly.

*The*.—By so much. Really the instrumental case of the old Demonstrative.

*Embaseth*.—Debases.

67. *Goings*.—Ways. To turn the metaphor into a simile will make the sense clear.

*Basely*.—In disgrace.

*Upon the belly*.—According to the curse pronounced upon it in *Genesis* III. 'Upon thy belly shalt thou go.'

70. *Be found*.—Bacon characteristically dwells rather on the disgrace of being detected in deceit than on the evil of deceit itself.

71. *Montaigne*.—Michel Seigneur de Montaigne, the famous French essayist. See Introduction.

*Saith*.—In his *Essays* Bk. II. 18. But he only quotes it from an ancient (Plutarch in his *Life of Lysander*).

*Prettily*.—In its earlier sense of cleverly, wittily.

72. *Word of the lie*.—The statement that what you say is a lie.

? The question is indirect, and therefore does not require the mark of interrogation.

76. *Faces*.—We might say *dares*, challenges.

78. *Highly*.—We should have said *clearly*, but perhaps the original metaphor in *express*—stamping or moulding in relief—was not quite lost sight of in Bacon's time. Cf. *Hebrews*. i. 3, 'the express image of his person.'

*Peal*.—Short for appeal, call, summons. The expression means that man's untruthfulness will be the final and crowning sin of man, that then God's justice will be able to bear man's sin no longer, and that God then will send His judgments upon the world.

79. *Judgments*.—As frequently in conversational English—deserved penalties.

80. *Foretold*.—By Jesus. *Luke* XVIII, 8.

*Christ cometh*.—A second time to judge the world.



81. *Faith*.—Bacon interprets as good faith or truthfulness. In the original prophecy it means trust in God. The whole sentence shows how loosely Bacon used Scripture illustrations. There is nothing in the original to show, even if faith meant truthfulness, that it is to be the last peal, &c. Reynolds points out that the Christian Father, Cyprian, in writing 'on the Unity of the Church,' which Essay III shows Bacon to have read, gave the passage in the Gospel much the same turn.

## II. OF DEATH.

This Essay appeared first in the Edition of 1612. A few additions were made in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—The fear of death is childish, though the contemplation of it is religious. It is increased by false statements of its painfulness, and by the gloomy accompaniments with which we surround it. Any passion may master the fear of death. In men of any character their natural disposition is not affected by the approach of death. Death should not be dreaded but counted among Nature's boons like birth. Its pain is conquered by the ardour of some pursuit and by the consciousness of having attained one's ends in life. Among the benefits Death brings is that it removes prejudice.

### ANTITHETA ON LIFE.

#### *For.*

1. It is absurd to prefer the accompaniments of life to life itself.

2. For everything, even for virtue, a long course is better than a short.

3. Unless the course of life be fairly long, one can neither accomplish anything nor learn anything thoroughly nor repent.

#### *Against.*

1. Philosophers by making so great preparations against death have made it more terrible.

2. Men fear death because they know nothing of it, as children fear the dark.

3. Among human passions there is none so weak that if it be somewhat strongly stirred it does not master the fear of death.

4. Not only from heroism or wretchedness or foresight but even from ennui a man might be willing to die.

1. *Men*.—A passage in Seneca's Epistles (lxxxii) points out two natural elements in the fear of death—that what comes

after death is unknown, and that it is believed to be darkness.

2. *In.*—Into.

*Tales.*—The stories told by their nurses of ghosts, &c. The tales that increase the fear of death are the old legends about the invisible world, pagan and Catholic, and exaggerations of the painfulness of death like those of the 'friars' books' (l. 8.)

3. *Contemplation.*—A term derived from the augurs' fixed observation of the different quarters (templa) of the heavens.

4. *Wages of sin.*—St. Paul says in *Romans* vi, 23 'The wages of sin is death.'

5. *Is religious.*—Tends to religion.

*Tribute.*—Unwillingness to give it is implied.

6. *Weak.*—Childish.

*Religious.*—Here, practised by religious people.

7. *Vanity.*—That which is empty (Lat. *vanus*) and baseless; a somewhat milder word than falsehood.

*You shall read.*—Equivalent to 'you will find if you read.' See Abbott *Shaks. Grammar* § 315.

8. *Friars.*—In the awakening of Europe in Cent. XIII. Religion shared. The chief form this religious movement took was the institution of the Friars (*fratres*, brothers) who unlike the monks and priests were travelling preachers. They were pledged to poverty, chastity and obedience to their superiors. At first they were required to beg their food and clothing, hence the name Mendicant Friars, but this rule was soon abolished. The two earliest and most famous orders were the Dominicans and Franciscans, so named after their founders, Dominic and Francis. These two great men simultaneously conceived the same idea of founding preaching orders to reach the poor of Christendom and the heathen beyond. In 1216 both came to Rome and obtained from Pope Innocent III. sanction for their projects. They soon attracted numerous followers and by the end of the century the two Orders included tens of thousands of members spread throughout every part of Latin Christendom. Gradually their character somewhat changed. It is characteristic that Roger Bacon, the great Oxford scholar, was a Franciscan, and that the Dominicans obtained the management of the Inquisition. In England, the Franciscans were known as Grey Friars, and the Dominicans Black Friars, from their dress. About the same time as these two, the Carmelite Friars arose in Pales-

tine and spread into Europe. Half a century later the order of the Austin (or Augustine) Friars was also formed. Under the same impulse six or more smaller orders also grew up, but in 1370 the Pope abolished all but the four greater orders. By this time a good deal of corruption had crept into the orders. Wiclif's chief foes were the Friars, and Chaucer has much to say against them. Piers Ploughman's attitude to them is summed up in these lines:—

I found there freres  
All the foure orders,  
Tehynge the peple  
To profit of themselves.

*Books.*—It is not known to which Bacon refers. No passage has been found, giving the idea he states.

*Mortification.* Cf. III, 50. Lit., a putting to death. The Catholic writers teach that pain should be inflicted upon the body for the good of the soul. To this is applied the term mortification. One of St. Paul's characteristic ideas had been that of a man's putting to death the evil passions within himself. Thus in *Colossians* III. 5, he writes 'Put to death (Mortify) therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, &c.' From this idea the Catholic teaching of mortification was derived.

*Should*—here 'ought to.'

9. *Think with himself.*—On the analogy of, 'take thought (or counsel) with others.' The phrase gives a stronger idea of deliberation than 'think' alone would have done.

12. *When.*—Implying *though*.

14. *Quickest of sense.*—Most sensitive. Sense is equivalent to sensation or feeling.

*Him that spake.*—The phrase quoted has not been found in Latin Literature. Seneca probably is referred to. He addresses Death as follows 'Off with those accompaniments (pompa), lurking under which thou frightenest fools: Thou art Death whom lately my slave and again my handmaid met with contempt.'

15. *Philosopher.*—Seneca was the tutor of Nero, and one of his chief ministers during the earlier part of his reign. But in A. D. 62 he was deprived of power. In A. D. 64 he was put to death for complicity in a plot to assassinate Nero. He was the most famous writer of his time. He wrote mythological Tragedies, Letters, a work on Natural History, and a large number of philosophical treatises. He was the exponent of

Stoicism in his day, but he had neither depth nor force of character enough to enable him to do it justice either by his writings or his life. Style was more important in his eyes than thought, and as the style he cultivated was the diffuse rhetorical style of the Roman decadence he is no longer much read. In the Sixteenth Century, however, in the dearth of literature, he was regarded as the Roman philosopher *par excellence*, and his plays taken as models of the dramatic art.

*Natural man*.—A man who had not been enlightened by Christian teaching, 'guided by nothing but nature' as Abbott puts it.

18. *A discoloured face*.—Apparently meaning only pale and tear-stained—not artificially discoloured.

19. *Blacks*.—The black clothes used in the West in mourning. Reynolds quotes in illustration from Ben Jonson's Epigrams 'Ere blacks were bought for his own funeral.' Cf. *Winter's Tale*, I. II. 22. 'Were they false as o'erdyed blacks.' *Hamlet* III. 2. 130, &c.

*Obsequies*.—Orig. following in a funeral procession (Lat. *sequor*, follow) then funeral ceremonies.

*Shew*.—Make appear, as in l. 17.

20. *Worthy the observing*.—We now insert the Preposition *of* after *worthy*. But in Bacon's days analysis had not proceeded so far as now. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 278. 'The deed is worthy doing.'

21. *Passion*.—Includes all emotions.

22. *Mates*.—Reduces to impotence, a metaphor from chess. Abbott interprets it 'Lit. stupefies, hence overpowers' quoting Knight's Tale *maat*, dejected, and giving old French and other parallels. But all these seem derivatives from the Arabic and of secondary meaning. The word is connected with the Arabic word for Death.

23. *Attendants*.—The man is compared to a feudal King, his emotions to his Knights.

24. *Of him*.—Over it. It is however not Death they conquer, but the fear of Death only.

26. *Grief flieth to it*.—After this in the 1612 edition was the sentence 'Delivery from ignominy chooseth it.'

*Pre-occupate*.—Anticipates. The Latin word *occupo*, means to lay hold of. Fear lays hold of death beforehand, when out of fear of worse things a man commits suicide.

The word has died out.

27. *Otho*.—The Emperor in A. D. 69 who finding it impossible to maintain his throne without much bloodshed killed himself.

28. *Tenderest* most delicate, *not* gentlest.

*Affections*.—Synonymous with *passions*.

*Provoked*.—Simply, stirred up.

29. *Compassion to*.—We now say *compassion for*. But the meaning of *compassion* is not quite the same. Here it means what its derivation suggests, 'fellow-feeling.'

30. *Nicensa*.—Fastidiousness. Nice (Lat. *nescius*) meant ignorant, then simple, then fastidious, delicate, pleasant.

31. *Satiety*.—The sense of being satisfied.

*Cogita*.—As usual Bacon quotes from memory and inexactly. Seneca Ep. LXXVII. Seneca tells us this was said by a Stoic friend who had been consulted with others by a young man as to the propriety of his committing suicide.

32. *Upon a weariness*.—As we say 'acting upon.'

*Weariness to do*.—We now say 'weariness of doing.' Abbott *Sh. Grammar* § 356.

40. *Augustus Cæsar*.—The first Roman Emperor (died A. D. 14). *Livia* his wife. The anecdote is given in Suetonius' *Life of Augustus* c. 99.

43. *Tiberius*.—The second Emperor (died A. D. 37). The son of *Livia* by a former husband.

*Tacitus*.—The great Latin historian of the Empire in the First Century A. D. His treatment is that of the satirical pessimist; his style a series of pungent epigrams. The quotation is from his *Annals* (VI. 50).

*Dissimulation*.—This is treated by Tacitus as his characteristic quality. Modern historians are inclined to give *Tiberius* credit for a much simpler character.

45. *Vespasian*.—Emperor A. D. 69—79. The founder of the Flavian dynasty. He preserved to the end much of the blunt jocularity of the plain soldier, the grade from which he rose. Cf. XI. 100.

*U*.—Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian* c. 23.

These were not *Vespasian's* last words. They were uttered according to Suetonius 'When the fatal disease first attacked him.' A later saying, if not his last, was 'An Emperor should die standing.'

*God.*—These early Emperors were deified at death.

47. *Galba.*—The successor of Nero A. D. 68. He was regarded as of the old Roman type. His strictness and discipline alienated the support of the citizens and soldiers. Cf. Essay XI. 97.

*Strike.*—Addressed to the man who killed him. Recorded by Plutarch. Tacitus (Histories I. 41) mentions it amongst the sayings variously attributed to him as his last words.

50. *Septimius Severus.*—Emperor, A. D. 193-211—one of the most energetic of rulers, as his personal attention to Britain shows.

*Adeste.*—A Latin representation of what is recorded in Greek by the historian Dio Cassius LXXVI. 17.

52. *Stoics.*—The great school of philosophy, so called from the Painted *Stoa* (Portico or Porch) in which their founder, Zeno, (340-270 B. C.) taught his disciples at Athens. Their tenets changed considerably as time passed, tending more and more to compromise with the world. It was Chrysippus (282-209 B. C.) who really made Stoicism a system. By Panætius (175-112 B. C.) it was transplanted to Rome where it found a congenial soil, attaining his glory in the person of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161-180).

It was in its ethics that Stoicism was most characteristic. It may be described as a form of fatalistic Pantheism. All things are corporeal, and are bound together into one whole by the possession of a common soul, God. Nothing can therefore properly be isolated. Man's highest good is to live according to Nature—i. e., in accordance with those rational laws that govern the Universe. To do so is virtue, to fail to do so is vice. Between virtue and vice there are no intermediate steps, nor are there degrees of virtue or vice. Hence men are of two classes only—the wise man, all whose actions are right, and who has all knowledge, and the fool who can do nothing well. Thus, things are divided into two classes—the essential, Virtue and Vice, and the indifferent, external goods which may be used well or ill, but on which true happiness does not depend. A man therefore is self-sufficient, lord of his own life. The wise man therefore will be free from 'passion.' Except that death will end suffering, he cannot change his external circumstances, nor can they affect his disposition.

Bacon here misrepresents them. They put life in the class of things indifferent. And the practice of suicide amongst them, initiated by Zeno himself and widely followed by the

Roman Stoics of the Early Empire, did as much as anything before the spread of Christianity, to diminish men's fear of death.

Montaigne had however pointed out how Seneca was ever returning to the subject of death by way of preparing himself against it, and had quoted his phrase 'The whole life of philosophers is a remembrance of death.' (Essays III. 12). See the whole Essay.

In Bacon's *De Augmentis* (Works I, 726) he speaks of philosophers who 'increase the dread of death by their remedies for it. For since they make man's life nothing but a preparation and a training for death, how is it possible that that enemy should not seem to be preternaturally terrible fortification against whom is a never-ending task?' But the reference there is to a passage in Cicero who was not a Stoic.

52. *Bestowed too much cost upon.*—Expended too much care and trouble upon.

54. *Qui finem.*—This is an inexact quotation from Juvenal Satires. X. 358.

57. *As painful*—i. e., as little painful.

58. *Pursuit.*—Metaphorically used.

59. *In hot blood.*—In the excitement of action. The opposite is cold blood is more common.

61. *Dolours.*—Pains. (Lat. *dolores*).

62. *Canticle.*—Properly a little song. Used especially of verses sung in religious service, apparently here with reference to the funeral service.

63. *Nunc dimittis.*—The name of a hymn sung in the Church of England Service at Evening Prayer. It is the song of the aged Simeon (*Luke* II. 29, &c.) when he had seen the infant Jesus. The words are the first two in the Latin version. The hymn begins 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace.'

64. *Expectations.*—Hopes.

*Has this.*—Brings this advantage.

65. *Fame.*—Not glory, but report.

*Envy.* Probably, in the sense of the Latin *invidia* from which it is derived, ill-will.

*Extinctus.*—Horace. Epistles II. 1, 14.

## III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

This Essay as it is found in the Edition of 1625 is a much enlarged form of the Essay 'of Religion' which appeared in 1612. The earlier Essay contains nothing of the divisions of the present Essay which deal with the Fruits and Bounds of Unity. In 1612, the Romanist controversy was prominently before his mind; in 1625, the Puritan. For Bacon's other writings on the subject, see the Introduction.

OUTLINE.—Heathenism knew no religious divisions. The worship of a jealous God produces them. The Fruits of Unity: The Bounds of Unity: The Means of procuring Unity [mistaken methods.]

1. *Band*.—In this sense we now prefer *bond*. Though like Shakspeare we still talk of 'Hymen's bands.'

2. *Contained*.—Held together, like the Latin word from which it is derived, *contineo*. Cf. continent. Cf. XXIX. 164.

3. *The quarrels*.—Notice the article, denoting *the notorious* Sh. Gr. § 92.

4. *Heathen*.—The Greeks, Romans, &c., of the pre-Christian age. But these nations were not without their religious quarrels.

6. *Constant*.—Fixed, agreed (Lat. *constat*, it is agreed.) Cf. Adv. of Learning, II. 25. 4. 'The religion of the heathen had no constant belief or confession but left all to the liberty of argument.'

8. *Doctors*.—Teachers. But at Rome the poets were mainly opposed to the national religion. The religious tradition was handed on by the priestly boards. The reference would seem to be to Homer who was the great source of religious knowledge to the Greeks.

9. *A jealous God*.—So Jehovah declared himself to the Israelites, *Exodus* xx. 5.

17. *For the former*.—Sh. Gr. § 149.

*Heresies*.—This term is technically confined to separations from the church due to false doctrine. It comes from a Greek word which means *choice, taking a side*.

*Schisms*.—Technically, are separations from the church due to wrong organization.

*Of all others the greatest*.—A confusion of two constructions. *Of all the greatest and greater than all others*. This construction is common in Greek poetry. Milton imitated it in describing Eve as '*fairest of all her daughters*.'



It occurs in the 1625 Dedicatory Epistle 'my Essays which of all my other works have been most current' and in IX. 165, 'Of all other affections it is the most importune.'

19. *Manners*.—Habits, character. Cf. St. Paul's proverb 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' (1 *Corinthians*, xv. 33).

20. *Solution*.—Properly means a *loosing*; here equivalent to *breach*. The idea is that if the continuity of the body be broken, e. g., by a limb being cut off, this is worse than a mere sore.

21. *Ecce in deserto, &c.*—See *Matthew* XXIV. 23—26.

27. *Conventicles*.—A disparaging diminutive. (Lat. *conventus*, a meeting. *Conventiculus*, an improper meeting) applied to the meetings of those who refused to conform to the Church of England. Cf. The Conventicle Act of 1664.

*Outward face of a Church*.—Apparently a reference to the Church of Rome, as possessing all the external characteristics of a Church.

29. *Go not out*.—Here, as in other passages, Bacon quotes this warning of Christ to dissuade his readers from being drawn from the Church of England either by the Separatists or by the Papists.

29. *Doctor of the Gentiles*.—St. Paul.

*Propriety*.—Peculiarity, derived from the Latin *proprium*, that which is one's own. Paul being called (*vocation*) to be the apostle of the Gentiles would be specially anxious that the Church should impress the Gentiles (*those without*).

31. *If an heathen, &c.*—1 *Corinthians*, XIV. 23.

35. *Avert*.—Turn away. We still speak of averting *disaster*, &c., but not of averting a person.

36. *Sit down, &c.*—*Psalms* I. 1.

*It*.—Referring to the following sentence. Cf. XII. 1.

37. *Vouched*.—Legal term borrowed from the Old French, properly denoting to 'cite as a witness.'

39. *A master of scoffing*.—Rabelais, the great French Satirist, (1483-1558). In his 'Lives of Gargantua and Pantagruel' he satirised the Pope and the Monks with abundant though coarse wit.

40. *Feigned*.—The library was a creation of his imagination. Rabelais, *Pantagruel* II. 7.

*Morris-dance*.—Also called *Morisco*, which is the Spanish for Moorish. A dance, common especially on May-day, in which the dancers dressed up as certain grotesque figures, the fool, the Hobby-horse, &c. It has been supposed to have been introduced from Spain in the reign of Edward III., but nothing is really known of its history. For a description of it, see Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. Ch. XVI.

42. *Cringe*.—Connected with crank, a twist.

43. *Move*.—Create, stir up.

*Worldlings*.—For the suffix, cf. eanlings.

*Politics*.—Politicians, following the Latin and Greek. Masc. Plur. Our common use of it is borrowed from the *Neut.* Plur. of the adjective.

45. *Within*.—Within the church.

47. *The outward peace, &c.*—The peace which the whole church enjoys in its relations with those outside shows itself in the individual member of the church as the peace of mind which springs from a good conscience.

49. *Controversies*.—Controversial writings.

*Treaties*.—See *Corrigenda*. In most Editions, treatises. But the word *treaty* is elsewhere used in Tudor English to denote *treatise*.

50. *Mortification*.—See note on II. 8.

52. *Importeth exceedingly*.—Is of great importance. Cf. XXIX. 53.

53. *Zelants*.—Zealots. Cf. Ital. *Zelante*.

54. *Is it peace, Jehu?*—2 *Kings*, ix. 18. Jehu was the uncompromising assailant of the Phœnician influence in Israel, as shown in the Baal-worship introduced by Ahab and his Sidonian Queen, Jezebel.

55. *Peace is not the matter, &c.*—They are concerned to secure not peace but a large following and the success of their party.

56. *Laodiceans*.—See *Revelation*, iii. 14-16. The Christians of Laodicea were rebuked by Christ as being *lukewarm*, neither cold nor hot, and have become the type of blame-worthy indifference.

57. *Accommodate*.—Bring to an agreement.

58. *Witty*.—Ingenious.

59. *Make an arbitrement.*—Give a judgment between two parties in dispute, compelling each to yield certain points for the sake of peace.

62. *Penned.*—Keeping up the figure of the league or treaty.

*Cross.*—Apparently conflicting.

*He . . . against us.*—*Matthæw* XII. 30.

*He . . . with us.*—*Mark* IX. 40.

The former is a misquotation. It is properly 'He that is not with me is against me.' See *Adv. of Learning*: II. 25. 9. "We see of the fundamental points our Saviour penneth the league thus: He that is not with us, is against us;" but of points not fundamental, thus; "He that is not against us, is with us"; so we see the coat of our Saviour was entire, without seam, and so is the doctrine of the scriptures in itself, but the government of the church was of divers colours and yet not divided." Bacon twice elsewhere introduces this same idea in almost the same words. As early as 1589, in his '*Controversies of the Church of England*,' he had employed this illustration and quotation.

66. *Of substance.*—Substantial, essential.

*Discerned.*—Separated, a Latinism.

67. *Merely.*—Absolutely. The Lat. *merus*, meant pure, unmixed. Cf. LVIII. 14.

*Of faith.*—One of the creeds in use in the English Church lays down what is 'of faith'—i. e., what *must be believed*, as opposed to what is of opinion, i. e., what a man may believe or not.

68. *Order.*—Here the contrast is different. It is between what is of faith, i. e., the doctrines of Christianity, and what relates to order, i. e., ecclesiastical administration. Like almost all his Anglican contemporaries, Bacon regarded the question of Church government as one not authoritatively fixed by Christ, but dependent upon convenience or reason.

*Good intention.*—Plans devised by men to secure the good end of order and decency in the Church. Cf. '*good intentions*.' XVII. 37.

69. *A matter trivial.*—A common place. Lat. *trivium*, a place where three roads meet, the place of common talk.

70. *Partially.*—In a party-spirit.

72. *Model*.—Latin *modulus*, a small measure. The model here is probably the scale on which his Essays were written, with their limited space. Or according to the small measure of my abilities.

*Take heed of*.—We should now say, beware of, or take heed lest, &c.

75. *Kindled only*.—And *only* becomes a burning question because men speak or write strongly against one another concerning it.

76. *One of the Fathers*.—Bacon's looseness of quotation again renders it uncertain to whom he refers. The Latin sentence comes from St. Augustine, but this context does not refer to Christ's raiment. Many Church writers, *e. g.*, Augustine, Cyprian, Bernard have spoken of Christ's coat as a type of the unity of the Church, but none of these Fathers would have approved of Bacon's toleration of differences in Church doctrine and order. Like 'the league penned by Christ' this quotation from Augustine with similar comments upon it had been one of Bacon's favourite arguments in his writings on ecclesiastical questions.

77. *Christ's coat*.—See *John* xix. 23. 'Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.'

78. *The Church's vestures*.—See *Psalms* xlv. 13 and 14. 'Her clothing is inwrought with gold. She shall be led unto the king clothed in various colours.' This was applied by Augustine, Bernard, &c., to the Christian Church as the Bride of Christ.

81. *They be two things*.—They are two distinct things.

82. *Matter*.—Importance.

84. *Rather ingenious than substantial*.—A matter more of fine distinctions than of essential difference.

86. *Shall*.—Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 315. Cf. Richard III. V. 3, 201, 'And if I die, no man shall pity me.'

87. *Which*.—For *who*. Cf. 'Our Father which art in Heaven.'

*That distance of judgment, &c.*—That slight difference which exists between the judgment of one man and that of another.

91. *Doth not discern*.—After *not think*, the negative is pleonastic. But Bacon, like other Elizabethans, often uses a double negative.

96. *Decita, &c.*—1 *Timothy*, vi. 20.

98. *Men create, &c.*—Reynolds gives as an instance the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches, as to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which really was more in words than in fact.

99. *Terms.*—Names, phrases.

*As.*—That. Sh. Gr. § 109.

*Govern.*—Cf. Aphorism. 'Men believe that their reason governs words, but it is also true that words react on the understanding.'

102. *Implicit ignorance.*—As implicit faith is faith which accepts without questioning, so implicit ignorance is an unquestioning ignorance. Abbott's explanation of *implicit* as *entangled* scarcely suits the context and is too classical.

103. *Dark.*—Of ignorance.

105. *Direct admission.*—When two quite contradictory opinions are allowed to co-exist.

107. *Nebuchadnezzar's image.*—Daniel, ii. 33.

*Incorporate.*—Used now transitively. Here, equivalent to grow together in one living body—organically unite.

110. *Muniting.*—Fortifying.

112. *Two swords.*—Luke xiii. 38, a text which by mediæval Churchmen was interpreted as here by Bacon of the spiritual and temporal authorities, e. g., by Pope Boniface VIII. See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*.

115. *Mahomet's sword.*—Islam has spread chiefly through war.

116. *That is . . . the state.*—A parenthesis explanatory of *take up the third sword*.

116. *Propagate.*—Nevertheless Bacon approved of a religious war against the Turks and of the laws against Papists.

117. *Sanguinary.*—It is therefore apparently only persecution to death that Bacon disapproves of. He gave his support at any rate to the penal laws against Papists.

118. *Except.*—These exceptions would cover almost all religious persecutions known to history, in the view of the persecutors at least.

119. *Practice.*—Underhand planning. It was such intermixture of practice, the combination of treason with religious propagandism, that drew on the Papists of Elizabeth's reign the penalties they suffered.

*Much less nourish.*—Follows on from *we may* (line 115), *to* being inserted to mark that the Infinitival construction is resumed. Cf. XXVII. 160. Sh. Gr. § 416.

122. *Ordinance of God.*—Cf. St. Paul. *Romans* XIII. 1. 'The powers that be are ordained of God.'

123. *This.*—To take up the third sword.

*Dash the first table, &c.*—An allusion to Moses' breaking the two tables of stone on which he received the Ten Commandments (*Exodus*, xxxii. 19). The first four Commandments—the first table—contain our duty to God: the rest—the second table—our duty to men. By religious persecution we bring our idea of our duty to God into violent conflict with our duty to man. Out of zeal for God we wrong our neighbours.

124. *As Christians.*—Judge their religious doctrines so harshly as to punish them inhumanly, our common manhood being forgotten in religious intolerance.

125. *Lucretius.*—See I. 48.

126. *Agamemnon.*—The leader of the Greeks in their expedition against Troy. To appease the goddess Artemis and secure a favourable wind, he was forced by the seer Calchas to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia.

*That.*—After names *that*, as used by Elizabethan writers, was less definite than *who*, relating rather to the character than the individual.

128. The quotation is from Lucretius, 'De Rerum Natura,' I. 95.

130. *The massacre in France.*—The famous massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1572, when Admiral Coligny and 30,000 Huguenots were butchered by the orders of King Charles IX, at the instigation of his mother, Catherine de Medicis, with the approval of the Pope.

131. *Powder treason.*—The famous Gunpowder Plot, 1605. In the street songs still sung each November 5, it is commonly known as 'Gunpowder Treason.'

133. *Epicure.*—Epicurean. In Bacon's time the differentiation of Epicure and Epicurean had not yet taken place. One of the doctrines of the Epicureans was that the gods live far away in a happiness of their own, careless of mankind.

*Atheist.*—Lucretius wrote his great poem to loose men from the bondage, as he considered it, of religion.

136. *Anabaptists*.—A sect of fanatics which sprang up under John of Leyden in Germany during the Reformation. In 1534 they seized the town of Munster, expelled from it all who did not accept their teaching and established a communistic society there. They were besieged and captured by the Bishop of Münster in 1535. In the Edition of 1612, Bacon with at least as much justice wrote instead of lines 133—136 'Nay he would rather have chosen to be one of the madmen of Münster than to have been a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion should deface men's understanding than their piety and charity, retaining reason only but as an engine and chariot-driver of cruelty and malice.'

137. *I will ascend*.—See *Isaiah*, xiv. 12—14, a passage originally referring to the King of Babylon, but constantly interpreted by mediæval writers of the Devil. Cf. XIII. 10.

139. *Personate*.—The Latin *persona* was originally a mask, then the actor who wore the mask. To personate in Bacon's time meant to give a mask to, introduce as an actor. It now is used of one man presenting himself as another.

139. *Bring him in*.—Upon the stage.

140. *Prince of darkness*.—The Devil, one of whose characteristics is cruelty.

*What*.—An adverbial accusative. To what extent? Sh. Gr. § 253. Cf. *Luke* ix. 25. 'What is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world and lose himself?'

142. *Murdering princes*.—*e. g.*, the assassination of William the Silent of Holland.

*Butchery of people*.—*e. g.*, St. Bartholomew's Day.

143. *Subversion*.—*e. g.*, the Anabaptists or the Gunpowder Plot. If the reference be to the last, States may be for Estates and stand for Parliament.

145. *Dove*.—At the Baptism of Jesus the Holy Ghost descended on Him in this form. The bird of tenderness.

*Vulture or vases*.—Emblems of cruelty.

149. *Learnings*.—Abstract for concrete—learned people or institutions.

*Both Christian and moral*.—Not merely those who professedly base their teaching on Christian doctrine, but also those who base it on ethics, pure and simple.

*Mercury rod*.—Mercury in Roman mythology guided the souls of the dead to their home after death. Virgil (*Æn.* IV.

242—4) thus describes him :—'Then he takes his rod—with which he bids forth from Orcus some pale souls, but others sends below the gloom of Tartarus, gives sleep or takes away, and seals the eyes in death.'

150. *Facts*.—*Deeās*. Cf. *Macbeth* III. 6. 10. 'To kill their father! Damnèd fact!'

153. *Would be*.—Ought to be. Cf. XXXVII. 10.

*Ira hominis*.—A loose quotation from *James* I. 20.

156. *A wise Father*.—The allusion has not been discovered.

157. *Persuaded*.—Urged. A Latinism.

158. *Interested*.—See *Corrigenda*. The old form of interested. Cf. *Spenser Faery Queene*, VII. 6. 33.

#### IV. OF REVENGE.

This Essay first appears in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—Revenge usurps the place of law, and being at best wild justice is less noble than forgiveness. It loses sight of the present in the past—and makes no allowance for human frailty. It is tolerable when the offence is such as no law takes cognisance of, and when it is taken openly. Not only enemies but also faithless friends should be forgiven. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate, private revenges usually bring ruin on oneself.

#### ANTITHETA ON REVENGE.

##### *For.*

1. Private revenge is a wild justice.

2. He who requites violence with violence sins not against the man but the law only.

3. The fear of private vengeance has its use; for the laws too often sleep.

##### *Against.*

1. He who did the first injury made a beginning of mischief, he who returned it made it endless.

2. The more natural revenge is, the more need to restrain it.

3. He who is quick to repay an injury was perhaps behindhand in inflicting one less in will than in time.

1. *Wild*.—Uncultivated. A metaphor kept up by *runs to, weeded out*. Bacon is referring to such "wild justice" as duelling which was rife in his days, though discouraged by James I.



The first sentence occurs in the Antitheta thus:—*Private revenge is a wild justice—as an argument in favour of revenge.*

3. *First wrong*.—That which provokes the revenge.

4. *Law out of office*.—Displaces it; usurps its authority which is the worse offence.

5. *Even with*.—On the same level with, no better than.

7. *Solomon*.—Salomon—which many Editors keep throughout—is the form used in the Vulgate, from which Bacon quotes, and also in the earlier English versions of the Bible. The Geneva version in 1557 adopted the form Solomon, and this was used in the Authorised Version 1611, and is the spelling now followed.

7. *I am sure with*.—A hint that he quotes from memory. *Proc.* XIX 11. "The discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression."

13. *Purchase*.—In Bacon's time this word had only the idea of obtaining, not necessarily of obtaining by buying. Cf. *LV.* 9.

15. *Why should*.—For a similar view, cf. XXXI. 18—20.

16. *Merely*.—Entirely, altogether. III. 67. From downright badness of nature, without any excuse whatever.

18. *No other*.—No other thing, nothing else. Other in the Sing. is now used as an Adjective except with *each*, *an*, or *the*. But in Bacon's time it was often used as a Pronoun, as in the Plur. others. See *Sh. Gr.* § 12.

*Tolerable*.—Permissible.

19. *Those wrongs, &c.*—Such as insults, &c., for which the remedy was to challenge the offender to a duel.

22. *Two for one*.—That is the one who offended is punished but once, by the revenge taken upon him, but the revenger suffers first from the wrong done to him, and then from the punishment of the law for the offence he committed against it in the revenge he took.

23. *Kano whence*.—So the old Vikings regarded the worst murder as honourable if the slayer left his spear in the wound to show who had done it.

38. *Cosmus*.—Cosmo de Medici (1519—1574). He was made Duke of Florence in 1537 and Grand Duke of Tuscany 1569. He ruled despotically for over 30 years, and though his reign was a prosperous one, such was its nature that he is said to

have changed the character of the Florentines from gay to grave. This is repeated in Apothegm 206.

It has not been traced in any book. It may very well have reached Bacon by hearsay.

*Desperate.*—Very severe.

30. *Commanded.*—By Christ in his Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere. *Matthew* v. 44.

32. *Job.*—A character in the Bible whose sufferings and patience are recorded in the book of the same name.

*Shall we do.*—*Job* ii. 10. "What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" We must expect, in due measure, to receive also from our friends, both good and evil.

34. *In a proportion.*—God stands to us as our Creator and Ruler, with a right to treat us as He will: our relation to our friends is very different—their power to help us is infinitely less, so is their right to give us pain.

36. *Green.*—Fresh, unhealed.

37. *Public revenges, &c.*—Augustus Cæsar, Severus, Henry IV. prospered after they had revenged the murders of Julius Cæsar, Pertinax and Henry III.

Cassius and Brutus the murderers of Julius Cæsar were defeated by Augustus at the battle of Philippi, and to save themselves from falling into the hands of the victor put an end to their own lives.

*Pertinax.*—Roman Emperor for three months, A. D. 193, was murdered by the Prætorian Guard, who then sold the empire to Didius, who held it for two months, and was put to death by the soldiers. Severus marched against Rome and put the murderers to death.

*Henry III* was stabbed 1589 by a Monk, Jacques Clement, at the instigation of the Guises (see Essay XXXIX). Henry IV shattered the power of the Guises in his victory over their League at the battle of Ivry 1591. But this was in pursuit of his own ends, not in revenge for the death of Henry III.

40. *Vindicative.*—See *Corrigenda*. Vindictive, a Latinism.

42. *Unfortunate.*—See *Corrigenda*. We now use the hybrid *unfortunate*. Sh. Gr. § 442.

In Bacon's time Witchcraft was punished by death, early in the reign of James I, a law having been passed by which witches were to be put to death on the first conviction, even if they had done no harm.

That Bacon shared the common belief or acquiesced in the belief of the king, who had written a book on Demonology and Witchcraft, entitled *Demonologia*, is shown by his having recommended the torture of a man who was charged with using sorcery against the king. In the Middle Ages suspected sorcerers were burnt alive, often without legal conviction. Harrison in his *Description of England*, written about 1580 says 'Witches are hanged or sometimes burned.' For Bacon's views on Witchcraft see also Adv. of Learning, II. 1. 4.

## V. OF ADVERSITY.

This Essay first appears in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—Heathen philosophers and poets taught the advantages of Adversity. Adversity engenders fortitude. Prosperity is the blessing of Old Testament; the higher revelation of the New Testament represents adversity as the blessing. But the Old Testament to some extent teaches the same truth; comforts in adversity are all the brighter for it, and it brings out virtue.

### 1. *High*.—Noble.

*Seneca*.—A Roman philosopher and rhetorician, tutor to the Emperor Nero, and his chief adviser when he first came to the throne. But when Nero abandoned himself to vice, Seneca's presence became irksome to him, and his enormous wealth excited the cupidity of the Emperor. Seneca asked permission to retire to private life and offered to surrender all he possessed. Nero sent him away with assurances of friendship, and gratitude for past services, but soon after put him to death for participation in a conspiracy. He was ordered to put himself to death, which he endeavoured to do by opening his veins, but being old and attenuated his blood would not flow easily, so he took hemlock, but this also failing, he was put into a vapour bath and suffocated, A. D. 65. The quotation is from *Ep.* 66.

### 2. *Stoics*.—See note on II, 52.

5. *Certainly if miracles, &c.*—If miracles are the command over nature, the greatest miracles appear in adversity, because the self-control which is shown by people in Adversity is the greatest command over nature, more wonderful than any power over inanimate nature. Cf. LVIII. 92. 'For martyrdoms I reckon them among miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life.'

7. *Much too high for a heathen.*—Seneca's moral teachings are so lofty in tone, that it has been thought by some that he must have had some knowledge of Christian doctrines, but this is scarcely possible.

8. *Have in one.*—We should now say, have *at once*, or *at one and the same time*.

9. *Security.*—Freedom from care. Its Latin meaning—Cf. *Judges* XVIII. 27, where in the same sentence the people of Laish are described as being *secure* and being put to death. Also Ben Jonson's famous line 'Man may sin, but safely never.' The quotation is from *Epist.* 53.

11. *Poesy.*—Old form of "Poetry."

*Transcendences.*—Extravagances of language or thought.

13. *In effect.*—In fact, in reality.

14. *Strange fiction.*—Apollodorus, de *Deorum Origine*. II. 5. But the cup is there said to be of gold and the voyage quite different. The earthen pot or pitcher seems to be unknown to the ancient writers.

15. *Mystery.*—A hidden meaning known only to the initiated. Prometheus stole fire from heaven and introduced it among men. For this and other crimes "by Jupiter's command, he was brought to Mount Caucasus, and there fastened to a pillar, so firmly that he could no way stir. A vulture or eagle stood by him, which in the day time gnawed and consumed his liver, but in the night the wasted parts were supplied again, whence matter for his pain was never wanting. They relate, however, that his punishment had an end; for Hercules sailing the ocean, in a cup, or pitcher, presented him by the sun, came at length to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free. . . . . It is added, with great elegance, for supporting and confirming the human mind, that the great hero who thus delivered him sailed the ocean in a cup, or pitcher, to prevent fear, or complaint; as if, through the narrowness of our nature, or a too great fragility thereof, we were absolutely incapable of that fortitude and constancy to which Seneca finely alludes, when he says, "It is a noble thing, at once to participate in the frailty of man, and the security of a God." These are the particulars which appear to us shadowed out by this rude and vulgar fable, though without denying that here may be contained in it several intimations that have a surprising correspondence with the Christian Mysteries. In particular, the voyage of Hercules, made in a pitcher, bears

an allusion to the Word of God, coming in the flesh to redeem mankind."—Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients*, § 26.

19. *Lively*.—Here an adverb. Cf. *stately*. Here he mingles two interpretations of the classical myths. Here he passes from the idea of Hercules being a type of Christ, to his being a type of the spiritual life in the Christian.

20. *Thorough*.—Through. Cf. *thorough-fare*. This form is nearer the old English *thurh*. Cf. German *durch*.

21. *In a mean*.—In a moderate way, leaving the flights of poets.

*The virtue of*.—The virtue that Prosperity.... Adversity brings out. Lord Macaulay quotes this passage from "The virtue of Prosperity" to the end of the Essay, as an example of Bacon's later style "which was constantly becoming richer and softer." He compares this with the passage (written in 1597) from Essay "of Studies" from "crafty men contemn studies" to "able to contend," of which he says "It will hardly be disputed that this is a passage to be "chewed and digested. We do not believe that Thucydides himself has anywhere compressed so much thought into so small a space." But see Introduction.

24. *Prosperity*.—The Old Testament abounds in passages mentioning prosperity as the blessing which would follow righteousness; all the promises to the Patriarchs were of temporal blessings; they were to have land, increase of flocks and herds, great store of servants, &c.

But Christ preached "Blessed are the poor..... blessed are ye that hunger now..... blessed are ye that weep....." *Luke* vi. 20. Cf. Paul's teaching (*Acts* xiv. 22) that "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." Bacon's love of an antithesis blinds him to the fact that the New Testament speaks of Adversity not as the blessing promised to the righteous, but only as the condition of their future blessedness.

25. *The New which carrieth, &c.*—The New Testament more fully than the Old reveals the mind of God and teaches more clearly how He deals with men. The Latin translation however makes *blessing* the antecedent of *which*.

27. *David's harp*.—To King David the composition of the *Book of Psalms* in the Old Testament was popularly attributed. From his childhood he was noted for his skill on the harp.

28. *Herse-like*.—Funereal, mournful. *Herse* is the older and more accurate spelling of *hearse*. For its derivation, history and meaning, see Skeat, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 198.

*Carol*.—A song of joy or praise. It, *carola*, a ring-dance.

29. *The pencil of the Holy Ghost*.—The Bible was written by men inspired by the Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is therefore sometimes spoken of as its writer, and by a bold figure as here a pen or pencil is ascribed to Him.

*Labour'd more*.—Described more elaborately. The glory of Solomon's reign is described in a few chapters. A whole book of the Bible—containing forty-two chapters—is given to the story of Job and his afflictions.

'The Patience of Job' and 'Solomon in all his glory' have become proverbial expressions.

31. *Distastes*.—Annoyances, bitternesses—things not to one's taste.

33. *Needle-works*.—Needle-work is now used only in the singular.

34. *Licely*.—Brightly coloured.

*Sad*.—Sombre, dull. The dresses of the Puritans and Cavaliers have been distinguished as 'Sad-coloured and Satins.'

38. *Incens'd*.—Burnt. As incense when burnt gives out a perfume. From Lat. *incensum*, that which is burnt. In the Apophthegms this saying is attributed to Mr. Betterham (reader of Gray's Inn.)

"Mr. Betterham said, that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell, till they be broken or crushed."

39. *Discover*.—Reveal, uncover. Cf. XLVIII. 43. In his *Antitheta on Office* (see Notes on XI.) Bacon somewhat inconsistently says that office checks vice. Both are partial statements.

## VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

This Essay first appears in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—Dissimulation is the policy of weak natures. Unless a man has great judgment, and knows when to speak the truth and when to conceal it, he must always dissemble. Three grades of concealment—secrecy, dissimulation, simula-

tion.—Secrecy is a virtue both “politic and moral,” it invites confidence, adds reverence to men’s actions and manners, lessens vanity, and prevents a man’s betraying himself.

Dissimulation is often a necessity on account of the inquisitiveness of others.

Simulation is more culpable and less politic and when habitual is a vice. There are corresponding advantages and disadvantages in Simulation and Dissimulation, and it is best to have a habit of secrecy, to use dissimulation but rarely, simulation never, “except there be no remedy.”

With this Essay should be read Advancement of Learning, II. 23.

#### ANTITHETA ON DISSIMULATION.

##### *For.*

1. Dissimulation is a commendous wisdom.

2. We ought to be consistent, not in our words, but in our aims.

3. Nakedness is uncomely in the mind as well as the body.

4. Dissimulation is both a grace and a safeguard.

5. Dissimulation is the fence of plans.

6. Some are deceived to their own advantage.

7. He who never dissembles deceives as much as the dissembler; for the world either does not understand him or does not believe him.

8. Absence of dissimulation means only want of self-control.

##### *Against.*

1. If we cannot think according to the truth of things, at least let us speak according to our thoughts.

2. It is only when true policy is beyond a man’s capacity that he makes dissimulation serve him for wisdom.

3. The dissembler deprives himself of that main instrument of business—credit.

4. Dissimulation invites dissimulation.

5. Dissimulation means loss of liberty.

## ANTITHETA ON SILENCE IN MATTERS OF SECRECY.

*For.*

1. The silent man is told everything, for everything may be safely imparted to him.
2. One who readily tells what he knows will tell also what he knows not.
3. Mysteries are due to secrecy.

*Against.*

1. To vary one's manners is the best way of making one's mind secret.
2. Silence is only a confessor's virtue.
3. The silent man is told nothing, because he gives nothing back but silence.
4. To be reserved is next door to being a stranger.

## ANTITHETA ON TALKATIVENESS.

*For.*

1. The man that is silent wants confidence either in others or in himself.
2. All kinds of constraint are painful, but that of silence the most miserable of all.
3. Silence is the virtue of fools. So it was well said to a silent man 'If you are wise, you are a fool; if you are a fool, a wise man.'
4. Silence like night helps foul play.
5. Thoughts like water are most wholesome when they flow.
6. Silence is a kind of solitude.
7. The silent man sells himself to the opinions of the world.
8. Silence neither casts out bad thoughts nor spreads good ones.

*Against.*

1. Silence adds to speech both grace and authority.
2. Silence is the sleep that nourishes wisdom.
3. Silence is the fermentation of ideas.
4. Silence is the pen of wisdom.
5. Silence aspires after Truth.



*Dissimulation.*—Lat. *dis*, apart. *simulare* to make like. Bacon explains in the third paragraph of the Essay the distinction he makes between Simulation, Dissimulation, and Secrecy.

1. *Faint.*—Weak, poor, spiritless.

2. *Asketh.*—Demands, requires.

*Wit.*—Understanding.

3. *To know when to tell, &c.*—Is anticipated by “it.” “To know when to tell truth, and to do it, asketh, &c.”

4. *Politics.*—Politicians, III. 43.

5. *Tacitus saith.*—Annals V. 1. See *Adv. of Learning*, II. 23, 36:—“Tacitus made this judgment, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy, attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius, where speaking of Livia, he saith, “Et cum artibus mariti simulatione filii bene composita;” for surely the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning, and not greatly politic.”

*Sorted.*—Agreed, XXVII, 248.

*Arts.*—In a good sense. See note above from ‘Advancement of Learning.’ Livia was first the wife of Claudius Nero, but Augustus compelled him to divorce her and married her a. c. 33. Tiberius was her son by her first husband, and it was generally believed that she caused the two grandsons of Augustus to be poisoned to secure the succession for her own children. When Tiberius came to the throne she attempted to obtain an equal share in the Government. This Tiberius would not permit, but forced her to retire altogether from public affairs. She died a. d. 29, and Tiberius refused to see her on her death-bed, and would take no part in the funeral rites.

9. *He saith.*—Histories, II. 76.

Mucianus was a famous intriguing general under Otho and Vitellius. He was an orator and historian, and his powers of oratory are greatly praised by Tacitus. See LIV, 42.

13. *Several.*—Distinct, separate.

*That.....as.*—Such.....that. Sh. Gr. § 280.

15. *Secreted.*—Cf. XX, 63. ‘Unsecreting.’

16. *Half-lights.*—Twilight, doubtful light.

17. *Arts of state, &c.*—Arts required for statesmanship, and also for ordinary life. There is no one passage in Tacitus

from which this is borrowed. Bacon quotes the meaning of two or three.

19. *Poorness*.—Defect.

*Obtain to*.—Attain to. Cf. LVI. 83.

20. *Close*.—Reserved.

21. *Cannot*.—Has not ability to.

22. *In particulars*.—In individual cases.

23. *Going softly*.—Slowly. Cf. *Merch. of Ven.* IV. 1. 320:—  
'Soft! no haste.' Also *Genesis* xxxiii. 14. 'I will lead on softly.'

25. *Name of*.—Reputation for.

27. *Well managed*.—Well trained, so that it obeys the hand. O. F. *Manège*, managing a horse, through Italian from Latin *manus*, the hand. Cf. *As You Like It*. I. 1. 15. 'His horses are bred better: they are taught their manage.'

*Passing well*.—Exceedingly well, literally, better than well.

31. *Clearness*.—Openness, frankness.

*Invisible*.—Unsuspected.

36. *Hold to... he is*.—He gives no one an opportunity of discovering his character. An irregular case of the figure known as Antiptosis. Sh. Gr. § 414.

38. *He is not that he is*.—For this use of *that* see Sh. Gr. § 244.

39. *Industriously*.—Purposely. Latin, *de industria*.

*Confessor*.—A priest who hears confessions. These are always given under the pledge of secrecy, no priest being allowed to divulge what he hears in confession, under any circumstances whatever.

44. *Discovery*.—Disclosure, discovering it to others.

45. *The more close air, &c.*—The air of a heated room allows colder denser air to force its way through it.

46. *Worldly use*.—That is, the revealing is not for the world at large.

48. *In that kind*.—In that manner, in that way, XLI, 103.

49. *Rather discharge, &c.*—When men tell their secrets to others, it is because they find them a burden, and wish to relieve their minds, not from a desire to impart them to, or share them with, others.

50. *Are due to.*—Are the dues of, are the right of.

*Mysteries.*—Secrets. People seem to recognise that they ought to tell their secrets to a reserved man.

54. *Futile.*—Lit. leaky, talkative. Lat. *futilis*, that which easily pours forth. Cf. XX. 66: "One futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal."

57. *Moral.*—The mark of a good character.

*In this part.*—Under this head.

58. *Give his tongue, &c.*—A man's face should never betray his secrets, but be inscrutable, and leave it for him to make disclosures by speech.

59. *Discovery.*—Disclosure. For the whole sentence, cf. XXII. 19. and a saying of James I quoted by Bacon 'As the tongue speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye.'

*Tracts.*—Movements.

60. *By how much.*—By just so much as, cf. X. 37. XX. 6. The Earl of Essex was notorious for showing all his feelings in his face.

61. *Marked.*—Observed, noticed. See Adv. of Learning II. 23. 16. "We will begin therefore with this precept, according to the ancient opinion, that the sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief and distrust: that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words; and in words rather to sudden passages and surprised words than to set and purposed words. Neither let that be feared which is said, *Fronti nulla fides*; which is meant of a general outward behaviour, and not of the private and subtle motions and labours of the countenance and gesture; which, as Q. Cicero elegantly saith, is *animi janua*, The gate of the mind."

64. *By a necessity.*—The man who wishes to be secret must often of necessity dissemble, otherwise inquisitive people would drag his secret from him.

*That will be.*—That wishes to be.

66. *Cunning.*—Shrewd, knowing.

*Indifferent carriage.*—Neutral bearing. Cf. LI. 39. For indifferent, cf. XX, 140. So in the English Church Prayer-book occurs a prayer that Magistrates 'may indifferently administer justice.'

70. *Absurd*.—This word occurs thrice in the Essays: here. XXVI, 49 and XLVII, 22. In each place it may perhaps mean stupid, silly. But in each the best sense may perhaps be obtained by treating it as a Latinism, meaning rough, unmannerly.

72. *Oraculous speeches*.—Ambiguous sentences. Many of the ancient oracles might bear two meanings, one of which was nearly certain to come true, whatever the issue might be. e. g., the oracle given to Cræsus that if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a great kingdom. He interpreted this to mean the ruin of Persia—but it was his own kingdom that was destroyed by Cyrus the Persian.

75. *Skirts or train*.—As we might say *next door to secrecy*.  
*Of*.—From.

81. *Fearfulness*.—Timidity.

82. *Main*.—Great. Lat. *magnus*.

84. *Ure*.—Use, practice. Bacon's idea of statesmanship, which was that of the time, is that trickery, dissimulation, simulation, &c., were essential parts of policy. This was the view taken by Machiavelli in his book, *Il Principe*, from which Bacon frequently quotes: and whose principles he admires.

87. *Alarum*.—Italian 'All' arme' To arms!

89. *A fair retreat*.—A convenient means of retreat, a way to withdraw, in case of need.

89. *Engage himself*.—Bind himself.

91. *Take a fall*.—A metaphor from wrestling, be thrown.

*Discover*.—Here used in its modern sense.

93. *Fair*.—Just, simply.

94. *Freedom of speech*, &c.—Though they do not openly contradict him, yet in their minds they disagree and the more freely criticise him. See Essay XX, 157—162, where kings are warned to be reserved in their Councils lest their counsellors should not be free in their speech.

96. *Tell a lie*, &c.—Troth = truth. See Adv. of Learning. II. 23. 18. "And experience showeth, there are few men so true to themselves, and so settled, but that sometimes upon heat, sometimes upon bravery, sometimes upon kindness, sometimes upon trouble of mind, and weakness, they open them-

selves, specially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain *Di mentira y sacaras verdad.* 'Tell a lie, and find a truth.'

100. *Spoil of flying.*—Deprive of the power of flying—an illustration from archery.

101. *Round.*—What is symmetrical, hence neat, precise direct, I. 63. Cf. *Hamlet* II. 2. 139, 'I went round to work.'

102. *Conceits.*—Ideas, conceptions. Cf. LVI, 65.

103. *Him.*—The indefinite subject of the logical sentence. The supposed dissimulator.

105. *Most principal.*—A redundancy.

107. *Composition.*—Combination of qualities.

*Temperature.*—Temperament. Lit. blending of qualities. Cf. the Verb *temper*.

*Openness in fame and opinion.*—A reputation for frankness.

*A power to feign.*—Simulation.

That Bacon knew better than the teaching of this Essay is shown by this sentence from *Adv. of Learning*, II. 23, 45. "But it is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest, and surely the fairer way is not much about."

## VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

This Essay appears first in the Edition of 1612 and was enlarged in that of 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Though children increase sorrows and anxiety, they sweeten labours; but the best works have been done by childless men.

To show partiality in affection towards children is unworthy in parents, though often those who are most neglected thrive the best.

Illiberality towards children is a great error, and rivalry between brothers should be discountenanced.

Likeness often runs in other branches of the family, and not only from father to son.

Choice of vocation should be made when children are young, so that they may be trained to it when their minds are most easily impressed.

"Younger brothers are commonly fortunate."

## ANTITHETA ON WIFE AND CHILDREN.

*For.*

1. Love of one's country begins in one's family.

2. Wife and children are a sort of school of kindness; bachelors are harsh and stern.

3. To be without wife and children is useful to a man only when he runs away.

4. The man that begets no children sacrifices to death.

5. Men that are happy in everything else are often unfortunate in their children, lest men should come too near to the bliss of the gods.

2. *Nor they will not.*—The second negative gives emphasis to the first, does not, as now destroy it. Sh. Gr. § 406. The joys of parents cannot be expressed by words, the griefs and fears their own children cause them they would not publish to strangers.

5. *Mitigate the remembrance of death.*—Cf. the common phrase *Memento mori*, Remember that thou shalt die. In II, 52 Bacon argues against the Stoics for maintaining this 'remembrance of death.'

6. *Perpetuity, &c.* This we have in common with beasts, but remembrance after death, merit and noble works are peculiar to man. We now use *perpetuation* rather than *perpetuity* in such phrases.

7. *Proper.*—Lat. *proprius*, one's own, peculiar. Cf. the words appropriate, property. III. 29.

8. *Shall.*—Cf. II. 7. Sh. Gr. § 315.

*Foundations.*—Institutions, such as hospitals, colleges, &c. Cf. Cambridge University Calendar, 'Trinity College was formed by the consolidation and extension of several earlier foundations.'

*Against.*

1. The man that has married a wife and raised up children has given hostages to fortune.

2. Man begets, and produces children; God creates, and produces works.

3. The eternity of brutes is in offspring; that of men in their fame, their virtues, and their foundations.

4. Family considerations often overturn considerations of the public weal.

5. Some have envied the lot of Priam who survived all his children.

9. *To express*.—Give expression to. It must be borne in mind that Bacon had no children himself. It is only natural that a man with no children should have more time and money to devote to the good of posterity; and also that he should take more care to have his name preserved in other ways, than a man who lives again in his children. Cf. VIII, 3. Bacon elsewhere says of Elizabeth. 'Childless she was, and left no issue behind her; which was the case of many of the most fortunate Princes; Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan and others.'

10. *Images*.—For the idea, cf. Shakspeare's (?) Edw. III. II. 1. 262.

11. *Care of posterity*.—Care for posterity, thought about.

13. *Raisers*.—Those who have raised themselves from a lower position, and founded a family.

15. *Kind . . . creatures*.—That is they regard them not only as children—continuance of their kind—but really as things they have created and continuance of the work they have done in founding and establishing a family.

*Creatures*.—Creations, results of their work. Cf. *Romans* 1. 25. 'They served the creature more than the Creator.'

17. *The difference, &c.*—An ambiguous sentence. It may refer to both parents showing partiality to the same child as opposed to others—or to father and mother favouring different children.

*Several*.—Separate, different. (Bacon himself . . . . . mother's.)

19. *Solomon saith*.—*Proverbs* x. 1. 'A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.' See *Adv. of Learning*, II. 23, 6 where the text is explained:— "Here is distinguished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons; but mothers have most discomfort of their ill proof, because women have little discerning of virtue, but of fortune." Bacon's application of it as a hint that the mother is responsible for a son's folly and the father for a son's wisdom is rather to be wondered at than imitated.

21. *Shall*.—We now use *may* in such phrases. See *Sh. Gr.* § 315 with quotation from *Othello*.

22. *Respected*.—Treated with respect, considered, made much of.

23. *Wantons*.—That is trifled with, played with, till they become idle and worthless. *Wanton* really means uneducated unrestrained, from A. S. *wana*, lacking, *toƿan*, to educate

Abbott aptly quotes from Euphues, 'Thy parents made thee a wanton with too much cockering.'

27. *Sort.*—Associate with, a different use of the word from that in line 34, or in VI, 4. We now use *consort with* in this sense.

28. *Surfeit.*—Indulge their appetites excessively.

29. *Proof.* The result. That which is proved by experience. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III, 1, 129. 'Tis a vulgar proof that very oft we pity enemies.' Cf. also note on line 19.

34. *Sorteth.*—Leads to, turns out. It comes from the Lat. *sortis*, a lot drawn or shaken out. Fr. *sortir*, to go out.

36. *So.*—Provided that. Sh. Gr. § 133.

37. *Of the lump.*—Of the stock from which the whole family comes.

41. *As the blood happens.*—According to the chance of heredity.

44. *Apply themselves to.*—Pay attention to, seek to discover. Cf. LII, 33.

45. *Take best to.*—Idiomatic for *show greatest ability in*.

46. *Most mind to.*—Most inclination for.

*Affection or aptness.*—Liking or natural turn or ability for any particular business.

48.—*Optimum elige.* &c.—A precept of the Pythagoreans quoted by Plutarch. From p. 41 to the end was added in 1625.

#### VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

Found in the Edition of 1612; enlarged in that of 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Marriage is a hindrance to great enterprises, and is avoided by many as involving expense and loss of liberty.

Unmarried men make the best friends, masters, servants and clergymen, but not good subjects, or soldiers.

Marriage is a "discipline of humanity," it makes men kinder, though less liberal. The influence of a person's character and age upon his marital relations. Reasons why bad husbands often have good wives.

For Antitheta see Essay VII.

1. *Hostages to fortune.*—Hostages are persons delivered to an enemy as a pledge for the fulfilment of certain conditions. So a man's wife and children are in the keeping of Fortune, who can visit on them any mistake or rash enterprise that he may undertake, in case of failure.



2. *Impedimenta*.—Hindrances, any thing that entangles. Latin *in, pes, foot*.

In particular cases, as perhaps in Bacon's own, this may be so. But the proper relation of wife to husband is that which in *Genesis* God is described as contemplating, that woman should be 'an help meet for him.' Where this is not the case, the fault lies in the incompatibility of character or training between the two. History gives numerous instances of wives who have been any thing but "impediments," and but for whom the work done by their husbands could never have been accomplished, and this is increasingly true of western marriages to-day.

3. *The best works, &c.*—This again is an unwarrantable statement. Shakspeare, Milton, Cromwell, in that very century, married and had children; and numberless other instances in ancient and modern times contradict the statement.

*The best works and of, &c.*—A Latinism—the phrase of *greatest merit* being treated practically as an adjective agreeing with *works*. We should insert *those* before it.

5. *Which*.—Who. Sh. Gr. § 265.

*Both in affection and means*.—As regards both their love and their possessions.

6. *It were great reason*.—It would be most reasonable. This sentence was added in 1625.

*Care of*.—Anxiety about. Bacon opens the Introduction to Book II. of *Adv. of Learning* with an address to King James I. in which he uses this consideration to the advantage of the King in comparison with his childless predecessor, Elizabeth. It begins thus:—'It might seem to have more convenience, though it come often otherwise to pass (excellent king) that those which are fruitful in their generations and have in themselves the foresight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the good estate of future times, unto which they know they must transmit and commend over their dearest pledges.'

9. *Devrent pledges*.—A very common description of *children* in Latin Literature. See previous note.

10. *Who . . . their*.—Who are interested in the future only so far as themselves are concerned. The uninflected Relative is put first, as in many languages, the sentence not having been shaped in thought as yet—and the Personal Demonstrative follows in the required case. Sh. Gr. § 249.

11. *Impertinences*.—Things not pertaining to or concerning themselves. Irrelevant things, not as we use the word generally in the sense of rudeness, but as the opposite of pertinent, appropriate to the matter in hand.

12. *Other*.—The old Plural form.

13. *Bills of charges*.—Matters of expense.

14. *Because*.—In order that. Sh. Gr. 117. Cf. XXV. 11.

16. *Except to it*.—Take exception to it, disagree with the remark.

21. *Humorous*.—Fanciful, capricious. Cf. 'As You Like It' I. 2. 261. 'The Duke is humorous.' The use of this word is now restricted to the meaning of mirthful or playful humour, but in Bacon's time it meant any whimsical characteristic, as in the names of Ben Jonson's two plays 'Every Man in his Humour' and 'Every Man out of his Humour.' The word is a trace of the old physiology which attributed pity to the bowels, love to the heart, whims to the fluids of the body.

21. *Sensible of*.—Sensitive to.

22. *As they will go near to think*.—That they will almost think, be apt to consider. Sh. Gr. § 109.

25. *Light*.—They have no encumbrances.

26. *That condition*.—That condition of life; unmarried men.

27. *Churchmen*.—Clergymen. The Roman Catholics had taught the necessity of the clergy being celibate and the idea influenced many Protestants of that age, e. g., Queen Elizabeth and Bacon. A married clergyman has his wife and family to consider and keep; which is the pool he has first to fill; when this is done there will not be so much for distribution in charity to others, whereas a celibate clergyman could "water the ground," having no one to spend upon but himself, so there would be more to spend upon others.

28. *It is indifferent*.—It does not matter much, is of little consequence either way.

29. *Facile and corrupt, &c.*—Facile = easily influenced, corrupt = open to bribes. If a Judge or Magistrate is of such a disposition, whether he is married or not is not of much importance, except for the fact that a servant who takes bribes would be worse to deal with than a wife who did the same.

30. *You shall have.*—For *shall*, cf. III, 86.
31. *For.*—As for, with regard to. Sh. Gr. § 142.
32. *Hortatives.*—Exhortations, speeches of encouragement before a battle.
33. *Fulgar.*—Common.
36. *Single men... they.*—For the redundant Pronoun cf. XII, 38. Sh. Gr. § 242.
37. *Exhaust.*—Exhausted. When a verb ended in *d* or *t*, it was not considered necessary to add *d* or *ed* to make the past tense or participle, on the ground of euphony. Sh. Gr. § 342. Cf. LI, 42.
40. *Grave.*—Serious.
42. *• Volubum suam, &c.*—A loose quotation from Cicero (de Or. I, 44) and Plutarch. Ulysses, the Greek hero, on his way home after the Destruction of Troy, was delayed 20 years by various adventures described in Homer's *Odyssey*. Amongst others he spent several years with the goddess Calypso, who promised him immortality if he would remain with her. But he, pining for his wife, Penelope, refused. At the close of *Adv. of Learning*, Book I. Bacon, like Plutarch treats Ulysses on this account as a type of those who prefer the lower to the higher.
44. *Frontal.*—Perverse. *From ward*, the opposite to toward.
48. *Wives are young, &c.*—A young man marries a wife for love, a middle-aged man to secure a companion, an old man to secure attention and care in his weakness. *Mistress* had in Bacon's time all its modern meanings. It is used here ambiguously, no doubt of set purpose.
49. *So as.*—Cf. line 22.
50. *Quarrel.*—A good ground of argument, a good pretext. The Latin word *querela* meant a plea.
51. *One of the wise men.*—Thales of Miletus, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, B. C. 636—546. In the *Apophthegms* it reads "Thales being asked when a man should marry, said young men not yet, old men not at all." Plutarch's account is as follows:—"Thales the wise, being importuned by his mother, (who pressed hard upon him) to marry; prettily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: 'Mother, it is too soon, and it is not yet time.' Afterward

when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time, and was very instant: "Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past." Holland's Translation, (1603) quoted by Wright. Montaigne (II. 8) had already quoted this with approval.

55. *The price of.*—The estimate they set upon.

57. *But this never fails.*—The pride in their patience—because having chosen contrary to the advice of her friends, no woman would admit that she had been guilty of folly by doing so, but would endeavour to justify her choice, at least to others, if not to herself.

"And therefore it is commonly seen that women that marry husbands of their own choosing against their friends' consent, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but to set a good face on it."

Bacon Of the Colours of Good and Evil. 8.

#### IX. OF ENVY.

First published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Envy, like love, fascinates or bewitches, through the sight.

It injures most in times of prosperity.

I. *The envious* are found amongst men without virtue, busy-bodies, those of noble birth (against rising men), deformed people, those who rise after misfortune, those who wish to excel in many things, kinsfolk, and competitors.

II. *The enried* are those of eminent virtue when they are advanced, though less so than unworthy persons who rise, those who advance by degrees, and those who earn their honours. Those who are insolent in success are much envied. The remedy is to bring "upon the stage" some one upon whom the envy shall turn instead of on themselves.

III. The difference between public and private envy. Public envy serves to keep great ones within bounds; but it is a disease, and, like infection, is more dangerous when feared. Though it may seem to be directed against a minister it is really directed against the State. Envy is the vilest affection, the subtlest, the basest and the most depraved.

In this Essay Bacon uses the word Envy in two distinct senses, though both are included in the corresponding Latin word *invidia*, which sometimes means envy, (Bacon's Private Envy) and sometimes unpopularity, discontent, (Bacon's Public Envy.)

## ANTITHETA ON ENVY.

*For.*

1. It is natural for a man to hate a standing reproach to his own fortunes.

2. Envy in states is a kind of wholesome ostracism.

*Against.*

1. Envy keeps no holidays.

2. No one can reconcile envy to his virtue, but by his death.

3. Envy puts virtue to trouble as Juno did Hercules.

1. *Ba.*—Indicative. Cf. I. 2.

*Noted.*—Observed. In his Natural History Bacon says, 'the affections (no doubt) do make the spirits more powerful and active; and especially, those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes; which are two, love and envy, which is called *oculus malus* (the evil eye).'

2. *Fascinate.*—As a snake is said to do to a bird. By fascination Bacon means much what we call Animal Magnetism or Mesmerism. Elsewhere he defines it as 'the contagion that passeth from body to body, the irradiations of the senses, and the conveyance of magnetic powers,' or 'the transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit without the medium of the senses.'

8. *An evil eye.*—*Proverbs* xxiv. 6. "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats, for as he thinketh in his heart so is he. Eat and drink, saith he to thee, but his heart is not with thee." *Mark* vii. 22. 'Thefts, covetousness, wickedness, lasciviousness, an evil eye.....all these evil things come from within and defile the man.' But in these passages the evil eye has no power to hurt, it only expresses the desire to hurt. An "evil eye" is still believed in in the East. In Italy charms are worn to avert its influence, in Turkey passages of the Koran are painted on the houses so as to draw the attention of strangers to them, and horses are decked out in rich caparisons that the eye may rest on them instead of the horseman. Envy comes through the Fr. from the Latin *invidere*, lit. to look upon (in a bad sense.)

*Influences.*—From the Latin *fluo*, flow—the old idea being that there flowed from the stars some invisible stream of power upon men. Cf. Milton, *L'Allegro*, l. 21, 'Ladies whose bright eyes Rain influence.'

9. *Aspects*.—That is, the astrologers call the streams of evil which flow from the stars, evil looks. Cf. our word disaster for a similar survival of Astrology. In Astrology aspect was used to denote various relations of the planets to one another and the earth. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, II. 1. :—

I must be patient till the heavens look  
With an aspect more favourable.

As this quotation shows, the word was then accented on the last syllable.

*Still*.—Always.

10. *Ejaculation*.—A shooting forth, now confined to exclamations. Bacon follows the teaching of Plutarch in his *Symposiacs*, V. 7—the dialogue quoted in *Essay VIII*—that as voice, scent, breath issue from parts of men's bodies, so from their eyes come looks which have power to help or harm according to the disposition of the individual.

11. *Curious*.—Careful in their investigations, inquisitive.

14. *Sets an edge upon*.—Sharpens, makes keener. Cf. *Wisdom of Ancients*, 2. 'The Commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring.'

15. *Spirits of the person*.—Cf. Bacon *Natural History*. 'It hath been noted also that it is most dangerous when an envious eye is cast upon persons in glory and triumph and joy; the reason whereof is for that at such times the spirits come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the percussion of the envious eye more at hand.' See his *History of Life and Death*, written in 1623, where he describes spirit as 'substance subtle invisible but occupying space, measurable, real' which has two forms, one, the mortuary spirit, found in inanimate things, the other, the animal or vital, in animate, the first more like air, the second more like fire.' The latter tends to escape from the body and to burn it.

18. *Curiosities*.—True questions, minute details.

25. *Evil*.—Misfortune, evil that has happened to a man, not what he has done.

*Who wanteth*.—For omission of antecedent cf. *Othello*, III. 3. 158. 'Who steals my purse, steals trash.'

27. *At even hand*.—To be even with him. Used in a different way in XXVIII, 10.

29. *Busy*.—Meddlesome, having the same meaning as in the word busy-body.

31. *Ado.*—Bustle, trouble, so in Shakspeare's Play 'Much Ado About Nothing.' It cannot profit a man's own estate to be so busy and inquisitive about other people, therefore it must needs, &c.

*Estate.*—Apparently interchangeable with *state*. Cf. *stablish* and *establish*. Here, position, condition.

32. *Play-pleasure.*—Pleasure such as he feels in looking at a play in a theatre.

35. *Gudding.*—Roving about. It is concerned with matters outside the home of the envious man.

36. *Non est curiosus, &c.*—Plautus in his *Stichus* (203). Plautus was a Roman comic poet, who wrote numerous comedies, B. C. 254—184.

41. *Deceit of the eye.*—Optical illusion.

43. *Deformed.*—See Essay XLIV.

*Eunuchs.*—This was probably suggested by the case of Bishop Williams who advised Buckingham to abandon Bacon to his fate and succeeded the latter, as Lord Keeper.

46. *Brave and herowical nature.*—Abbott instances Faulconbridge in *King John*.

47. *Wants.*—Defects.

48. *In that.*—An honour consisting in this, that, &c.

49. *Affecting.*—Seeking.

*Miracle.*—A character above the common.

50. *Narses the Eunuch.*—A celebrated general and statesman in the reign of Justinian; he conquered the Goths, and annexed Italy again to the Byzantine Empire. He was rewarded by Justinian with the government of the country where he died A. D. 568. "A feeble, diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior."—GIBBON.

*Ageilaus.*—King of Sparta, B. C. 398—361. "And for the deformity of his leg, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he used the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mock himself, which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea, further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness, he refused no pains nor labour."—NORTH'S PLUTARCH.

51. *Tamerlane*.—i. e., Timour Lenc, Timour the Lame. The great Tartar or Mongol Sultan, (A. D. 1336—1405). He invaded Persia, Turkestan, Southern Russia, and India. He died while about to set out on the conquest of China at the age of 70. He was slightly deformed and lame, caused it is said by being shot with arrows on the shoulder and hip by a shepherd whose sheep he was stealing.

52. *Rise*.—Rise again. Those who have fallen from high office, and then are restored, often revenge themselves on others. Perhaps Bacon is thinking of Coke who, after being Chief Justice, had been degraded, and being again taken back into favour by James had helped to bring about Bacon's fall.

53. *Fallen out with the times*.—Are not on friendly terms with; the times are not in their favour.

57. *Levity*.—Fickleness, lightness of purpose so that they lack perseverance.

58. *Want work*.—Want cause for it.

60. *Adrian*.—Or Hadrian, Emperor of Rome, A. D. 117—138. He was a patron of learning and literature, as well as of the arts, and cultivated the society of poets, scholars, philosophers, &c. He planned and built many magnificent architectural works, aqueducts, harbours, public buildings, &c. The story goes that he banished and put to death an architect named Apollodorus, who criticised adversely the plan of a temple that Hadrian sent to him.

*Mortally*.—Lit. to the death, extremely.

62. *Fein*.—Natural inclination or disposition, I. 7. XXXII. 21.

63. *Near kinsfolk*.—Bacon is perhaps thinking of his cousin Robert Cecil, whom he had suspected of standing in the way of his advancement. Perhaps also it was Cecil's deformity that suggested a previous paragraph.

65. *Upbraid unto them*.—We now say *upbraid them with*. But the earlier construction continued till last century.

66. *Pointeth at*.—Cf. our phrase 'point the finger of scorn at.'

67. *Incurreth*.—Lit. runs into, obtrudes itself, comes more under observation.

68. *The note*.—The notice.

69. *Fame*.—Rumour.



*Cain's envy.*—See *Genesis* IV. Cain and Abel were the sons of Adam and Eve. Both offered sacrifices. God accepted Abel's, rejected Cain's. Cain was angry and killed Abel.

71. *Nobody to look on.*—No spectator of Cain's disgrace, therefore it was no public shame—the narrative implying Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel were the whole of mankind,—and so it was less excusable for Cain to show anger or envy.

77. *Rewards and liberality.*—An instance of the figure *Hendiadys*—the meaning being *over-liberal requitals of service*.

84. *For by that time, &c.*—This argument of Bacon's hardly seems true; unless he means that of unworthy people we expect little, but of worthy ones too much, and when they fail to reach the high standard we expect of them, the deeds of fresh comers, from whom we do not look for so much, appear to greater advantage.

86. *Darkea.*—Throw into the shade. LV. 5. *Coriolanus*, IV. 7. 5.

95. *Travels.*—Travails, labours. Bacon seems to have made just the contrary distinction to that which we make, spelling the word *travel* to denote work, *travails*, to denote journey.

100. *Bemoaning themselves what, &c.*—An indirect exclamation, loosely attached to the verb.

102. *Not that they feel it so.*—Cf. Essay XI. 18, where Bacon gives the contrary opinion, "Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy, &c." So Cecil had written 'A Treatise concerning the State and Dignity of a Secretary of State, with the Care and Peril thereof.'

104. *Call unto themselves.*—Take upon themselves of their own free will.

106. *Engrossing of business.*—Unnecessarily taking business upon themselves, that might be done as efficiently by inferior officers. Engross was used loosely as equivalent to monopolise. See XV. 170.

110. *Be.*—Are, I. 2.

113. *Never well.*—Never content or satisfied.

117. *Crossed.*—Thwarted, contradicted.

119. *Carriage.*—Way in which a man carries himself under his greatness.

121. *Vain-glory.*—Boasting. See LIV.

122. *In that course.*—"Crafty and cunning fashion."
123. *Disavow Fortune.*—Refuse the friendship of Fortune, as if ashamed to claim it.
129. *Remove the lot.*—Transfer the charm or spell which brought the ill-luck or envy, when the evil would be transferred with it.
132. *Derive.*—To turn aside. Lat. *derivare*, to drain off water (*de*, from *rivus*, a stream.)
136. *Undertaking.*—Willing to undertake risks, enterprising, venturesome.
138. *Yet.*—Either implies some sentence understood, or anticipates the second clause, thus though there is no good in private envy, yet in public there is some, (as an ostracism, &c.)
140. *Ostracism.*—A method adopted by the Athenians to get rid of any obnoxious or too powerful person. When the Council decided that ostracism was necessary, a day was fixed for the voting, and every citizen wrote upon an oyster shell (ostrakon, a shell, from which the word was derived) the name of the person he wished to banish, and if six thousand votes were recorded against any one man, he had to leave the city within ten days, and remain in exile five years. It was instituted by Clisthenes about B. C. 510.
143. *This envy.*—Public envy.
150. *Plausible actions.*—Actions worthy of applause, that ought to be applauded. That is by mixing actions worthy of applause with such as are likely to stir up envy. Cf. XV. 27, &c.
153. *Which.....them.*—Cf. VIII. 10. n.
156. *Estates.*—Government. In Bacon's time estate was rather a vague word, sometimes meaning the State, sometimes a form of Government, sometimes one of the elements in the Government, e. g., King or Parliament.
165. *Of all other.....the most.*—Cf. III. 18. n.
- Importune.*—Importunate.
168. *Invidia festos, &c.*—The sentence occurs also in the Antitheta but has not been traced elsewhere.
173. *Devil.*—The Greek word *diabolos*, from which *Devil* is derived, means *slanderer*. Satan means *enemy*.
174. *The envious man, &c.*—Matthew, XIII. 25. "His enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went away," in a parable where God is pictured as sowing wheat. But the devil is here called the enemy, not the envious man.

## X. OF LOVE.

Published in 1612—Enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—The stage owes more than real life to love.

Great and worthy men have kept themselves free from it.

It is an idolatry, and a great flatterer, and men lose for it wisdom and riches.

It is most powerful when men are weakest, but it should be kept within bounds, and not allowed to interfere with the serious business of life.

Soldiers are given to love, as they seek compensation for peril in pleasure.

When love cannot spend itself on one, it expands into general love of humanity, as with the Friars.

The influence of Love nuptial, friendly, or wanton upon life.

INTRODUCTION.—Bacon in 1597 sought the hand of Lady Hatton. He thus refers to his suit in a letter to Essex: 'Touching a fortune I was in thought to attempt in genere economico.' She refused him—one reason being, it is said, because she had seen his Essays on Love and Marriage, though this is scarcely likely. In 1603 he married, apparently on equally economic grounds, Alice Barnham, the heiress of an Alderman. The marriage as might have been expected, did not prove happy. In his will he disinherited her, and after his death she married one of his attendants.

## ANTITHETA ON LOVE.

*For.*

1. See you not that every man seeks himself? But only the lover finds himself.

2. Nothing better regulates the mind than the sway of some pre-eminent passion.

3. If you are wise seek some longing; for he who does not desire something strongly finds all things distasteful and wearisome.

4. Why should man being one not be content with oneness?

*Against.*

1. The stage owes much to love, life nothing.

2. Nothing changes its name so much as love, for it is a thing either so foolish that it does not know itself, or so vile that it hides itself with paint.

3. I hate your People-of-one-Idea.

4. Love is a very narrow way of looking at life.

1. *Beholding to*.—Beholden to, obliged to, indebted to. Sh. Gr. § 372.

4. *Siren*.—A reference to one of the adventures of Ulysses (VIII. 42.) The Sirens were sea-nymphs who had the power of charming the mariners who heard them by their songs, and so lured them on to destruction. Bacon gives a long section of Wisdom of the Ancients (31) to the Sirens, whom he takes as a type of 'the pernicious allurements of pleasure.'

*Fury*.—The Eumenides or Erinyes were the avenging Deities, who punished men on earth by taking away all peace of mind and leading them into misery and misfortune, and also had power to punish in the future world. They were called by the Greeks Eumenides "the Kindly Ones" because people dreaded to call these awful goddesses by their right name, but by the Latins Furies.

8. *Great spirits*.—Great natures. Cf. II. 38.

10. *Marcus Antonius*.—Mark Antony, whose love for Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, cost him the Empire of the world. See Shakspere's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

11. *Appius Claudius*.—One of the framers of the Laws of the Twelve Tables. His conduct towards Virginia led to the overthrow of the Decemvirate. Virginia was saved from servitude and dishonour by her father, who stabbed her in the sight of the whole Forum, and Appius, to escape trial, put himself to death. See Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

17. *A poor saying, &c.*—Bacon wrenches the meaning of Epicurus as the original (in Seneca, *Ep.* I. 7) is "It was well said by Epicurus, when writing to one of his companions in philosophy: "This," says he, "I do not intend for the crowd, but for you; for you and I are crowd enough for one another," "where it has a particular, and not general, significance." So Adv. of Learning, I. 3. 7. 'It is speech for a lover and not for a wise man. Satis, &c.'

*Epicurus*.—See I. 49.

21. *Little idol*.—Puppet. Cf. Bacon's *Henry VII.* 'He knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol.'

22. *Mouth*.—Beasts are enslaved by their appetite for food.

24. *Braves*.—Defies—by exaggeration: hyperbole is a figure of speech which consists of exaggerated language, expressing much more (or much less) than the truth.

27. *Phrasæ*.—The lover flatters not only in the language, but in thought.

28. *Arch-flatterer*.—The quotation is from Plutarch, who bases it upon a remark of Plato's. See also *Essays* XXVII, 174, LIII. 20. ◊

29. *Have intelligence*.—Maintain a correspondence. The idea is that of a conspiracy, in which all keep in touch with the ring-leader.

32. *It is impossible, &c.*—Publius Syrus *Sententiæ*, 15. This collection of pithy moral sayings from the plays of Publius Syrus appears to have been used as a school-book from the 4th century A. D. It consisted of upwards of 1,000 lines, every apophthegm being comprised in a single line, and the whole arranged alphabetically, according to the initial letter of the first word in each. The original verse is *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur*.

35. *Reciproque*.—Reciprocal.

37. *By how much*.—Cf. VI. 61, a Latinism.

40. *Poet's relation*.—Narration, narrative. (Ovid. *Her.* XVI. 163—166). He is referring to Paris "that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power." When Pelus and Thetis were married all the gods were invited to the marriage, but the goddess of Strife. To revenge herself she threw among the guests a golden apple inscribed "To the fairest." Juno, Pallas (or Minerva) and Venus each claimed the apple. They were ordered by Jupiter to go to Mount Ida, to the shepherd Paris, who was to decide the dispute. Juno promised him the sovereignty of Asia and great riches; Pallas great glory and renown in war; and Venus the loveliest woman in the world for his wife. Paris decided in favour of Venus, and gave her the golden apple. Paris later sailed for Greece (under the guidance of Venus) and carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus, and hence arose the Trojan War. See Tennyson's *Genève*, or Lewis Morris' *Epic of Hades*.

43. *Quitteth*.—The Latin has *saith farewell to*.

44. *His floods*.—See *Corrigenda*. "Its" was rarely used in Bacon's time. *Sh. Gr.* § 228. Cf. *Matthew* v. 13. 'If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?' Love rises to great heights and overflows all bounds.

49. *Keep quarter*.—Keep within its proper limits or place. Quarter first meant a fourth part, thence any part marked off.

50. *Check*.—Interfere with. Cf. XXXI. 4. 'Either from the game of chess where it means to bring to a stand, or

from falconry, where it was a term used when a falcon forsook her proper game when other birds crossed her path. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 68 'And like the haggard check at every feather that comes before his eye.'

52. *No ways*.—The word "ways" is possessive singular, used adverbially. Cf. Needs.

*I know not*.—From this point to the end was added in 1625.

54. *Ask to be paid*.—Require compensation. The propensity of martial men to love has always been notorious. It was allegorized by Homer, discussed by Aristotle, dramatised by Shakspeare, explained by Sidney, and is sung in a hundred ballads of to-day.

61. *Embasseth*.—I. 66.

#### XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

Published in 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—High office is a servitude, which, though gained by great pain and labour, and kept with difficulty, men will not quit. The happiness of it consists in the opinion of others. It prevents self-examination.

But as it brings power to do good it may be lawfully sought, though it may be made a curse by evil works. Examples of good and evil kinds should be studied, to know what to imitate, what to avoid.

When in office reform quietly, study the origin of abuses, act consistently, preserve your own rights, respect those of others, and accept advice.

Delays, corruption, inconsistency, roughness, and facility are to be avoided.

Great place tests a man, since it amends the worthy.

In rising, a man may take a side, but must be impartial when in office. Predecessors and colleagues must be respected. In private one's official position should not be obtruded.

#### ANTITHETA ON OFFICE.

*For.*

*Against.*

1. Office is the election not of despots as the saying is, but of God.

1. While we seek office, we deprive ourselves of liberty.

*For.*

2. Office makes both virtues and vices conspicuous; therefore it is a spur to the former, a bridle on the latter.

3. No one can tell what progress he has made in virtue unless office gives him an open course.

4. Virtue like other things, moves violently to her place, but quietly in her place; and virtue's place is office.

See also Antitheta on Empire. Essay XIX.

2. *Fame*.—Rumour.

3. *No us, &c.*—So that (cf. VIII. 49) they have no freedom because their persons are at the disposal of the sovereign; their actions are not free, because they have to act always with a view to their reputations, and their time must be all devoted to public business.

*No ... neither.*—Emphatic repetition of the negative. Cf. III. 90, VII. 2.

8. *Pains*.—Painful toil, labour.

9. *Indignities, &c.*—By doing things which are unworthy men come to positions of honour or dignity. Lat. *indignus*, unworthy.

10. *Regress*.—Return, way back. The idea is that of a man who has climbed to the summit of a mountain. The place where he stands is slippery. Loss of place can only be due to his fall or to some other coming before him. The metaphor changes in *eclipse*. Cf. IX. 140 *darken*. IX. 86.

11. *Cum non, &c.*—Cicero. Epist. Fam. VII. 3. 4.

14. *When it were reason*.—Reasonable. Cf. VIII. 7.

*Privateness*.—Private life, as opposed to the public life of office.

16. *Shadow*.—The quiet and shade of private life, after living in the fierce light of public life in which every action is exposed to the gaze of the people. Cf. Tennyson 'The fierce light which beats upon the throne.'

*Against.*

2. Office commonly gives men power to do those things for which it is best not to wish, and next best not to have the power.

3. The ascent to office is difficult, the standing slippery, the regress headlong.

4. Men in office must borrow the opinion of the mob if they are to think themselves happy.

17. *Still be sitting, &c.*—Still = always, IX. 9. A common custom at that time.

18. *Certainly great persons, &c.*—Cf. Danton's saying 'Better be a poor fisherman than meddle with the government of men.' But see IX. 99.

21. *Find it.*—i. e., happiness. Notice the loose construction. Cf. VI. 103.

23. *By report.*—Their happiness, not substantial, is in what is attributed to them in public talk.

28. *Puzzle*—Difficulties. Connected with pose, to puzzle by questions. M. E. *apposen*, to question.

30. *Illi mors gravis, &c.*—Seneca, *Thyestes* II. 401.

36. *Licence.*—Permission, here power.

39. *To can.*—To be able. *Can* in the Infinitive has ceased to be used in English, though it remains in Scotch dialects.

40. *Though God accept.*—Cf. I *Samuel* xvi. 7. 'The Lord looketh on the heart.'

41. *Put in act.*—Realised in action. Cf. Works, VII. 18. 'I fear you will think all our discourses to be but the better sort of dreams; for good wishes without power to effect are not much more.'

42. *Vantage or commanding ground.*—A position where one can more easily accomplish one's plans and face difficulties.

44. *Conscience.*—Consciousness.

*Motion.*—Activity.

46. *Theatre.*—Spectacle. That is, the contemplation of the works he had done. If a man can look back on the work he has done with satisfaction, pronouncing it good as God did, then he has a right to rest.

47. *Et conuersus, &c.*—The reference is to *Genesis* i. 31, (but not accurately quoted) 'And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good.'

50. *And then the sabbath.*—Cf. *Gen.* ii. 2. *Exodus* xx. 11. 'In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.' The Hebrew word *Sabbath* means rest, and is connected with the word for seven.

52. *Globe of precepts.*—Numerous precepts crowded into a small compass. A model is worth a thousand directions.



57. *Taxing*.—Censuring, traducing. Lat. *taxo*, which means both to tax and to censure. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 4. 17;

This heavy-headed revel, East and West,  
Makes us traduc'd and tax'd of other nations.

58. *Brav'ry*.—Boastfulness, ostentation.

*Scandal*.—Speaking scandal of, running them down.

59. *Set it down to thyself*.—Make it a rule for yourself. Cf. *Patmore's Angel in the House* :—

Pure passion's high prerogative.  
To make, not follow, precedent.

61. *Reduce . . . institution*.—Bring back, trace to their origin. Lat. *re-ducere*, to bring back.

62. *Degenerate*.—For the form cf. VIII. 37, n. Sh. Gr. § 342.

*Ask of the ancient time*.—For the phrase cf. *Deuteronomy* iv, 32. *Job* viii, 8.

63. *Best . . . fittest*.—Things having degenerated so much, what was best in the old times, must now be replaced by, not what is best, but what is fittest for the degenerated times.

65. *Regular*.—Consistent, according to rule (Lat. *regula*.)

66. *Positive and preemptory*.—Strict and rigid in carrying out the rules.

67. *Express thyself well*.—Make your conduct perfectly clear, when you do have to depart from your general rule.

68. *Stir . . . jurisdiction*.—As Coke often did, to his own injury. Cf. LVI. 106.

70. *De facto*.—As a matter of fact. Opposed to *de jure*, theoretically, in law.

*Voice it*.—Assert it in words.

71. *Placea*.—Offices. Do not infringe the rights of subordinates.

74. *Execution . . . place*.—The best way to perform the work attaching to your office. Cf. line 51, discharge of thy place.

75. *In good part*.—A Latinism, kindly.

77. *For*.—Cf. VI. 41, n.

*Easy access*.—Make it easy for petitioners to have interviews with you.

79. *Interlace not business.*—Do not mix business with other business; keep, if possible, to one thing at a time.

80. *For corruption.*—The best commentary on this is Bacon's own practice. See Introduction. This was in print all the while Bacon was Chancellor.

83. *Integrity used.....integrity professed, &c.*—Uprightness in practice even when bribes are offered.....such notorious and declared uprightnes that no one would venture to offer bribes.

*Manifest detestation, &c.*—And yet Bacon was accused of having taken in bribes over £100,000. His ordinary bribes were said by his assailants to be £300, £400, even £1,000. This was the great fault of the age. James I. said that if he were to punish every one who took bribes, he would have no subjects left. Bacon himself says, (after his trial and sentence) "I was the justest Judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." See *Introduction*.

90. *To steal it.*—To do it secretly, undiscovered. This sentence was added in 1625.

*Inward.*—Intimate, confidential.

91. *And no.....esteem.*—Loose construction; if there be no apparent reason for the esteem in which the official holds him.

92. *By-way to close corruption.*—A hidden channel through which secret bribing may be carried on.

96. *Facility.*—An easy disposition, readiness to yield to pressure. 'As facile as wax' is a common expression.

97. *Respects.*—Considerations, not necessarily of person, but usually so. If a man is swayed by importunity or considerations of the people, or circumstances that do not concern the justice of the case, he will never be without such motives to lead him to compliance.

98. *Solomon saith.*—*Proverbs*, xxviii. 21.

101. *A place, &c.*—It is not known who was the author from whom this quotation is taken. It has been attributed to Solon, Bias and Pittacus, three of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

102. *Omnium consensu.*—Tacitus, *Histories* I. 49.

*Galba.*—See *Essay* XV. 232, II. 47.

105. *Vespasian.*—*Cf.* II. 46.

106. *Solus imperantium.*—Tacitus, Histories I. 50. Adv. of Learning II, 22. 5. 'Tacitus observeth how rarely raising of the fortune mendeth the disposition, 'solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.'

108. *The one.*—The one criticism.

*Sufficiency.*—Administrative ability.

109. *Affection.*—The emotional side of the character.

110. *It is . . . honour amends.*—When honour amends (that is, when the acquiring of honour, or high place, changes a man for the better) it is an assured sign, &c. A loose construction. More regular would be instead of *whom, when . . . it.*

111. *Honour.*—Office, as the Latin word *honor* always means.

113. *Ambition.*—The competition for office. It properly means canvassing.

114. *All rising.*—Cf. XIV. 37.

115. *Side a man's self, &c.*—While rising he should attach himself to some party, place himself on side or the other. When he has attained what he desired he may desert it, if he wish. For the phrase cf. LI. 46.

118. *Debt.*—By traducing another you incur a liability to have the same done to you, when you are gone.

*It is a debt will.*—For omission of the Relative cf. VI. 40. Sh. Gr. § 244.

120. *Call.*—Call them to consultation.

122. *Sensible.*—Sensitive. Cf. *Tempest*, II. I. 167. Also the use of *insensible* in such phrases as *insensible to contempt.*

123. *Remembering.*—Mindful, so as to obtrude it upon others.

*To suitors.*—Omitted in the Latin version; freeing the precept from suspicion of encouraging corruption.

124. *When he sits in place.*—When he is discharging his official duties.

## XII. OF BOLDNESS.

First published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—What action is in oratory, that boldness is in civil business. It prevails because it appeals to the foolish part of men's minds. Though it has its origin in ignorance

and baseness, it fascinates weak men; and often secures temporary success, as with quacks in medicine and politics, some of whom will brazen out even failure. Boldness is ludicrous to wise men, and if abashed, to all. Being blind to danger, it is ill in counsel, good in execution.

ANTITHETA ON BOLDNESS.

*For.*

1. Bashfulness encourages fault-finding.

2. What action is to the orator, boldness is to the politician; first, second, third.

3. I like bashfulness when it confesses, but not when it accuses.

4. A confident bearing brings minds together the sooner.

5. I like a reserved face, but open speech.

*Against.*

1. Boldness is the pioneer of folly.

2. Shamelessness is a help only in impostures.

3. Self-confidence has its way with fools, but is the laughing-stock of the wise.

4. Boldness is dulness of feeling mixed with wickedness of purpose.

1. *It.*—Following a common Latin construction, Bacon uses *it* to anticipate the anecdote which he is about to narrate. Cf. III. 36.

*Trivial.*—Trite, common. Cf. III. 69.

*Grammar-school text.*—Passage read in the Grammar-schools. Text is still similarly used in contra-distinction to the notes on a passage. The Grammar-schools were schools where *grammatica* was taught, *i. e.*, Grammar in its old sense of literature—Latin, not English literature of course. A large number were erected by the Tudor sovereigns, replacing in part the suppressed Monastery schools.

*Worthy.*—Cf. II. 20.

*Part.*—Thing to be noted, or acquired.

2. *Question was asked.*—The anecdote is given by Cicero in his *Orator* and *De Oratore* which were and are common Latin text books in English schools.

4. *Action.*—Action included all the circumstances of delivery of a speech, not only movements of the hand, but management of the voice, features, &c. Bacon treats it as simply meaning gesticulation for which he had the cultured Englishman's contempt.

*Demosthenes* was the greatest of Athenian orators B. C. 385—322. When he made his first effort at public speaking he was received with ridicule. His voice was weak, his utterance defective, he constantly stammered, and it was only owing to the most unwearied exertions that he succeeded in overcoming these obstacles in the way to success. It is said that he spoke with pebbles in his mouth to cure himself of stammering, that he repeated verses as he ran up hill to strengthen his voice, that he declaimed on the sea-shore to accustom himself to the noise of a public assembly, that he lived for months in a cave underground, engaged in writing out the history of Thucydides, to form a standard for his own style. Sixty-one orations attributed to Demosthenes have come down to us; some are of doubtful authenticity.

6. *In that*.—In that which, cf. VI. 40.

9. *Invention*.—This Cicero puts high in the conditions of successful oratory. It is the finding and choice of arguments or subjects. It is described in *Adv. of Learn.* II. 13, 6, &c., where Bacon criticises the term on the ground that while *Invention* properly denotes discovering something unknown, in this use it means the application of previous knowledge, remembered or suggested.

*Elocution*.—This Demosthenes would include in *Action*.

10. *All in all*.—Properly, the essential matter in each part; usually equivalent to the sole and essential condition.

11. *Generally . . . fool*.—Cf. Carlyle's description of men as mostly fools.

13. *Taken*.—A Latinism, taken captive, so pleased.

14. *Wonderful*.—Wonderfully. Adj. for Adv. *Sh. Gr.* § 1. Cf. I. 18.

*Civil*.—From Lat. *civis*, a citizen. Civil is that which relates to a man in his capacity as a member of the State.

15. *What first?*—Cf. Danton's famous words to the Assembly when the Allies invaded France 1792. 'Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace.' 'What we need is first boldness, boldness I repeat, boldness I repeat once more.'

17. *Parts*.—Qualities.

19. *Which*.—VIII. 5.

*Greatest part*.—The greatest number, the majority.

21. *Done wonders.*—Had a wonderful effect.  
*Popular States.*—States governed by the people—republics.
25. *Mountebanks.*—Quack doctors. Literally one who mounts a bench to proclaim his remedies.
26. *Politic.*—Except in the phrase ‘the body politic’ we now use political in this sense, reserving politic to denote prudent, diplomatic.
28. *Grounds of science.*—Have no knowledge of the principles of science, and so, though they make a few lucky cures, are bound to fail sooner or later.
30. *Mahomet.*—The great teacher of the Arabs, 569—632 A. D. There seems to be no authority for this ‘miracle’ except a Spanish proverb copied by Bacon into his common-place book. ‘If the temple will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will come to the Temple.’ Professor Mayor of Cambridge has curiously unearthed in a letter to Essex the converse putting of the proverb. ‘If Mahomet will not come to the temple, the temple will come to Mahomet.’ Mahomet disclaimed the power to work miracles.
36. *These men.....they.*—Cf. VIII. 38.
39. *Slight it over.*—Make light of it, pass it lightly by. Slight is here the Adjective used as a Verb.  
*Make a turn.*—Face round to something else.
45. *Out of countenance.*—Put to the blush by exposure.
47. *In bashfulness.*—A bashful man will show change of features, but the abashed bold man will stand like a stock.  
*The spirits.*—See IX. 15, &c.
49. *Stand at a stay.*—Are brought to a complete standstill.
- Stale.*—From A. S. *steal*, a stall, standing place. A stale-mate at chess is when, it being your move and you having no piece to move but your king, the king is in such a position, that though he is not in check, any move he could take would be into check. Your opponent accordingly has not check-mated you, but the game is brought to an end.
- The meaning is not very clear, but it may be that bashful persons, when put to confusion, show it by the varying expression of their faces, but bold people retain the same fixed expression, and though, like a king stale-mated, they cannot move without being beaten, will not acknowledge

that they are beaten. Perhaps however the figure of the stale-mate is intended to illustrate only the fixedness of the features of the abashed bold man—not also that any further action would bring him into disaster.

53. *Ill.*—We now prefer to say *bad* or *poor*, cf. line 24.

### XIII. GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Goodness is the habit of “affecting of the weal of men;” while goodness of nature is the inclination which produces this. Goodness answers to charity. It may be mistaken, but never excessive. It is deep in man’s nature, though often ill-directed.

Goodness should be directed by right reason, so as to seek the real good of others, not the gratification of their fancies, and discrimination should be used in its exercise. Other duties should be considered.

As there is a natural goodness, so there is a natural malignity, in its lighter form turning to crossness, obstinacy, &c., in its deeper to envy, and malice.

The signs of goodness are courtesy, compassion, readiness to pardon, thankfulness, and above all, entire self-sacrifice, which partakes of the Divine.

1. *Affecting.*—Aiming at.

2. *That.*—That (which), cf. VI, 40.

*Philanthropia.*—Philanthropy, kindness, goodwill to mankind. Gr. *philos*, loving, *anthropos*, man.

3. *Humanity.*—Latin *humanitas*, which expressed little more than courtesy. “The humanities” is still used in Scotland as “*literae humaniores*” is at Oxford to denote classical culture. Humanity is kindness in cases that force themselves upon us. Philanthropy is the love to mankind that makes us actively seek opportunities of helping.

4. *Goodness I call, &c.*—Goodness of nature is the disposition; goodness, the outcome of that disposition.

5. *Dignities.*—Worthy qualities. Cf. XI. 9 for another use.

6. *Character.*—The distinguishing mark, or expression of the Deity. Cf. *Matthew* XIX, 17. “There is none good but one, that is God” spoken by Jesus.

7. *Busy.*—Restless, meddlesome. Cf. IX, 29.

8. *Vermin*.—All small mischievous animals come under this head.

*Answers to*.—Corresponds with. Charity means here, as in the Authorised Version of the Bible, Love.

9. *Excess but error*.—It is impossible to have too much kindness, but one's judgment may err in the mode of executing kindness.

10. *Desire of power.....to fall*.—It was thought to be the sin of ambition that caused the angels to fall from Heaven. See III, 137. Cf. "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning.....for thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will erect my throne above the stars of God, I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High."—*Isaiah* xiv, 12, 13, 14.

These words of Bacon's show how the thought of the day was preparing for Milton's sublime conceptions of the Fall of Satan, as given in *Paradise Lost*.

11. *The desire of knowledge.....fall*.—As recorded in the Bible. God forbade the first pair to eat of the Tree of Knowledge. The woman, allured by its enticement, ate. "Of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest of it, thou shalt surely die..... And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.—*Gen.* i. 17, III. 6.

15. *Take unto*.—Attach itself so, acquire fondness for.

18. *Inasmuch as*.—That, III. 99.

*Busbechius*.—Latinised name of Angier Ghislain de Busbecq, a celebrated diplomatist, born in Flanders, 1522. He was ambassador from Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany to Solyman II. at Constantinople about 1555, and resided there about seven years. He left an account of the Ottoman empire, which was translated into all the European languages, entitled *Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ Quatuor*. In this he tells how the Turks pet their horses and leave garbage for the dogs, and how he taxed them with being kinder to animals than men.



19. *A Christian boy*.—"The offender was a Venetian goldsmith, who delighted in fowling, and had caught a goatsucker, or some such bird about the size of a cuckoo and nearly of the same colour. Its bill when open would admit a man's fist. The goldsmith, by way of a joke, fixed the bird alive over his door, with a stick in its mouth to keep the beak distended. The Turks were enraged, seized the man, dragged him before a Judge, and with difficulty allowed him to escape. In the Latin translation the correct version is given."—WRIGHT.

20. *Waggishness*.—A joke. Note that Bacon by the very use of this word palliates the man's abominable cruelty.

24. *Doctors*.—Teachers.

25. *Nicolas Machiavel*.—A celebrated Florentine statesman and historian 1469-1527. He was the author of a work called 'The Prince' (Il Principe) 1513, which was written for the instruction of Lorenzo, son of Piero De' Medici. From the principles professed in this work, the name Machiavelian has been given to everything insincere and perfidious. It shamelessly and cynically teaches the worldliest principles of an unscrupulous and corrupt statecraft, in which success alone is considered, and honour, humanity and God are forgotten. "Such a display of wickedness, naked, yet not ashamed, such cool, judicious, scientific atrocity seemed rather to belong to a fiend than to the most depraved of men..... It is not strange that ordinary readers should regard the author of such a book as the most depraved and shameless of human beings."—MACAULAY.

Bacon is a great admirer of the wisdom of Machiavelli, and quotes him constantly in all his writings. He was unquestionably Bacon's guide in political morality. Bacon says himself. "We are much beholden to Machiavelli and other writers of that class, who openly and unfeignedly declare and describe what men do, and not what they ought to do."

26. *The Christian faith, &c.*—Here, however, it appears as if Bacon misrepresented Machiavelli, as the reference seems to be to Discourses II, 2. where after saying something like this he adds "But that explication of our religion is erroneous, and they who made it were poor and pusillanimous, and more given to their ease than anything that is great. For if the Christian religion allows us to defend and exalt our country, it allows us certainly to love it and honour it, and prepare ourselves so as we may be able to defend it."

30. *The scandal*.—The ill-repute of being so good as to be good for nothing.

31. *Take knowledge of.*—Recognise.
33. *Their faces.*—Do not try to gratify every whim or caprice that you may see expressed in a man's face.
34. *Facility.*—Easeness or weakness of disposition. Cf. XI, 96.
35. *Æsop's cock.*—A cock—as in Æsop's fable. A reference to a fable of Phædrus—(flor. 25 A. D.) which by mistake Bacon ascribes to his great predecessor, Æsop. A cock on a dung-hill finds a jewel, and regrets it is not a grain of corn. Benefits should be suited to the recipients.
38. *He sendeth his rain, &c.*—*Matthew* v. 45. "For He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."
40. *Common.*—Those that are the common property.
41. *Communicate.*—For communicated, shared. Cf. VIII, 37.
42. *Peculiar.*—Belonging to individuals—lit. one's own. See *SKEAT*, p. 322.
- Making the portraiture.....pattern.*—Love of self is the pattern—love of others the portraiture or imitation. Cf. *Matthew* XIII. 39. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'
45. *Sell all thou hast, &c.*—*Luke* XVIII. 22. "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me." Words spoken by Jesus to a rich youth who asked Him what he must do to inherit eternal life.
47. *Vocation.*—Properly a calling, so the mode of life to which a man is called by duty or God.
49. *In feeding the streams.*—The more common figure now is—kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.
53. *Natural malignity.*—A natural disposition to do evil to men. Lat. *malignus*, ill-disposed.
53. *There be that.*—Cf. I. 2.
54. *Affect.*—Desire.
55. *Crossness.*—A desire to cross or thwart others.
- Protrardness.*—Obstinacy, perversity.
56. *Aptness to oppose.*—Readiness to oppose whatever others wish.
- Difficultness.*—Being difficult to get on with—the opposite to facility, XI. 77.

57. *Mere*.—Absolute, downright, III. 67.

58. *In season*.—In their element, having a happy time.

59. *On the loading part*.—Disposed to load or add to the burdens of others.

*The dogs that licked, &c.*—A reference to the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus the Poor Man, spoken by Jesus. "And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his (the rich man's) gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores."—*Luke* xvi. 20-21.

61. *Misanthropi*.—Misanthropists. Haters of mankind. Gr. *miseo*, to hate, *anthropos*, a man. Cf. *Timon of Athens*, IV. 3. 52. 'I am misanthropos and hate mankind.'

60. *Still*.—Always. Cf. IX. 9.

63. *Timon*.—Of Athens. Owing to the ingratitude he met with from his early friends and companions, he secluded himself entirely from the world, only admitting Alcibiades to his society. The allusion is to a story told of him by Plutarch:—"On one occasion he addressed an assembly thus: My Lords of Athens, I have a little garden to my house, where there groweth a fig-tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves, and because I mean to make some buildings on the place, I thought good to let you all know it, so that before the tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go and hang yourself." See also Shakspeare's *Timon of Athens*, V. 2. 90:—

I have a tree which grows here in my close,  
That mine own use invites me to cut down,  
And shortly must I fell it; tell my friends,  
Tell Athens in the sequence of degree,  
From high to low throughout, that whose pleases  
To stop affliction, let him take his haste,  
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,  
And hang himself.

Bacon says that these misanthropists are worse than Timon, because he did provide a means for men to escape from the miseries of life, while they merely drive them to hang themselves (bring them to the bough.) They drive men out of hatred to death, he invited them to it as a relief which he provided.

64. *Errors of human nature*.—Most unnatural.

65. *Timber*.—Material. Like the Greek use of *Hyle*, wood or timber, for matter.

66. *Politics*.—Politicians.

*Knee timber*.—Part of a tree that has grown gnarled and crooked, bent as the leg is at the knee.

68. *The parts*.—From here to the end was added in 1625.

70. *Citizen of the world*.—That his sympathies are not limited to his own country, but that he claims to belong to the whole world.

73. *Noble tree*.—The balsam.

76. *Shot*.—Wounded. Because he does not fret at annoyances and offences, but easily forgives them, he cannot be hurt by them. He is out of reach of any injury.

78. *Trash*.—The original sense was bits of broken sticks found under trees. (Trash means crashings, *i. e.* bits readily cracked off, dry twigs that break with a crash or snap.) Hence refuse of any kind, rubbish; used of money in *Othello*. 'Who steals my purse, steals trash' and *Julius Cæsar*, IV. 3. 74.

80. *Anathema*.—*Romans* ix. 3. "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren."

Anathema, a Greek word, meaning a thing devoted to the gods, accursed, used elsewhere in the New Testament and, in the Latin version which Bacon used, in this passage.

*With Christ*.—*Cf. Galatians* iii. 13. 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.'

#### XIV. OF NOBILITY.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—(1) Nobility as an estate of the realm. Nobility prevents monarchy from becoming a despotism, but it is unnecessary for democracies, because they are generally less subject to seditions than monarchies from self-interest. A powerful nobility adds dignity to a monarch, but lessens his power, and causes poverty to the nation, and there is a danger of its being too great for justice.

(2) Nobility in individual persons. An old nobility is a thing to be revered, as being the result of Time as well as Royal favour. The founder of a noble family had ability even if it arose from crime, but his virtues are remembered, while the wrong is forgotten.

The nobility are inclined to indolence and envy, but should be employed by the sovereign, as common people naturally obey those of higher birth.

## ANTITHETA ON NOBILITY.

*For.*

1. Those who have virtue innate in them through descent are not only unwilling but unable to be wicked.

2. Nobility is the laurel wreath with which Time crowns men.

3. We reverence antiquity even in lifeless monuments—how much more in living ones!

4. If you despise nobility of birth, what will be the difference between the offspring of man and that of beasts?

5. Nobility withdraws virtue from envy and commends it to favour.

*Against.*

1. It is seldom that virtue begets nobility; still more seldom that nobility begets virtue.

2. Noblemen make more use of their ancestry in pleading for pardon than in canvassing for office.

3. So great is the industry of new men that in comparison nobles seem like statues.

4. Nobles look back too often in their course—a sign of a bad runner.

1—28. *We will.....and means.*—Added in 1625.

1. *Estate.*—State, we should say *the state*.

2. *Particular.*—Individual.

3. *Attorneys.*—Moderates.

6. *For democracies.*—Cf. VI. 41.

8. *Stirps.*—Families, literally stems, stocks. Lat. *stirpes*. Such as the great family of Nevilles, of which Warwick the King Maker was head, which held a large portion of England.

11. *Flags.*—The pennons of noble houses. Each knight had his own ancestral pennon or flag.

11. *Pedigree.*—Line of descent. The etymology of this word is not really known, but is thought by some to be a corruption of the French, "Par degrés."

12. *Switzers.*—Swiss is the word generally used now. The Cantons (Fr. *canton*, a corner, or Low Latin *antonum*, a region, province) are the 22 divisions of Switzerland which form a Federal Republic. Still as in Bacon's day Switzerland has its Catholic and its Protestant Cantons.

13. *Utility is their bond, and not respects.*—They are bound together as a nation, by respect not for nobility or position of any particular man, but for the good of each other and the advancement of the common interest. For *respects*, see LII. At the present time there is no country where the public officials, members of Government, &c., serve their country for such small return in the way of salaries, the President of the Swiss Republic only receiving £480 a year.

14. *United Provinces.*—In 1572 the Netherlands revolted against their ruler Philip II. of Spain. In 1579 the seven Northern Provinces formed the Union of Utrecht, Parma having conquered the others. Supported by England they maintained their independence, and in 1648 obtained a recognition of it from Spain. Their government was a Federal Republic.

*Low Countries.*—Netherlands.

16. *Indifferent.*—Impartial. Where the people are all on one footing, there is little likelihood of anything of the nature of class legislation.

17. *Payments and tributes more cheerful.*—Cf. XXIX. 92. Tributes is equal to taxes. Cf. XV. 139.

18. *Diminisheth power.*—The power of the monarch.

20. *Presseth.*—Depresses, diminishes.

21. *Too great for sovereignty, &c.*—Too powerful to be controlled by the king, too great to be made amenable to law. When in 1278 Edward I called on each land-holder to produce the title-deeds of his estates, one baron for answer flung his sword upon the table, saying "By the sword my fathers won their lands, and by my sword I will hold them."

When Bothwell was tried for the murder of Lord Darnley, he came to the court with so many armed attendants, that a fair trial was impossible.

22. *In that height as.*—At such a point that. Sh. Gr. § 280.

*Insolency.*—Now insolence.

23. *Broken upon them.*—Expend its force before it reaches the king, as a wave breaks upon a rock.

*Fast.*—Close.

25. *Surcharge.*—Too heavy a charge, too great an expense.

28. *Disproportion, &c.*—"If the decay be excessive, and not able to maintain the honour,.....so sometimes they are not

admitted to the upper house in the Parliament, although they keep the name of "lord" still, which cannot be taken from them upon any such occasion." "Every Peer ceases to be a legislator the moment the Crown considers the advice and aid of such Peer unnecessary. The historic meeting between Elizabeth Woodville and Edward Plantagenet.....when she declared herself:—

"Too mean to be your Queen,"

was occasioned by the mean estate left by her late husband, Sir John Grey, to his orphan children. Sir John was by right Lord Grey of Groby, but never sat at Westminster as such... His children would have had small chance of writs of summons had not their beautiful mother ensnared the monarch..... The heir of the Birminghams was not only evicted from the House of Peers, but from Dudley Castle because he was poor. The heir of the Staffords had the old barony taken from him by Charles I. simply because he, Roger Stafford, was poor, and saw it given to a court favourite."—HARRISON'S *Elizabethan England*, and note. *Camelot Edition*, p. 4.

33. *Weathers*.—Storms, tempestuous weather.

34. *Act of power*.—Creation of the royal prerogative.

36. *More virtuous*.—Possessing more manly qualities, or excellences, such as courage, &c. Virtue is from Lat. *virtus*, manly excellence.

37. *Rising*.—Cf. XI. 115.

38. *But it is reason, &c.*—But it is reasonable (that) the memory of their virtues (should) remain. Cf. VIII. 7.

42. *Standeth at a stay*.—Stands still, keeps on the same place. Cf. XII. 49.

43. *Motions*.—Emotions.

45. *Passive envy*.—Being envied; passive, because opposed to the envying in the previous sentence.

47. *Ease*.—Help, assistance in difficulties.

48. *Better slide into*.—Smoother progress or motion. In 1612 the reading was *in* not *into*. For *slide*, cf. XL. 60.

#### XV. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Mainly written between 1607 and 1612; found in a MS. of the *Essays* of 1612, but not published till 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Seditions, like storms, may be forecast by signs, such as rumours, and libels, (which many times may be best treated with contempt), discussing commands before obeying them, partisanship on the part of the sovereign, open discords,

quarrels, factions, in short, anything that shakes the four pillars of government, religion, justice, counsel and treasure.

The materials on which sedition works are poverty and discontent.

The motives are innovation in religion, taxes, oppressions, &c., in fact, anything affecting the "four pillars."

The remedies are (1) the removal of poverty, by opening up trade, encouraging manufactures, industry, &c.

Too great increase of nobility and clergy,—those who do not produce wealth,—should be guarded against. Care should be taken to develop foreign trade, and to diffuse wealth.

(2) To remedy discontent: The common people should be conciliated, moderate liberty of complaining should be given, and hope for the future should be encouraged. Factions should, if possible, be divided and rendered leaderless; hasty and bitter speeches should be avoided, and a military commander should be at hand to be used as a last resource.

1. *Shepherds of people*.—A common classical expression for Rulers. In English songs the shepherd is the weather-wise man, e. g., Red sky in the morning, shepherd's warning: Red sky at night, shepherd's delight.

*Calendars*.—Prognostications, accurate predictions. A calendar is an almanac giving the positions of the heavenly bodies for every day in the year, and as they were supposed to influence the weather, the calendars contained weather predictions. From Latin, *calendæ*, the first day of the month, literally calling day, because interest was due on the calends, or first day of each month.

3. *Equality*.—As the weather is generally stormy and rough when the days and nights are equal in length, so seditions are most frequent when the lower classes rise to an equality with the higher. There is no argument here, only a false analogy. Bacon had a great contempt for the lower orders, and seemed to think any progress on their part, or decline of the higher classes, dangerous.

4. *Equinoctia*.—The word equinox was not anglicised in Bacon's time, the Latin word *equinoctium* was used. The equinox is the precise time when the sun enters one of the equinoctial points, making the day and night of equal length.

The vernal equinox, when the sun enters the first point of Aries, falls about March 21st, the autumnal equinox, when the sun enters the first point of Libra about September 23rd, Latin *Æquinoctium*, time of equal day and night.



7. *Illustriam, &c.*—Virgil's *Georgics* I, 465. Virgil is referring to the sun as giving warning of future events.

11. *Licentious*.—Lit. full of licence, revolutionary.

15. *Virgil*.—*Æneid* IV. 179-181. This is quoted again in *Adv. of Learning* II. 4, 4 and "expounded, that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people, which is the mother of rebellion, doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with rebellion, but more feminine."

Vergilius Maro, the best-known of Roman poets, (b. c. 70-19) wrote the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*. He was a supporter of Augustus; and wrote the *Georgics* to aid in his attempt to restore the old yeomanry of Italy, and the *Æneid* to further his endeavour to resuscitate the old Roman faith and character. The *Eclogues* are pastoral poems: the *Georgics* a poem on husbandry, the *Æneid* an account of the wanderings and wars of *Æneas*, the traditional founder of the Roman race.

15. *Fame*.—Rumour. See *Essay LIX*. Giant properly means Earth-born. *Cœus* and *Euceladus* were two of these. They fought against *Jupiter* and are consequently treated by *Bacon* as the type of seditions. The whole passage should be read with *Wisdom of the Ancients*, IX, "The sister of the Giants or Fame."

27. *Plausible*.—Worthy of praise, or applause.

27. *And which*.—This use of a Relational clause, without the repetition of the antecedent, as if it were an adjective, is a Latinism.

24. *Rightly*.—Rightly. Cf. *Stately*, I. 20.

29. *Ill sense and traduced*.—In a wrong sense, and misrepresented.

*Envy*.—Discontent. Cf. IX. 138, public envy.

30. *Tacitus*.—See II. 43.

*Confuta, &c.*—*Tacitus*, *Hist.* 1, 7. The original is "When an emperor is once hated," but few of *Bacon's* quotations are verbally correct.

33. *That... that*.—The repetition is ungrammatical, but perhaps is designed for clearness' sake.

37. *Going about*.—Attempting, endeavouring. Cf. *John* VII. 19. 'Why go ye about to kill me?'

*Make a wonder long lived.*—The phrase 'a nine-days wonder,' shows the extreme limit supposed to be attainable to people's excitement about an event. A fame unnoticed might live nine days, but, if Government interfered, its interference would give it a new lease of life.

39. *Erant in officio.*—Tacitus, Histories II. 39.

44. *Assay.*—Attempt. Note in the end of the sentence the interchangeable use of *which* and *that*.

46. *Fearfully.*—Timidly.

*Tenderly.*—As if afraid to touch the matter.

48. *Machiavel.*—See XIII. 25. "If in France any one man should pronounce himself of the King's party, he would be sure to be punished, because it would imply that there is a party against the king." *Discourses*, quoted by Abbott. For the warning, cf. LI. 46.

49. *Common parents.*—Parents to the commonwealth, the whole community. For the phrase cf. LI. 43

53. *League.*—The League of the Holy Trinity which was founded by the Guises 1576, against the Huguenots. In 1588 the people of Paris, under the influence of the League, drove Henry III. out of Paris, with the intention of deposing him and making Henry Duke of Guise King in his place. Henry III. procured the assassination of Guise.

55. *Accessory.*—Inferior help, secondary. Now usually accessory.

56. *That.*—Used as in French, to resume the connexion of the sentence, instead of repeating the conjunctive adverb, *when, though, &c.* Sh. Gr. § 285.

*Be.*—I. 2.

63. *Primum mobile.*—See I. 50, n.

*Old opinion.*—If Bacon did not really believe in the Ptolemaic theory, he never gave his assent to the newer one, and is exceedingly fond of this illustration. It had been confuted by Copernicus and Kepler.

64. *Every.*—Every one. Loosely used for each. Sh. Gr. § 12. Notice how the Plural idea produces a Plural construction ungrammatically in *their*.

66. *Great ones.*—Either among planets or men.

70. *Out of frame.*—Disordered, disarranged.

67. *Liberius quam, &c.*—Tacitus, Annals III. 4. (inaccurate).  
 72. *Solvam, &c.*—A loose quotation, combining Job XII. 18 and Isaiah XLVI. 1. God threatens this dissolving of reverence, as one of His heaviest punishments.

75. *Mainly.*—Greatly. Latin *magnus*. Cf. XXXIV: 61.

76. *Fair weather.*—Keeping up the figure of the Calendar XV. 1.

*This part.*—This part of the subject, viz., predictions. A-positive Genitive.

80. *Materials of seditions.*—In Latin *materies* meant timber originally, so fuel. The phrase means the fuel on which sedition feeds. *Matter* below has the same sense.

84. *Do bear it.*—Allow of it, that is, the removal of the matter.

88. *So many overthrown estates.*—Just so many men as lost their position will there be likely to vote for a rebellion.

91. *Hinc usura, &c.*—Lucan's *Pharsalia*, I. 181. M. Annæus Lucanus (39-65 A. D.), the nephew of Seneca, was a young Roman patrician who was put to death on a charge of conspiracy by Nero. He wrote a fine rhetorical Epic called *Pharsalia* on the war between Cæsar and Pompey.

99. *Mean people.*—Lower classes. Cf. Isaiah II. 9. 'The mean man boweth down and the great man humbleth himself.'

101. *The belly.*—That is, arising from hunger and want.

102. *Humours.*—Cf. XV. 189. The four 'humours' or fluids of the body unless tempered would burst out in abscesses and disease. Cf. 1 Henry IV. II. 4. 460. 'That trunk of humours, .....that swoln parcel of dropsies,' (of Falstaff.)

110. *Dolendi modus, &c.*—Pliny, the younger. Letters VII. 17. 6.

112. *Withal.*—Also.

*Mate.*—II. 22.

114. *Secure.*—Careless, V. 9.

117. *Fume.*—Lit. smoke. Here apparently, mist.

119. *Spanish proverb.*—Cf. "It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back."

124. *Strangers.*—The presence of prosperous foreigners in the country, who might undersell Englishmen, or get the trade into their own hands. Laws were made restricting the trade of foreigners, forbidding them to take any but English apprentices, &c.

*Disbanded soldiers.*—Because they are without any means of earning a livelihood. It was a cause of wonder to many that on the disbandment of Cromwell's Ironsides, they returned, without any disturbance to their old work. Lord Macaulay says: "Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world: and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained nothing indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community."

123. *Just.*—Exact, precise. There can no rule be given as each case demands a special cure.

132. *Material.*—The cause which is as fuel to the fire.

133. *Estate.*—State.

134. *Well-balancing of trade, cherishing, &c.*—What Bacon meant by well-balancing is seen in the following advice: "Let the foundation of a profitable trade be thus laid that the exportation of home commodities be more in value than the importation of foreign: so we shall be sure that the stocks of the kingdom shall yearly increase, for then the balance of trade must be returned in money or bullion." Quoted by REYNOLDS.

The State interfered, in Bacon's time in the manufactures and trade of the country to a very large extent. Laws were passed to "cherish" industries, (at one time every dead person had to be buried in a woollen shroud, to encourage the woollen trade), prices were regulated by law, and materials and style of dress assigned by law to the various ranks—(*sumptuary laws.*)

136. *Sumptuary.*—Relating to the expenditure of the people. (Lat. *sumptus*, expenditure.)

137. *Husbanding.*—Cultivation. Cf. Husbandman.

139. *Tributes.*—Practically taxes, as in XIV. 17.

*It is to be foreseen.*—Foresight must be exercised.

141. *Stock.*—Probably capital, though the Latin translator interprets it as produce.

147. *Quality.*—People of quality, i. e., of rank, the gentry. For the idea see XXIX. 100.

149. *Bring nothing to the stock.*—They are non-producers: their work does not add anything to the wealth of the country.

151. *Preferments can take off.*—There are more trained as scholars than there are places that can be given to them. Bacon's Letters show that he believed England to be, as some say India is to-day, producing too many educated young men—who would grow up to be 'the fuel of revolution,' having no fit employment.

153. *Upon.*—At the expense of.

*Must be upon the foreigners.*—This, of course, has long since been proved a fallacy, but Bacon only thought what all the statesmen of his time believed too, that all foreign commerce results in a transfer of gold, and that that country gains which receives the larger share. But the advantages of International Trade as a sort of Division of Labour are now understood by all.

154. *Whosoever is somewhere gotten.*—Montaigne (Essays I. 21) says the same.

157. *Vecture.*—Latin *rectura*, carrying.

159. *Materia superabit opus.*—The work is worth more than the commodity.

161. *Linn Countrymen.*—The Dutch, who had a large carrying trade, at one time trading for almost the whole of Europe, and whose industrious, thrifty habits were worth more to them than any mines. The quick rise of Holland to wealth made it the stock illustration of the economists of those days.

167. *Muck.*—Manure. "Mr. Bettenham, reader of Gray's Inn, used to say, that riches were like muck; when it lay in a heap it gave but a stench and ill odour, but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit."—*Aphorisms*, 252.

169. *Strait.*—Strict, right.

170. *Usury.*—Exorbitant interest. Taking interest on money lent was considered wrong, and laws were passed regulating the rate, &c. See ESSAY XLI of Usury.

*Engrossing.*—In 1571 Parliament confirmed an Act of 1552 which laid down 'that whatsoever person shall ingross or get into his hands by buying, contracting, or promise-taking any corn, grain, butter, cheese, fish, or other dead victuals whatsoever within the realm of England to the intent to sell the same again shall be accepted, reputed, and taken an unlawful ingrosser, &c.' See IX. 107, where it is loosely used as equivalent to monopolising, as the Latin takes it here.

*Great pasturages.*—See note from *History of Henry VII.* Essay XXIX. So a famous sentence says ‘Great pasturages have been the ruin of Italy.’ In 1597 Bacon proposed and secured the passing of an Act prohibiting further enclosures and ordering that all arable lands which during the reign had been given up to pasture should be again brought under the plough.

173. *Is.*—N. B.—singular verb, with plural subject.

175. *Discontent.*—Discontented.

180. *Troubling of the waters.*—A rather inapposite allusion to *John* v, 4.

182. *Jupiter, &c.*—“So, in the fable, that the rest of the gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid, expounded, that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side.” *Adv. of Learning*, II. 4. 4. But Homer (*Iliad* I. 398), the original authority for the fable, says it was Thetis, the sea-goddess, not Pallas the goddess of wisdom, who called Briareus, and that Pallas was against Zeus.

189. *Safe.*—That it tends to safety.

*Bravery.*—Boastful defiance.

*Humours.*—Cf. XV. 102.

190. *Endangereth.*—Creates a danger of.

191. *Impostumations.*—Tumours, abscesses.

192. *Might.*—Fore-thought should take the place filled in the myth by after-thought, and keep hope before the people. For Prometheus, see V. 17, and *Wisdom of the Ancients*, 26. Philology tends to show that Pramanthas—the fire-bringer—has by false etymology become Prometheus.

*Epimetheus.*—Brother of Prometheus. (Epimetheus = after-thought. Prometheus = fore-thought.) After Prometheus had stolen fire from heaven, in revenge Zeus (Jupiter) caused Hephæstus (Vulcan) to make a woman out of earth, who by her beauty should bring misery on men. Each of the gods endowed her with some gift, and named her Pandora, i. e., all gifted. Hermes then brought her to Epimetheus, with a box containing all the ills that were to afflict mankind. Epimetheus married her; and from curiosity the box was opened, all the ills flew abroad, but the lid was closed in time to keep in Hope, which lay at the bottom.

(Later legends say that the box contained all the blessings of the gods, which were to have benefited mankind, had not Pandora opened the box and let them escape.)

195. *Shut the lid.*—Of Pandora's box.
197. *Artificial.*—Skillful.  
*Entertaining.*—In others—equivalent to cherishing.
200. *Proceeding.*—Management, administration.
201. *Satisfaction.*—Satisfying their demands.
202. *Such.....as.*—Cf. III. 99.
203. *Peremptory.*—Cf. XI. 66. Fixed, certain.
204. *Particular.*—Single, separate.
206. *Brave.*—Ostensibly assume, boastfully declare.
211. *Hath confidence with.*—We now say, has the confidence of.
214. *Own particular.*—His own private interest. *Particular* is here a substantive.
216. *Fronted.*—Set face to face.
218. *Diriding and breaking, &c.*—See his advice to the contrary in Essay of Factions, LI.  
Catherine de Medici's motto was "Diviser pour regner." Cf. the maxim "Divide et impera."
228. *Sylla nescivit, &c.*—Bacon quotes this again in Adv. of Learning, and in Apophthegms. "Cæsar would say of Sylla for that he did resign his dictatorship, "Sylla was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate." The play was on the word "dictare" which means to dictate, and to be a dictator. This incident is told by Suetonius *Julius Cæsar*, 77, and was taken to mean that Cæsar would not give up the dictatorship.
232. *Legi a se militem non emi.*—Tacitus, Histories I. 5. For this speech Galba (Emperor of Rome, A. D. 68—69) was murdered by the Prætorian Guards, because he refused to give them their customary bribes. See II. 47.
236. *Si visero, &c.*—Vopiscus, *Probus*, 20. Probus, Emperor of Rome 276—282, gave great offence to the troops by that speech, and was murdered by the soldiers for employing them in laborious public works.
238. *Tender.*—Delicate, that require careful handling. Cf. XXII. 50.
239. *Ticklish.*—That will hardly bear a touch, critical.

242. *Flat*.—Dull, that fall flat, without any one taking notice of them.

244. *Against all events*.—Ready for any thing that may occur.

250. *Atque is, &c.*—Tacitus, Hist. I. 23.

254. *Assured*.—Trustworthy.

255. *Popular*.—Demagogic.

256. *Holding good correspondence*.—Being on friendly terms.

#### XVI. OF ATHEISM.

Published in 1612—Enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Atheism is worse than credulity. The ordinary works of God are sufficient to refute it.

A little philosophy inclines towards atheism, but deep philosophy refutes it.

No atheist is really sincere, though atheists proselytise and even suffer for their convictions.

Heathens and savages take part with the philosophers against atheism.

Their real number is very small though exaggerated. The causes of atheism are divisions in religion, scandal of priests, a habit of jesting on sacred matters, and learned times with peace and prosperity.

Atheism deprives human nature of its power to rise above human frailty as regards both individuals and nations.

With this Essay may be compared 'Bacon's Meditationes Sacrae, X. De Atheismo,' parts of which are almost the same as parts of this Essay. In it he attributes Superstition to ignorance of the Scriptures, Atheism to ignorance of God's power.

1. *The Legend*.—The Golden Legend, a volume containing biographies of the saints and accounts of the miracles wrought by them, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine in the 13th century.

2. *Talmud*.—The Book containing the collection of Rabbinical Traditions and Expositions of Jewish Law. The written law was called Mishna, the expositions Gemara.

*Alcoran*.—Al Koran. The Book of the Mahometans. Al Koran means just what the Bible means, i. e., the Book. (Al being the distinguishing adjective *the*). All three of these contain some outrageous fancies, perhaps the Golden Legend requiring the greatest credulity.



*Universal frame.*—The frame work of the universe. The whole material universe.

4. *Convince.*—Refute. “The bounds of this knowledge (Natural Theology) are that it sufficeth to convince Atheism, but not to inform religion: and therefore there was never miracle wrought by God to convert an Atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God: but miracles have been wrought to convert idolaters and the superstitious, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God.”—*Adv. of Learning*, II. 6. 1.

5. *A little philosophy, &c.*—“It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to Atheism, but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion: for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next unto the senses, do offer themselves to the mind of men, if it dwell and stay there it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on farther, and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of providence; then, according to the allegory of poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.”—*Adv. of Learning*, I. 1. 3.

7. *About.*—Round.

10. *Chain..... confederate, &c.*—A chain linked together, united. When a man sees only efficient causes, (second causes) which are as it were, scattered links of a chain, he may think each is independent and ultimate, but when he sees the whole chain (the long succession of causes) and follows it up, it will lead him back to the First Great Cause; in the Allegory quoted above to “Jupiter's Chair.”

13. *Leucippus.*—A Grecian philosopher, inventor of the atomic theory (“the school most accused of Atheism.”) When and where he was born is not known. The atomic theory is “the theory of the creation of things by the fortuitous coming together and blending of atoms.”

14. *Democritus.*—A celebrated Greek philosopher, born at Abdera, in Thrace, B. C. 460. He was a follower of Leucippus whose atomic theory he developed. He is said to have deprived himself of sight, that he might not be distracted by outward objects from his pursuits. From his cheerful view of life he was called the laughing philosopher. He died, in great poverty, but highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, B. C. 361.

*Epicurus*.—A Greek philosopher, founder of the School of Philosophy called after him the Epicurean. Born B. C. 342 in Samos, died 270 B. C. He regarded human happiness as the end of all philosophy; but in Physics he was a follower of Democritus. It was his teaching that was versified by Lucretius (I. 48).

15. *Four mutable, &c.*—It was held by Aristotle that there were four elements out of which all things were composed, and a fifth essence, Quintessence, the immutable essence of which the heavenly bodies are composed. Bacon means that Democritus' theory which was condemned, (*e. g.*, by Cicero) as Atheistic is really more Theistic than Aristotle's which was the basis of the Natural Philosophy of the Mediæval Church.

17. *Portions or seeds.*—The atoms.

*Unplaced.*—Without any order, not set in their proper places.

19. *Marshal.*—The duty of the marshal was to keep order, to arrange places in battle or tournament.

*Scripture saith.*—*Psalm* XIV. 1. LXXI. 1.

21. *So as, &c.*—So that he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that which he would have. Cf. VIII. 49.

*By rote.*—Merely repeating a set of words, not giving expression to his real thoughts. This is of course a misinterpretation of the text.

22. *That he would have.*—Cf. VI. 40.

24. *It maketh.*—To whose interest it would be that there should be no God. Cf. I. 15.

*It appeareth.....more.*—There is nothing which proves more that Atheism, &c.

29. *You shall have.*—Cf. II. 7.

30. *Fareth.*—As it is, as it happens with other sects.

34. *Trouble themselves.*—This is not a satisfactory argument, as a man would hardly die for what he knew to be false or did not really believe. An Atheist would say he suffered rather than give his assent to what he did not believe to be true, and would prefer death rather than suppress or deny what to him is truth. It is based on the supposition that if a man does not believe in God, he has no motive for doing what is right, as if God were only the Lawgiver or the Judge.

36. *Blessed natures.*—Gods. He believed that gods, like everything else, consisted of atoms. They were and always had been in the enjoyment of perfect happiness, and, as the government of the world would interfere with that happiness, they exercised no influence at all upon the world or man. The charge of insincerity was urged by Cicero (*De Nat. Donorum*, I. 44.)

38. *Temporize.*—Say what was best for the time and prevailing humour.

40. *Non deos, &c.*—Quoted by the historian of Greek Philosophy, Diogenes Laertius, X. 123.

41. *Plato.*—The great idealist philosopher who believed in God as the Maker, Ruler, and Judge of the world. He was the friend and pupil of Socrates whose teaching he has perpetuated.

46. *Nature.*—Though Epicurus denied that the gods interfered in the affairs of the world, yet he admitted that there were gods.

47. *Indians.*—Mr. Reynolds has traced this observation to the English translation dated 1604 of Father Acoſta's *Natural History of the Indies*.

52. *Latitude.*—How much is contained in the idea—its wide application.

53. *The very savages.*—It is now recognized that there is no tribe on this earth without the idea of God.

54. *Contemplative.*—Philosophical—as opposed to the hypocrites, the practical atheists of line 59.

55. *Diagoras.*—Of Melos, surnamed the Atheist. A Greek philosopher and poet, a disciple of Democritus. Seeing that a man who made a false claim to the authorship of one of his own poems remained unpunished by the gods, he abjured all faith in them. In consequence of his attacks upon religion, he was accused of impiety, B. C. 411, and fled from Athens. He was condemned to death in his absence and a price set on his head. He fled first to Pallene, then to Corinth where he died. Melian became a synonym for Atheist.

55. *Bion.*—A Scythian philosopher who lived about 240 B. C., a follower of Theodorus, the Atheist. He is chiefly noted for his sharp sayings. It is said that before his death he acknowledged the existence of a God.

*Lucian.*—A Greek writer, born at Samosata; his chief works were written in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161—180. A. D.

He ridiculed in his books both the Pagan mythology, and Christianity, and every thing old and venerated. He sought to establish nothing, only to pull down, and to spread a universal scepticism.

56. *For that*.—Because (that); cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 41. 'I hate him for he is a Christian.'

57. *Adverse part*.—Those of the contrary way of thinking.

58. *The great atheists, &c.*—Hypocrites, because they are constantly feigning a religion they do not feel, become seared, and so cease to believe in anything.

64. *Scandal of priests*.—Scandal caused by the evil lives of the priests.

65. *St. Bernard, &c.*—The Abbot of Clairvaux, who preached the second Crusade; he was called "The last of the Fathers," A. D. 1091—1153. The words are loosely quoted from the *Sermon to the Pastors* which is doubtfully assigned to him. They refer to *Hosea* iv. 9. 'Like people, like priest.'

69. *Profane scoffing*.—Cf. *Letters and Life*, I. p. 77. 'Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism: curious controversies and profane scoffing.'

78. *Generosity*.—The quality fitting high birth, nobleness.

79. *Maintained*.—Supported, in the sense of being backed, not of being fed. Cf. XXVII. 94.

81. *Melior natura*.—Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, I. 21.

82. *Confidence of*.—We now say *in*.

83. *Assureth himself*.—Maketh himself sure, rests.

87. *So in this*.—So (it is) in this. Cf. Wordsworth *Excursion* IV. 1:—

And that unless above himself he can  
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man.

91. *Cicero saith*.—De *Haruspicum Responsis* IX. The same might be said of Britain.

#### XVII. OF SUPERSTITION.

Published in 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—Superstition is a greater offence to God than Atheism.

It is more harmful than Atheism because it destroys morality, and disturbs government.

It begins with fools, but depends for support on wiser men. The causes of superstition. It is the more horrible because it apes religion. In avoiding superstition care should be taken not to go to the other extreme.

For Antitheta see Essay XVI., also

#### ANTITHETA ON SUPERSTITION.

##### *For.*

1. Though we may not approve those who err through zeal, yet we must love them.

2. Mediocrity is due to morality, perfection to religion.

3. The superstitious man is on his way to religion.

4. I would sooner believe all the most fabulous wonders of any religion whatsoever than that this Universe is without a Divine Ruler.

##### *Against.*

1. As the ape is the more repulsive through its likeness to man, so is superstition through its likeness to religion.

2. As affectation is hateful in secular things, so is superstition in religious.

3. It is better to have no views of God at all than one that is insulting to Him.

4. It was not the Epicurean school, but the Stoic that troubled the states of antiquity.

5. It is not possible to the human mind that a man should be an absolute atheist in creed. The real atheists are those great hypocrites who are always dealing with holy things but have no reverence for them.

1. *No opinion, &c.*—Not to believe in God at all, though this he had declared practically impossible (XVI. 20). In one of his letters (1607) he modifies this saying: 'Superstition is far worse than Atheism, by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all than such as are impious towards his Divine Majesty and Goodness.'

4. *Plutarch.*—A Greek biographer and philosopher, lived during the reigns of Nero, Galba, &c., and was alive in the time of Domitian, but the exact time of his birth and death is not known. His great work is his Parallel Lives of 46 Greeks and Romans. The Lives are arranged in pairs, each pair

containing the life of a Greek and that of a Roman, followed by a comparison of the two men. He wrote about 60 other works, the best known being his *Morals*.

8. *Poets*.—e. g., Ovid (*Fasti* IV. 197).

9. *Saturn*.—Or Kronos, who having dethroned his own father Uranus, to preserve himself from a similar fate, swallowed all his children as soon as they were born, until Zeus was born. Him his mother concealed, giving Kronos a stone wrapped up in cloth, which he swallowed under the belief that it was his son. Quoted from Plutarch's *Morals*, on *Superstition*, X.

10. *Leaves a man to sense*.—Bacon disregards this in XVI.

11. *Natural piety*.—Natural affection. *Pietas* in Latin means dutifulness, the proper conduct of a man to his family, country, gods.

13. *Religion were not*.—If religion did not exist.

16. *As looking no farther*.—Having nothing to hope for beyond, they look no further than their own interest in this life.

18. *Civil*.—Peaceful, free from war. *Civil* is opposed to *military*.

20. *Primum mobile*.—Cause of motion. See I. 50.

*Ravisheth*.—Forcibly deprives. A new cause of motion introduced would cause confusion by hastily drawing the stars into its own course of movement, and so superstition has worked confusion in States by introducing a new all-powerful force.\*

21. *The master, &c.*—The teacher. Superstitions begin with the ignorant masses.

22. *Arguments fitted to practice*.—Arguments are made to justify their conduct; not their conduct founded upon principles.

23. *Gravely*.—With authority. It is stated by Father Sarpi (*History of the Council of Trent*, translated into English 1619) that some witty Germans—who were not present—made a remark to this effect, not about the schoolmen but about the Trent divines. This whole passage appears first in 1625.

24. *Council of Trent*.—A great Council held at Trent in the Tyrol 1545—1564 to settle the Catholic attitude to the questions raised by the Reformation. It was summoned by Pope Paul in 1542, but on account of a war of the Emperor

with France postponed till 1545. The General Council was opened in December, 25 bishops and prelates being present. The following were its chief decisions. (1) The Apocrypha were received into the Canon of Scripture. (2) Tradition was declared of equal authority with the Bible. (3) The Church was declared the only legitimate interpreter. Besides these there were decrees passed on the doctrines of original sin, justification, and the seven sacraments, with anathemas attached against those who did not believe in them. A dispute broke out, and the Council was transferred to Bologna, but in 1551 it was opened again at Trent, and in 1564 its decrees were ratified by the Pope. The chief object of the calling of this Council had been the gaining back of the Protestants to the Roman Church. This was not attained; on the contrary the points of dissension were so clearly marked out as to leave no hope of any future reconciliation. By its decrees the Catholic doctrines were more exactly defined, and many abuses remedied, but some left.

25. *Schoolmen*.—The name given to the philosophers who taught in the schools and universities of Europe during the Middle Ages, beginning with John Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, ending in the fourteenth century with William of Occam "the Invincible Doctor." Assuming the truth of both Catholic theology and Aristotle's philosophy, they endeavoured to arrange theology according to the rules and methods of Aristotelian philosophy. The most famous of them was St. Thomas Aquinas, 1227—1274, whose system became the official doctrine of Romanism. Their methods were purely deductive, so fell into disrepute as the taste for Science spread.

26. *Eccentrics, &c.*—The Ptolemaic system laid down that the heavenly bodies moved round the earth and that their orbits were circles. Since this was found inconsistent with the facts, (to save the phenomena), two successive modifications in the theory were made (1) that the centre of these circular orbits was outside the earth so that they were *eccentric*, and (2) that each body instead of moving exactly along the *great circle* of its orbit had a circular movement of its own round centres in that great circle, so that its orbit was not strictly speaking a circle, but a succession of loops, forming *circles upon the great circle*, to which the name of *Epicycles* was given.

27. *Engines*.—Clever devices, works or contrivances requiring ingenuity. Latin *ingenium*, natural capacity. So *engines of orbs* means ingeniously devised circles or orbits.

*Save the phenomena.*—Professor Mayor has shown that this phrase was used similarly when—to save the phenomena—Aristarchus of Samoa suggested that the heavens were fixed and the earth moved.

*To save the phenomena.*—To be consistent with the phenomena; which their original theory did not explain. On the whole passage cf. Milton *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 76:—

(God) his fabric of the heav'ns  
Hath left to (men's) disputes, perhaps to move  
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide  
Hereafter, when they come to model heav'n  
And calculate the stars, how they will wield  
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive  
To save appearances; how gird the sphere  
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,  
Cycle and Epicycle, orb in orb.

31. *Quuses, &c.*—Bacon attacks the excesses of both Puritans and High Churchmen.

32. *Sensual.*—Sensuous.

33. *Pharisaical.*—The Pharisees were the sect of the Jews who taught and practised rigid observance of the minutest details of the Law in its letter. "They make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments. . . . Ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter. . . . and for a pretence make long prayers. . . . ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith."—*Matt.* XXIII.

34. *Load.*—Cf. XIII. 59.

35. *Lucre.*—Gain.

36. *Good intentions.*—See III, 68. It practically means meddlesome desire for excessive reform.

*Conceits.*—Whims, fanciful plans.

37. *Novelties.*—Innovations, new-fangled changes.

*Taking aim at.*—Guessing.

38. *Mixture, &c.*—Elsewhere he writes "If any man shall think by view and inquiry into these sensible and material things to attain to any light for the revealing or will of God, he shall dangerously abuse himself." Bacon had no idea of Science as "the handmaid of religion;" but considered that Religion stood apart and never admitted of discussion.

43. *As wholesome meat, &c.*—Bacon uses the same figure in *Adv. of Learning*. I. 4. 5.



44. *Forms and orders.*—Proper and orderly conduct.

45. *Petty observances.*—The rules for Sabbath observance among the Pharisees and some of the Caste rules of India may be taken as illustrations of this.

46. *Avoiding, &c.*—Bacon is referring to the Puritanical recoil from everything that the church of Rome approved, which led later to the destruction of all figures, despoiling of cathedrals, breaking the painted glass windows, covering the walls with whitewash to hide pictures, &c. This warning was inserted in 1625.

48. *Would be had.*—Should be had, ought to be taken. Cf. III. 153.

*Fareth.*—Happens, XVI. 30.

49. *Ill.*—Badly regulated.

#### XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

Published 1625.

OUTLINE.—Young men before travelling, should acquire some knowledge of foreign languages, and a tutor or servant should be chosen to accompany them, who also knows the language and has been previously to the country they intend seeing. A diary should be kept, and everything seen that is worth seeing. If much has to be done in a short time, a map or guide book is of assistance. The traveller must move from place to place; and shun the company of his own countrymen; travellers should visit eminent people, and those likely to be useful to them; all quarrels must be avoided.

When they have returned home, correspondence with friends abroad should be maintained.

The effects of travel should be seen in the knowledge acquired, but not obtruded by any mannerisms of dress or language or gesture.

1. *In the younger sort.*—Cf. XV. 177.

*In a part of education.*—In Bacon's time the education of a young man of the higher classes was generally finished by the spending of some time abroad, or by making what was termed the Grand Tour, which meant travelling through several of the countries on the Continent. Bacon himself spent two years abroad, travelling with the household of Sir Amyas Paulet.

4. *Goeth to school.*—To learn the language, which he should have done while at school.

5. *Grave*.—From the Latin *gravis*, weighty. So serious, responsible, trustworthy.

*Allow*.—Approve of. Latin *allaudo*, I praise.

*So that*.—Provided that. Sh. Gr. § 133.

6. *That hath the language*.—Knows the language.

10. *Exercises and discipline*.—Studies and teaching.

11. *Hooded*.—Blindfold, as a falcon is hooded.

13. *Diaries*.—The log, which is written up daily. The log was a piece of wood with a line, for measuring the rate of a ship—hence the name log-book for that in which it was entered.

20. *Consistories ecclesiastic*.—Ecclesiastical courts held by the bishop in the cathedral church for the trial of ecclesiastical causes.

24. *Disputations*.—In some German Universities the old practice is still maintained of requiring candidates for a degree to expound and defend a thesis against a fixed opponent or all comers. From the use of the word Moderator to denote the Professor who presided and regulated the discussion has come its present use as equivalent to Chief Examiner.

27. *Exchanges, burses*.—The words mean with us the same thing, *Bourse* being French for exchange. But perhaps *Exchange* may here mean a place of exchange for any commodity, a market, while *bursæ* may be applied only to a stock or money market. The Royal Exchange built by Sir Thomas Gresham was called the Burse until Queen Elizabeth visited it and gave it its present name, 1571.

29. *Such whereunto*.—See Sh. Gr. § 190, and especially the quotation from Ascham.

33. *Triumphs, masques*.—See Essay XXXVII.

37. *A little room*.—Small compass of time.

42. *Card*.—Chart, map, XXIX. 38.

48. *Adamant of acquaintance*.—Adamant means loadstone or magnet. This will draw to him many friends.

49. *Sequester*.—Cf. XXVII, 9.

50. *Diet*.—Take his meals. As a Verb it now means to regulate the food of, and is Transitive.

52. *Removes*.—Removals.

58. *Employed men of ambassadors*.—Attachés.

61. *In all kinds*.—Eminent men in all professions, of all kinds.

63. *For quarrels*.—Cf. VI. 41.

64. *Mistresses*.—Cf. *Cymbeline*, I. V. 55.

65. *Healths*.—Drinking of healths, which often led to a drunken quarrel. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4. 84. 'Healths five-fathom deep.'

*Places and words*.—Disputes as to precedence or picking a cause of quarrel out of some hasty expression.

67. *Engage him into*.—Entangle him in.

71. *Apparel*.—Cf. "How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere."—*Merchant of Venice*, I. 2. 70. "For my part, I can tell better how to inveigh against this enormity than describe any certainty of our attire; sithence such is our mutability that to-day there is none to the Spanish guise, to-morrow the French toys are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparel as that which is after the high Almaine fashion, by-and-by the Turkish manner is generally best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian fleeces, the mandilion worn to Colley-Weston ward, and the short French breeches make such a comely vesture that, except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England."—Harrison's *Elizabethan England, Camelot Edition*, p. 108. Cf. *As You Like It*, IV. 1. 36. 'Farewell, Monsieur Traveller. Look you lisp and wear strange suits; disable all the benefits of your country; be out of love with your nativity; and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are: or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola.' Many other writers of the period, especially Ascham, inveigh against such ill results of foreign travel—particularly the imitation of Italian manners.

73. *Advised*.—Deliberate. Cf. LVI. 8.

74. *Forwards*.—We now say forward.

75. *Country manners*.—Manners of his own country; not rustic.

76. *Prick in*.—Plant. XLVI. 178.

*That*.—Cf. VI. 40.

## XIX. OF EMPIRE.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—Kings have little to hope for, much to fear, hence they are obliged to make diversions for themselves, and some fall into childish ambitions, melancholy or superstition.

The true temper of empire consists in consistency, not in violent changes, but in blending contraries. It is wisdom to fore-stall the beginnings of mischief, not to wait till it is at its full. Neighbouring Kings must be watched, lest they encroach; wives, lest they be jealous and unfaithful; children are rarely to be suspected; when they have been, it has generally ended unfortunately for the fathers.

Prelates are dangerous when they yield allegiance to a foreign power.

Nobles should be kept at a distance but are too useful to be depressed, the smaller nobility, or gentry, are rarely dangerous, and serve as a check on the great nobles. Merchants are not to be taxed, as they supply the country's veins.

The commons are only dangerous when their religion, customs, or livelihood is interfered with.

Powerful military bands used to large gifts are full of danger.

Princes should bridle their power and their will, by remembering they are but men, and that they are God's vicegerents.

## ANTITHETA ON EMPIRE.

*For.*

1. To enjoy happiness is a great blessing; but to be able to impart it to others is a still greater blessing.

2. Kings are not like men but like stars, for both over individuals and over the times they have influence.

3. To resist the vicegerent of God is not merely treason, but a kind of rebellion against God.

3. \* *Want matter of desire.*—Have nothing left to desire; having attained to the highest position, they have no ambition left to gratify. For the whole paragraph cf. *Adv. of Learning*, II, 23. 21.

*Against.*

1. How wretched to have nothing to desire and everything to fear.

2. Rulers are like the heavenly bodies which get much veneration but no rest.

3. Men are admitted to the banquets of the gods only to make them sport.

5. *Representations.—Appearances.*

*Shadows.*—Cf. B. Browning, *Paracelsus* III. :—

The rabbit has its shade to frighten him,  
The fawn a rustling bough, mortals their cares . .  
Measure your mind's height by the shade it throws.

6. *Clear.*—Like a cloudless day.

8. *The king's heart, &c.*—*Prov.* : xxv. 3. 'The heart of kings is unsearchable.'

10. *Marshal.*—Cf. XVI. 19.

13. *Toys.*—Trifles, things of no real value.

14. *Order.*—A class of men upon whom some special rank or degree has been conferred, as the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III; or a community bound together by special vows for some particular purpose, as the Order of the Knights of St. John.

16. *Feat.*—A deed well done, (Lat. *factum*, a deed) so anything particularly cleverly or well done; as a feat of arms.

*Nero, &c.*—These instances were added in 1625.

Nero, Roman Emperor, A. D. 54—68, is said to have played on his harp while watching the burning of Rome.

Domitian, Roman Emperor, A. D. 81—96. He would make a slave hold up his hand and shoot between the fingers without touching them.

Commodus, Roman Emperor, A. D. 180—192. He was so vain of his ability that he fought in the arena as a gladiator, and slew many thousands of wild beasts in the amphitheatre with bow and spear. He assumed, in consequence, the name of Hercules and commanded that he should be worshipped as that god.

Caracalla, Roman Emperor, A. D. 211—217. Used to contend in person in the chariot races.

21. *Profiting.*—Advancing, progress.

22. *Standing at a stay.*—Standing still. Cf. XII. 49.

27. *Alexander the Great.*—Alexander of Macedon, son of Philip II. of Macedon. At the age of 16 the government of Macedonia was entrusted to him by his father, and at the age of 20 he succeeded his father. He conquered the whole of the known world, and "it is reported that King Alexander the Great, hearing Anaxarchus the Philosopher discoursing and maintaining this position—that there were worlds innumerable: fell a weeping; and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed 'Have I not (quoth he) good cause to

weep, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds I am not yet lord of one" (*Plutarch's Morals*.) Plutarch, in his *Life*, says that Alexander forsook his trust in the gods, and his mind became so troubled that whenever any thing unusual occurred, he took it as a sign of evil from the gods, and that he kept his tent full of priests and soothsayers. He died B. C. 323 at the age of 32.

28. *Diocletian*.—Roman Emperor, A. D. 284—305. After an anxious reign of 21 years, as he had announced long before, he abdicated at Nicomedia, retired to Salona where he spent eight years devoted to rural pleasures and the cultivation of his garden. Gibbon says of him "Reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied his retreat in which he enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the possession of the world."

When Maximian (who had been associated with him in government) urged him again to become Emperor, "he rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing, that if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer be urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power." (Gibbon). Bacon is in error as to the motives that led him to abdicate, but he may call him superstitious on the ground of the persecution of the Christians which he allowed.

*Charles V.*—King of Spain and Emperor. In 1556 he abdicated the Imperial Throne, resigned Spain to his son Philip, husband of Mary of England, and retired to the Monastery of St. Just in Estremadura. He practised the most severe asceticism, and his mind became enfeebled. A few weeks before his death (August) he had his own funeral ceremonies performed in his presence, and died in September 1558.

32. *Temper*.—Mixture, blending. Latin *temperare*, to apportion, regulate, qualify. Temper blends contraries into one, so as to make them harmonise. Distemper mixes or interchanges them without blending. In the physiological language of the time, temper was the due adjustment of the humours (XV. 102), distemper their disproportion.

The true temper of Empire as is made clear by a speech of Bacon in Parliament in which he quoted this anecdote is the due mixture of sovereignty and liberty. Interchanging them means that the sovereign now is severe and now allows liberty, so that nobody knows what to expect.

35. *Apollonius*.—Of Tyana, a Pythagorean philosopher, born about four years before the Christian era. He devoted himself to the strictest asceticism, and travelled throughout the East visiting Nineveh, Babylon and India. On his return from the East he laid claim to the possession of miraculous powers. He died at Ephesus, and his life, containing an account of the wonders he performed, was written by Philostratus, by the desire of the Empress Julia Domna, wife of Severus, in a sort of competition with the lives of Christ.

38. *Play the harp*.—Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, V. 10. The illustration is drawn from Nero's favourite pursuit. Bacon tells the same tale in his *Apophthegms*. "Vespasian asked of Apollonius, what was the cause of Nero's ruin? Who answered "Nero could tune the harp well, but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low."

39. *Wind the pins*.—Screwing up the strings, *i. e.*, sometimes he allowed too great a laxity, sometimes he insisted on too strict an obedience.

44. *Latter times*.—Bacon believed that "the former days were better" both as regards policy and wars. The former he thinks "is a wisdom almost lost," and the latter "seem to be made in the dark."

45. *Fine deliveries, &c.*—Ingenious escapes and devices for getting free from dangers and the effects of mischief, rather than well-laid and good plans to prevent such arising. Bacon especially notices this in Henry VII.

*Mastery, &c.*—To contend for the mastery; to see which is the stronger, one's self or fortune. Cf. *1 Corinthians* ix. 25, "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things." *2 Timothy* ii. 5, "And if a man strive also for masteries, yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully."

49. *Matter*.—Used in its literal sense of fuel, stuff, material, which the spark (in the next sentence) may ignite. (Latin *materia*), cf. XV, 86.

54. *Sunt plerumque, &c.*—Loosely quoted from Sallust *Jugurthine War*, 113. As Bacon himself says, *Adv. of Learning* II, 22, 5. "Sallust noteth that it is usual with Kings to desire contradictories."

56. *Soleism*.—Originally inaccuracy in language, from *soloikos*, speaking like an inhabitant of Soloe, in Cilicia. An Attic colony had settled there, and lost the purity of their language. Hence, any absurdity, unfitness, or impropriety.

58. *Mean*.—Means. It is an absurdity for a prince to think that he can bring what he desires to pass, without taking proper means to that end.

59. *For their neighbours*.—Cf. VI. 41. The whole of this paragraph occurs in almost the same form in a tract written by Bacon in 1624 'Considerations touching a War with Spain.'

66. *Due sentinel*.—From line 69 to line 100 was inserted in 1625.

67. *So.....as*.—Cf. III. 99.

68. *Embracing of trade*.—Attracting, drawing to themselves. Old French *em-brace*, the grasp of the arms.

*Approaches*.—Encroachments, or coming near with armies, or placing forts on the frontier.

71. *Triumvirate*.—A name borrowed from Roman History. Here applied to the three great monarchs on whom Western Europe's condition depended.

72. *Francis the First*.—The great rival of Charles V. He had been his competitor for the Imperial Crown. As King of France (1515—1547) he waged four wars against Charles. In the first he was taken prisoner at Pavia (1525)—in the rest he was on the whole successful.

74. *Palm*.—Hand breadth, what one could cover with the palm of the hand.

76. *Take up peace, &c.*—Buy peace now at the cost of future loss.

78. *That League*.—The League against the Venetians formed in 1480. In the *Consideration, &c.*, Bacon adds 'But yet so as the Confederates had a perpetual eye, one upon another, that none of them should o'ertop.' With it Guicciardini begins his History.

Guicciardini (1483-1540) was a famous Florentine historian, he wrote "The History of Italy during his own Time," (published 1564.) He took a leading part in the restoration to power of the Medicis in Florence.

80. *Lorensius Medicea*.—The well-known Lorenzo the Magnificent (grandson of Cosmo. See IV. 28) who ruled Florence from 1469 to 1492.

*Ludovicus Sforza*.—Lodovico Sforza, nicknamed the Moor, from his swarthinness. In 1480 he was acting as Guardian of his nephew Giovanni, on whose death, not without suspicion of poison, in 1494, he seized the Dukedom. After various



vicissitudes he was finally expelled and died a captive in France 1509. He is best known as a patron of Art and Literature, Lionardo da Vinci being one of his friends.

82. *Schoolmen*.—See Essay XVII. 25, n. St. Thomas Aquinas is especially in his mind as the parallel passage in Bacon's *Considerations touching a war with Spain* shows.

83. *Precedent*.—Previous.

85. *Just fear, &c.*—So in *Considerations touching a war with Spain*:—Bacon argued "that a just fear is a just cause of a war; and that a Preventive war is a true defensive." So Chatham urged war with Spain in 1761.

Reynolds reminds us that in the very year when this Essay was published, Grotius published his *De Jure Belli et Pacis* in which he lays down that there can be no just cause of war except a wrong done.

88. *Livia*.—The wife of Augustus, first Emperor of Rome. II. 41, VI. 5. It was generally believed that she caused his two grandsons to be poisoned, to secure the succession for her own children (by her former husband), and she was suspected of having hastened the death of Augustus.

*Infamed*.—Branded with infamy, rendered infamous.

*Roxolana*.—The wife of Solyman the Magnificent, the greatest of Ottoman Sultans, who reigned from 1520 to 1566. Roxolana, who had been a slave, wished to secure the succession for her own sons and so worked upon Solyman that he put to death his eldest son Mustapha. His later life was embittered by the rebellion of Roxolana's younger son Bajazet whom she put forward as heir instead of his elder brother Selim, but he was defeated and executed by Solyman. Solyman was succeeded by Selim, who, it was said had been palmed off upon Solyman in his infancy, though not really his own son.

92. *His quern*.—His used instead of the apostrophe and s, a common usage at that time. Sh. Gr. § 217.

Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, of France, with her confidant Mortimer, deposed the king, caused him to be imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, and there had him most brutally murdered, 1327. In 1330 Edward III. seized the guilty pair, executed Mortimer and confined Isabella for the remainder of her life in Castle Rising.

96. *Adoutrresses*.—Adulteresses. From the Latin *adulterium*, came two forms into French, the O. F. *avoutrie*, and the

New French *adultère*. Avowtry from the first is found in Old English side by side with the form *advowtry* where the *d* is due to the second.

99. *That*.—Intead of repeating when XV. 56.

100. *So as*.—III, 99.

102. *For that*.—Cf. XVI, 56.

103. *Selymus II*.—Selim, see note on *Rozolana*, line 88.

104. *Crispus*.—Eldest son of Constantine the Great. He gained great distinction in a campaign against the Franks, but having excited the jealousy of his step-mother Fausta, was put to death by his father, 326. Constantinus, Constantius and Constans (Constance) were the sons of Fausta.

105. *Towardness*.—Docility.

108. *Died of sickness*.—But not till he had reigned 24 years.

109. *Julianus*.—Julian the Apostate. He was the cousin and brother-in-law of Constantius II., rebelled against him, succeeded him 361 A. D., attempted to restore heathenism, but died 363 in war against the Persians.

110. *Demetrius*.—Younger son of Philip V. of Macedon. He incurred the jealousy of his father by the favourable reception he had met with from the Romans, when sent as ambassador, and being falsely accused by his brother Perseus of plotting against Philip's life was put to death secretly by Philip, 179, B.C. Philip was struck with the deepest grief and remorse, when he discovered the deceit that had been practised on him; he believed himself to be haunted by the spirit of Demetrius, and died shortly after, cursing Perseus.

*Philip the Second*.—He was really Philip V. Bacon follows the account of Livy, which is not borne out by Polybius and is rejected by Niebuhr.

113. *Had good*.—Obtained any benefit.

115. *Selymus I*.—Conspired against his father Bajazet II. corrupted his troops and proclaimed himself Sultan. He then removed his father by poison. He reigned but a few years and was succeeded by his son Solyman the Magnificent. See line 89.

116. *Three sons of Henry II. &c.*—Henry II. had divided his kingdom between his sons in a way that seemed calculated to prevent all jealousy, but instigated by their mother, they broke out into rebellion against him. Henry, the eldest,

died in the midst of his designs against his father, expressing sorrow for his unfilial conduct. Richard and Geoffrey then fought against each other, and when that quarrel was ended Geoffrey levied forces against his father, but was killed in a tournament at Paris. Richard, supported by Philip of France, then took up arms against his father. Henry suffered severe reverses, and submitted to the terms imposed upon him. On asking for a list of the conspirators he saw at the head the name of his best loved son, John. His heart broke at this last blow. "Now" he said, as he turned his face to the wall, "let things go as they will—I care no more for myself or the world." He died at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, 1189. Richard came to view the dead body of his father, and struck with remorse, but too late, expressed deep sorrow for his undutiful behaviour.

119. *Anselmus*.—Latinised form of Anselm, who was Archbishop of Canterbury, during the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. He accepted the See very reluctantly, but having done so he confronted the tyranny of the king in defence of the rights of the Church, resisting his exactions, and demanding restoration of all the revenues of his See, which William had kept for himself. William drove him in fury from the Court, and Anselm finally decided to retire from England, 1097. Henry I. invited him to return, and on his arrival Anselm was consulted as to the king's marriage with the English princess Matilda, and married her to the king amidst the joy of the people. Quarrels between the king and Archbishop on the question of Investitures broke out again, but a compromise was effected by the Pope. Anselm was one of the finest of the Schoolmen, and has influenced the doctrine of the Atonement to this day.

*Thomas à Becket*.—Was Chancellor under Henry II, and on account of his complaisance was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Contrary to the expectation of the king, instead of enforcing his will upon the clergy, Becket opposed him with all the energy of his nature, insisting upon all the privileges of the Church. The quarrel between king and Church lasted six years, and ended in the murder of Becket by four knights, (who construed some bitter words of the king as a desire for the death of the Archbishop) in the Cathedral at Canterbury, 1170. But the Constitutions of Clarendon—the law to restrain the clergy, which Becket had resisted—were abandoned by the King.

120. *Try it*.—Contend. Try conclusions, fight. For the indefinite *it* see Sh. Gr. § 226.

123. *That state.*—That estate, i. e., the clergy. The three estates of the Realm were the Peerage, the Church, and the Commons.

124. *Dependence of foreign authority.*—Either depends upon foreign authority—or hath attached to it, hath behind it, foreign authority, as in the cases of Anselm and Becket; all Churchmen before the Reformation owing allegiance first to the Pope, though the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire had limited this dependence nominally.

125. *Churchmen.*—Prelates or Clergymen, cf. VIII. 27. It now usually means members (clerical or lay) of the Church of England.

*Collation.*—The presentation of a benefice to a Clergyman.

130. *I have noted it, &c.*—"He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way." *Hist. of Henry VII.*

This policy was continued by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, who purposely raised commoners to the highest posts.

133. *The nobility.....yet they.*—Cf. VIII. 38.

135. *Fain.*—Properly glad; but usually it denotes glad as a last resource, reluctantly compelled.

137. *Second nobles.*—The gentry; second, i. e., inferior, cf. LI. 29.

139. *Discourse high.*—Talk in a lofty strain, talk big.

142. *Temper.*—Moderate, restrain (as in Latin.)

144. *Vena porta.*—Literally, the gate vein. The vein that collects the blood from the stomach spleen and intestines and distributes it through the liver. The illustration means that merchants gather to distribute. In *Hist. of Henry VII* Bacon applies the same term to the merchants:—

"But that that moved him most was that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate vein, which disperseth that blood." Cf. XLI, 30.

146. *Nourish.*—Used intransitively. Gain nourishment.

148. *The hundred*.—A hundred was a small division of a country for the purposes of justice. By some writers the hundred is supposed to have consisted of 100 families of free-men, others think of a hundred parishes. In the time of Edward the Confessor the hundreds of Northamptonshire consisted of 100 hides of land. The hundred-mote or court of the hundred was held by its own hundred-man, and was a Court of Justice for suitors within the hundred. But all important cases were tried by the county Court, (the shire-moot of earlier days) and gradually the jurisdiction of the hundred was limited to the punishment of petty offences, and the maintenance of local police.

*Leeseeth*.—Old form of *loseth*. Cf. XXIX, 31.

*Shire*.—The territorial division of shires or counties is a very ancient one; at what time the complete distribution was made is unknown. It was a division, as was the hundred, for the administration of justice, before the Conquest a shire-mote or county court being held twice a year. This court continued at least till the reign of Edward I. Groups of twelve deputies went from each hundred, and this may be regarded as the foundation of our representative system. Bacon's meaning is that though he may gain in a small way, he will lose more in the end.

152. *Heads*.—Leaders.

155. *Men of war*.—Soldiers.

156. *Donatives*.—Large gifts or bribes. Cf. XV, 235.

157. *Junizaries*.—A corruption of the Turkish *geni-tshire* new soldiers. They were the guards of the Ottoman Sultans, instituted in 1326, and at first were chiefly young Christian captives. Selim I., Solyman, Selim II. all gave them large donatives on their accession. They attained immense power, making and dethroning Sultans much in the same way as the Prætorian Guards at Rome. After a mutiny in 1826 they were disbanded.

*Prætorian bands*.—The famous Prætorian Guard—the Body-guard of the Emperor—which was instituted by Augustus; and finally abolished by Constantine. They received double pay, and to such power did they attain, that they made and dethroned Emperors at their pleasure. They murdered Pertinax because he attempted to restrain and discipline them, and then put the throne up to auction, to be sold to the man who would promise the highest donative. Didius bought it at a donative of 25,000 sesterces a soldier, 192, A. D.

(a sesterce was worth about 2d.) See for their History, GIBBON Ch. V.

159. *Several*.—Separate, distinct.

161. *Like to heavenly bodies, which cause, &c.*—Alluding to the supposed influence of the planets on human affairs, according to the Astrology of the time.

164. *Two remembrances*.—Maxims to be remembered.

## XX. OF COUNSEL.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—To be a counsellor is to accept great responsibility. Counsel is a necessity to the very highest; things must have "agitation" either of discussion, or of ill-fortune.

Kings should appropriate and give effect to the counsel they receive.

The inconveniences of counsel are that it diminishes the secrecy of a king's proceedings, weakens his authority and puts him in danger of being wrongly counselled, more for the good of those who counsel than for him who asks it.

To remedy these a king should not communicate every thing to all his counsellors, he should take the credit of the counsel given, and should take care to choose wise and faithful counsellors.

Counsellors should not be inquisitive, and should advise, not flatter. They should be consulted separately as well as collectively, upon persons as well as upon things. Books are counsellors which will not be afraid, nor flatter.

Notice should be given of the matters requiring debate. There should be set days for petitions. Committees should be chosen of impartial members rather than of those who are interested in the question. There should be standing commissions for the various departments such as trade, &c. Those who give evidence are to inform, not dictate.

Attention should be paid to the form of the counsel-room. A king, when presiding, should be careful not to shew which way his inclination lies, lest counsellors turn flatterers.

Readers of this Essay need to remember the great part which the Council played in Bacon's days and how it was the rival in power of Parliament. Under the Tudors, it was the instrument of Government. James I. with his ideas of Divine Right naturally made much use of it, and many of the disputes of his reign were due to his attempting to do by Ordin-

ances or Orders in Council what Parliament claimed he could only do by Acts of Parliament. Moreover finding the Council too large and too independent he 'had begun to thrust the troublesome apparatus on one side by discharging State business in the King's 'cabinet,' that is, in small confidential sittings in which the counsels of the courtiers (his immediate companions) became of more paramount influence than those of the responsible ministers' (Gneist). In 1640 the Long Parliament denounced Cabinet Councils.

In Edward VI's reign, the Privy Council was divided into standing committees for different departments. Bacon had a plan for a large extension of this system.

2. *Giving counsel*.—That is, giving to another the place of counsellor, confiding to him that which he wishes counsel upon; not in the active sense of giving advice.

*Other confidences, &c.*—i. e., to their agents, &c.

5. *By how much*.—Cf. VI. 61.

6. *They are obliged*.—The counsellors are bound.

10. *The counsellor*.—Isaiah ix. 6. "His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace."

11. *Solomon hath pronounced*.—Prov. xx. 18. 'Every purpose is established by counsel.'

12. *Agitation*.—From Latin *agitare* to keep driving about, so matters will either be "driven about" by discussion, or by experience.

15. *Doing and undoing*.—Being done and undone.

16. *Solomon's son*.—"And Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came and spake unto Rehoboam (the son of Solomon)—and king Rehoboam consulted with the old men, that stood before Solomon his father (whether he should redress the grievances of which Jeroboam complained)..... But he forsook the counsel of the old men, which they had given him, and consulted with the young men that were grown up with him..... So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the third day as the king had appointed, saying, Come to me again the third day. And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the old men's counsel that they gave him, and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke, my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." L. Kings xii.

The result of this counsel was that the kingdom of Israel was rent in twain, ten of its twelve tribes following Jeroboam.

21. *For.....for.*—As regards the persons.....as regards the matter. Cf. VI. 41.

26. *Jupiter, &c.*—In Wisdom of the Ancients (XXX-Metis or Counsel), Bacon explains this fable:—

“ This fable, which in its literal sense appears monstrously absurd, seems to contain a statement, and shows with what art kings usually carry themselves toward their council, in order to preserve their own authority and majesty not only inviolate, but so as to have it magnified and heightened among the people. For kings commonly link themselves as it were in a nuptial bond to their council, and deliberate and communicate with them after a prudent and laudable custom upon matters of the greatest importance, at the same time justly conceiving this no diminution of their majesty; but when the matter once ripens to a decree or order, which is a kind of birth, the king then suffers the council to go on no further, lest the act should seem to depend upon their pleasure. Now, therefore, the king usually assumes to himself whatever was wrought, elaborated, or formed, as it were, in the womb of the council (unless it be a matter of an invidious nature, which he is sure to put from him), so that the decree and the execution shall seem to flow from himself. And as this decree or execution proceeds with prudence and power, so as to imply necessity, it is elegantly wrapt up under the figure of Pallas armed. Nor are kings content to have this seem the effect of their own authority, free will, and uncontrollable choice, unless they also take the whole honour to themselves, and make the people imagine that all good and wholesome decrees proceed entirely from their own head, that is, their own sole prudence and judgment.”

27. *Intend.*—Mean, signify.

28. *The other.*—The one is “the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings.”

The other is “the wise and politic use of counsel by kings.”

33. *Pallas.*—Or Athena (the Latin *Minerva*) the goddess of wisdom. She is the thinking, calculating and inventive power personified. She was the patroness of all the arts and trades, and guided men in the dangers of war, where victory is gained by cunning, prudence, courage and perseverance. Hence she is represented with a helmet, shield and coat of mail.



37. *Elaborate*.—Participle. Cf. III. 37. XI. 62.

44. *Are resembled to*.—Compared with. Lat. *re*, again, *simulare*, to make like. For this Transitive use of the word, cf. *Luke*, XIII. 18. 'Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I resemble it?'

56. *Doctrine*.—Teaching.

57. *Cabinet Councils*.—Secret councils, the word is derived from Cabinet, dim. of *cabane*, a cabin, a small room.

These were not like our present Cabinet Councils, which consist of a certain number of the Ministers of the Crown, who meet to discuss and arrange the policy and measures of the Government. It grew out of the early Privy Council. When that became too large for despatch and secrecy, a small number of leading ministers were consulted by the sovereign, but it was not till after the Revolution that the Cabinet came gradually to assume the importance it now possesses.

61. *That he that consulteth, &c.*—He is not bound to follow the advice given him though he has asked for it, nor is he obliged to say whether he intends to follow it or not.

63. *Unsecrting*.—Disclosing, divulging.

65. *Plenus rimarum sum*.—Terence. *Eunuchus*, I. 1. 25.

66. *Futile*.—Leaky, talkative. Lat. *futilis*, that which easily pours forth. Cf. VI. 54.

68. *Will hardly go*.—i. e., with advantage. Cf. Bacon's common use of *would*. III. 153.

72. *Constantly*.—Steadily, consistently.

74. *Grind with a hand-mill*.—Grind his own corn himself, not send it to the mill to be done where it would be handled by others; that is, act alone, do it for himself, so that his acts are not public property, subjected to others' criticism.

*Inward*.—Secret, intimate. XI. 90.

77. *Imparted himself to*.—Shared his thoughts with.

78. *Morton and Fox*.—"And about this time, the King called unto his Privy Council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter; vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had both been versed in his affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of

Bourchier, he made Archbishop of Canterbury, and for Fox, he made him Lord-keeper of his Privy-seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester." *History of Henry VII.* (Bacon). Fox was Wolsey's patron, and introduced him to Henry VIII. Wolsey supplanted him in favour with the King, he retired in 1515, died 1528.

"This year also died John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of England and Cardinal. (1501). He was a wise man, and eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty: much accepted by the King, but envied by the nobility, and hated by the people. . . . He won the King with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes; and also for that in his affections he was not without an inveterate malice against the House of York, under whom he had been in trouble. . . . In the matter of exactions, time did after show, that the bishop in feeding the king's humour did rather temper it."—*Hist. of Henry VII.*

83. *The fable.*—The fable of Jupiter and Metis quoted above. The king is to hear all the advice of his counsellors, and then give it out as if all emanated from himself, and take all the credit of it.

84. *Over-strict combination in divers.*—A strong cabal, or faction of several counsellors.

85. *Holpen.*—Helped, remedied. Cf. *Luke*, 1. 54. 'He hath holpen his servant Israel.'

87. *Non inveniet, &c.*—*Luke*, xviii. 8. Bacon uses the word faith as meaning truth, trustworthiness. He means that when Christ comes again it will be an age of unfaithfulness, not that there will be no faithful people at all. See I. 80.

90. *There be that.*—I. 2.

94. *Keepeth sentinel.*—A peculiar variant on the phrase keep guard—where guard is abstract. Sentinel on the other hand denotes the person. A case of false analogy.

95. *Any do counsel, &c.*—Any give such counsel and advice as is simply in party interest or for personal advancement.

99. *Principis, &c.*—*Martial, Epigrams* VIII. 15. 8. Montaigne (III. 8) had already quoted it.

102. *Speculative, &c.*—Prying, inquisitive into their sovereign's character. Speculator is Latin for spy.

*Person.*—Character. Cf. *Personate* III. 139.

109. *Reverend*.—Obviously Bacon means *reverent*, as the word was written in the 1612 Edition. The two words are often confused.

110. *Obnoxious to*.—Under the influence of, exposed to.

112. *To preserve freedom*.—That they may feel free to express their views.

113. *To preserve respect*.—That they may not presume.

118. *Secundum genera*.—Generally; one thing standing for the whole of its class.

123. *Optimi consilarii mortui*.—"Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, "that he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead," meaning of books."—*Apophtegms*.

124. *Blanch*.—Cf. XXVI. 32, where it is Transitive. Three explanations have been given:—

(1) It is the same as blench, to shrink.

(2) It is a corruption of blandish.

(3) It means to whiten, to report too favourably. Cf. *Adv. of Learning* 'It is over-usual to blanch the obscure places and discourse upon the plain.'

126. *Actors upon the stage*.—Upon the same stage, that is those who have taken a prominent part in life, e.g., Machavelli who before writing 'The Prince' had been the foremost diplomatist of Florence.

128. *The Councils at this day*.—From this point to the end was added in 1625 after Bacon's experience of the royal councils.

130. *Run too swift, &c.*—They arrive too hastily at a decision, and issue with too little deliberation an order or act of Council on the matter.

133. *In nocte consilium*.—An old Greek proverb, so we say now "he will sleep upon it."

134. *In the commission of union, &c.*—The only direct reference in the Essays to any event in which Bacon himself had been engaged. When James VI. of Scotland became King of England, he endeavoured to bring about the union of the two countries. Bacon supported him, but in vain. A joint Commission on which Bacon sat was appointed to consider the scheme.

"A council of forty-eight Englishmen and thirty-one Scotchmen, meeting on terms of equality to make a bar-

gain—a bargain involving interests so vast and so various—might have seemed to have no easy task before them; yet in less than six weeks they had come to an agreement all but unanimous; and the work so far as it depended upon them, was prosperously concluded.....It was agreed by a full consent at every time of assembly, after the matters concluded at that sitting, that there should be propositions made of such particular questions and matters as shall be debated at the next sitting.”—Spedding’s *Life of Bacon* III. 240, 241.

The attempt failed. Parliament was opposed to it. The two nations were still too jealous of another.

Scotland maintained her own laws and constitution, and had a separate Parliament. In fact, she was an independent kingdom till the Act of Union which was passed in the reign of Anne, on March 6th, 1707.

136. *Petitions*.—So Bacon advised Buckingham ‘When suitors come to you, set apart a certain hour in the day to give them audience.’

138. *Estate*.—State.

*Hoc agere*.—Keep to the business in hand.

140. *Indifferent*.—Impartial, VI. 65.

It is better to choose impartial people, than to form a board of representatives of both sides of the question, who would be likely to make a compromise.

145. *Estate*.—State.

146. *Standing*.—Permanent. Cf. Standing army, and the new Standing Committees of the House of Commons, for Law, for Commerce, for Scotland.

149. *Mintmen*.—Men skilled in coinage.

152. *Tribunitious*.—In a declamatory manner; after the style of the seditious tribunes of Rome.

*Clamour Councils*.—As we say to shout them down.

154. *Form*.—Mere matters of form, of no importance whatever.

155. *Substance*.—Of great importance.

160. *Take the wind of him*.—To conform oneself to him, take their direction from him, as a ship is driven by the wind. Cf. the phrase ‘He is waiting to see which way the wind blows.’

162. *Placebo*.—It is really the Vesper hymn for the dead, which begins “Placebo domino in regione vivorum.” *Psalms* cxvi. 9. “I will please the Lord in the land of the living.”

Chaucer in his *Parson's Tale* had long before used it as a type of flattery:—'Flaterers ben the devels chapelegns, that singen ay *Placebo*.' In a speech in the Commons Bacon repudiates the suspicion 'if any man shall think I have sung a *Placebo*.'

### XXI. OF DELAYS.

First Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Delays are sometimes advantageous, sometimes mean the loss of one's opportunity. Dangers should be prepared for, as to be unprepared is to increase the danger, though they should not be met too soon, the ripeness of occasion being studied. Preparation should be secret, execution swift.

#### ANTITHETA ON DELAY.

##### *For.*

1. Fortune sells many things to the man who is in haste which she gives freely to the man who waits.

2. While we hasten to lay hold of things in their beginnings, we grasp shadows.

3. While things are wavering, we must watch, when they take their direction, act.

4. The beginning of business must be intrusted to Argus, the end to Briareus.

##### *Against.*

1. Opportunity offers first the bottle's handle, then its belly.

2. Opportunity, like the Sibyl, lowers her offer and raises her price.

3. Speed is the helmet of Orcus (Pluto).

4. What is done betimes is done as a man thinks best; what is done late is done round about.

Cf. also the Antitheta on Meeting Mischief at its Beginnings.

##### *For.*

1. More dangers deceive men than overcome them by force.

2. It is less trouble to apply a remedy to danger than to watch and guard its growth.

##### *Against.*

1. He who arms himself against danger teaches it to approach and fixes it by his remedy for it.

2. Even in the remedies of dangers, slight dangers lurk.

*For.*

3. A danger is no longer slight when it seems so.

*Against.*

3. It is better to have to do with a few dangers which have reached their full strength than with the separate menaces of all.

3. *Sibylla's offer.*—A Sibyl (or prophetess) from Cumæ offered to sell to Tarquin, king of Rome, nine books for 300 pieces of gold. He refused the offer with scorn; she went away, burned three, then demanded the same price for the six. The king again refused, she went away and burned three more, and still demanded the same price for the remaining three. The king then purchased the three, and the Sibyl disappeared. The books were regarded as sacred by the Romans, they were deposited in the vaults of the Capitol, placed under the care of two patricians, and consulted in times of danger to the State. Bacon refers to the story again in *Adv. of Learning*, II. 22, 33. "In some other it is a loathness to lose labours passed, and a conceit that they can bring about occasions to their ply; and yet in the end, when they see no other remedy, then they come to it with disadvantage; as Tarquinius, that gave for the third part of Sibylla's books the treble price, when he might at first have had all three for the simple."

4. *And still holdeth, &c.*,—Always maintaining the price. IX. 9.

5. *Occasion.*—Opportunity,

*The common reverse.*—From a book of Adages compiled in Latin by a German called *Gryæus* a century before. 'Opportunity has a lock on her brow, but is bald behind.'

6. *Noddle.*—The head, from M. E. *nodde*, dimin. of *knod*, a knob.

7. *No hold taken.*—No hold (has been) taken. No opportunity occurs more than once. *Occasion* is represented, as Time is, as an old man with a fore-lock, and the rest of his head bald, so unless the fore-lock is seized there is nothing else to hold by. From this arises the saying "Take time by the fore-lock."

11. *Dangers are no more light, &c.*—Dangers are really increased by thinking too lightly of them, so that due preparation is not made to meet them, and men have more often thought too little of them, and so been deceived, than been overcome by them when they have taken all precautions to meet them.

14. *Nothing near*.—No where near, not at all near.
15. *It is odds*.—The chances are. Odds is the advantage of one over another; the difference in favour of one over another.
17. *Moon was low*.—In the battle between Pompey and Mithridates the soldiers of the latter shot short, being deceived by the long shadows of the Romans.
20. *Buckling towards*.—Preparing to go towards, preparing for action. It comes from the buckling on of armour when preparing for a fight. Low Latin *bucula*, the boss of a shield.
23. *Argus*.—Surnamed Panoptes, "the all-seeing," because he had a hundred eyes. He was appointed by Hera to watch Io, whom Zeus loved and had metamorphosed into a white cow, but Zeus sent Hermes to put Argus to death, which he did by cutting off his head, after lulling him to sleep with the sweet notes of his flute. Hera transplanted his eyes to the tail of the peacock, her favourite bird.
24. *Briareus*.—A monster with fifty heads and a hundred arms, who with his brothers conquered the Titans when they made war upon the gods, and thus secured the victory for Jupiter. Some legends represent Briareus as one of the giants that attacked Olympus. Cf. XV. 185.
25. *Helmet of Pluto*.—Pluto, the god of the nether world, possessed a helmet which rendered the wearer invisible. This was given to him by the Cyclopes as a present after their delivery from Tartarus. Persens borrowed this helmet when he went to slay the Gorgon Medusa, and was thus enabled to escape from the pursuit of the other two Gorgons. See Wisdom of the Ancients, VII.
26. *The politic man*.—The politician.
- Secrecy in the counsel*.—Bacon says elsewhere "next to speed in war, secrecy of counsels is of the greatest moment; of which, indeed, speed itself is a great part; for speed anticipates the disclosures of counsels."
30. *So.....as*.—III. 99.

## XXII. OF CUNNING.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—There is a great difference between cunning and wisdom. Various points of cunning are, studying the features, diverting the attention from the real business, hurrying the business through, crossing a business by pretending well while treacherously working to defeat it, drawing the hearer on to ask questions to serve the speaker's end, preparing the

way for such questions, making a statement as if unaware of its importance; ruining a competitor by imputing to him some ill-judged speech; imputing to another what has been said by one's self; attacking under the mask of self-defence, wrapping up a meaning in a tale, putting into a man's mouth the desired answer, patiently waiting one's time, or trying to surprise by sudden questioning. It is useful to know such tricks in order to expose them, but they do not constitute wisdom; the wise man avoids them; only those conscious of their inability resort to them.

1. *Take for.*—Take cunning to mean, understand it to mean.

*Cunning.*—Originally meant skill, cleverness; from M. E. *cunnen*, to know. Cf. "And with him was Aholiab.....an engraver and a cunning workman."—*Exodus xxxviii.* 23.

"The number of them with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord, even all that were cunning."—1 *Chron.* xxv. 7.

"Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz, the work of the workman, and of the hands of the founder: blue and purple is their clothing: they are all the work of cunning men."—*Jer.* x. 9.

The original meaning was not entirely lost in Bacon's time as is shown by his insisting on the limitation he is giving to it.

*Sinister.*—Latin, on the left hand; so inauspicious, evil, dishonest.

4. *There be that.*—I. 2.

*Pack the cards.*—Shuffle them so as to get a good hand, cheat. Cf. to pack a meeting, or to pack a jury.

6. *Canvasses and factions.*—Good at soliciting individuals or at forming parties.

7. *Persons.....matters.*—Cf. XX. 114.

11. *Practice.*—Plotting. III. 119.

12. *But in their own alley.*—Only in their own bowling alley. That is, they can play well on a ground that they are accustomed to, but when on strange ground show their want of real skill.

13. *Lost their aim.*—Can no longer aim properly. Bacon is fond of illustrations from the game of Bowls which he evidently knew well. Cf. e. g., XXIII. 27.

14. *Mitte ambos, &c.*—A saying of Aristippus the Cyrenaic. Cf. Apophthegms. 'One of the philosophers was asked what



a wise man differed from a fool? He answered, "Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive."

17. *Huberlashers*.—Sellers of small wares. "So named from his selling a stuff called *hapertas* in O. F. connected with O. Icel. *haprtask*, things of small value. I suspect that the true sense was "Pedlar's wares," named from the haversack in which they were carried; from Icel. *haprtask*, *hafrtask*, a haversack, orig. a bag for oats."—SKEAT.

The meaning is "since these men deal constantly in small tricks, it is as well to enumerate them." Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 21. 9, second half.

19. *It is a point*.—From here to line 116 appears first in the Edition of 1625.

*Wait upon*.—Closely watch. For the importance of the face, see VI. 59.

20. *The Jesuits*.—The Jesuits were members of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534 for the purpose of recovering the ground the Roman Church had lost by the Reformation. A Jesuit mission to England had been undertaken in Elizabeth's reign, about 1580, under Campion and Parsons, and at first their success was great, but in the end Parsons had to fly, and Campion was tried for treason. The Jesuits shrank from nothing that could help to spread the doctrines of their Church. The end to them justified the means, be the means what they might. "With what vehemence, with what policy, with what exact discipline, with what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, with what unscrupulous laxity and versatility the Jesuits fought the battle of their Church, is written in every page of the annals of Europe during several generations . . . . Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate Kings, to spread evil rumours, to raise tumults, to inflame Civil Wars, to arm the hand of the assassin. Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the Church, they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty, and to the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty, the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler, were inculcated by the same man, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or to the subject of Elizabeth."—MACAULAY.

21. *For there be, &c.*—See *Adv. of Learning* II. 9. 2. “For the lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general; but the motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do farther disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will. For, as your Majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, “as the tongue speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye,” and therefore a number of subtle persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither can it be denied but that it is a great discoverer of dissimulations, and a great direction in business.”

22. *Would be.*—Cf. III. 153.

23. *Abasing.*—Lowering of the eyes, to prevent the person from suspecting that he is being narrowly observed. The Jesuits were required by their Rules to bend their heads forward, and are described as having their eyes lowered habitually.

26. *Present dispatch.*—Great urgency.

28. *Counsellor and Secretary.*—Probably Walsingham, of whom a biographer writes “To him men’s faces spake as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. He outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and overreached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation.”

31. *Discourse of estate.*—Discourse about affairs of State.

*Mought.*—See *Corrigenda*. Obsolete form of *might*. Cf. XV. 192. *Meahte, mihte, moughte*, are the various forms that the past tense of *may* has gone through.

33. *Moving things.*—Bringing forward the business you wish to transact.

36. *Cross.*—Thwart.

*Doubts.*—Fears for the trick. Cf. XLIX. 15.

41. *Took himself up.*—Checked himself suddenly, as if he found he was saying more than he intended.

44. *Gotten.*—The form is still in constant use in the North of England and in America. In the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) it is the regular form of the Participle of *get*.

48. *Nehemiah did.*—*Nehemiah*, II. 1. 2. “Now I had not been beforetime sad in his presence. Wherefore the king said, Why is thy countenance sad?”

50. *Tender*.—Delicate matters, that require careful handling. XV. 238.

54. *Narcissus*.—Was a freedman and secretary of the Emperor Claudius, over whom he possessed unlimited influence. For a long time he connived at the wickedness of the Empress Messalina, but seeing that he was destined to fall a victim to her intrigues he determined to get rid of her. During the absence of Claudius Messalina publicly married Gaius Silius. Narcissus hired two prostitutes to break the news to Claudius and on being asked of it persuaded him that the two lovers would not have dared to take such a step if they had not determined on his death. Narcissus himself issued Messalina's death warrant, and she was put to death by a tribune of the guards in the garden of Lucullus. Narcissus was put to death by the command of Agrippina, the next wife of Claudius, A. D. 54.

58. *The world says*.—As we say now "They say."

59. *That.....he*.—Cf. VIII. 10.

61. *A by matter*.—Something just by the way, something incidental.

62. *That.....he*.—See line 59.

66. *Forgot*.—In contrast with *get* (line 44) we now say *forgotten*.

*Like*.—Likely, probable.

*Work upon*.—Working their schemes upon.

70. *Apposed*.—Questioned. Lit. put to (the question.) Cf. Poser, XXXII. 33. As an example of this trick see *King Lear*, I. II. where Edmund, the illegitimate son of the Duke of Gloucester, is found reading a forged letter, and pretends hastily to conceal it, that he may be questioned of its contents by his father.

75. *Two competitors*.—Spedding suggests these were Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley. Sir Robert Cecil was the successful competitor.

76. *Kept good quarter*.—Kept on good terms with one another.

79. *Declination of a monarchy*.—When the kingdom was declining, a view that Elizabeth would not tolerate.

80. *Affect it*.—Desire such a thing.

85. *So.....as*.—III. 99.

88. *Cut in the pan.*—A corruption of Cate, cake, *i. e.*, the cake in the frying pan. It was used as referring to the dexterity of a cook in turning a pan-cake, by giving the frying pan a toss, so that the cake was turned in the air, falling again into the pan, so as to cook the other side. Cate or cates (*cf. cater*) is connected with the French *achat*, purchase. It is used differently in the famous song 'Vicar of Bray.' 'I turned a cat in pan once more, and so became a Whig, Sir.'

*That . . . . it.*—Redundant.

95. *Se non, &c.*—Tacitus' Annals, XIV. 57. Tigellinus was one of the favourites of Nero, and ministered to his worst passions, and of all his favourites was the most obnoxious to the Roman people. He rose from obscurity and poverty by his unscrupulous character, and his handsome person. Burrhus was prefect of the Prætorian Guards, and with Seneca educated Nero. He opposed Nero's tyrannical acts, and was poisoned by his command, A. D. 63. Tigellinus said this *after* the death of Burrhus.

100. *Would insinuate.*—Wish to insinuate.

102. *Carry it.*—Either carry the news, spread it abroad: or put up with the remark which the tale conveys.

104. *Shape the answer.*—Put leading questions, that suggest the answer you wish to have from them.

*Will fetch.*—Go round about. The full phrase is to 'fetch a compass.'—*Acts*, xxviii. 13.

113. *Like to him that . . . . him.*—For the irregularity due to the Relative clause, *cf.* lines 89 and 59.

114. *Walking in Paul's.*—St Paul's Cathedral. At that time the centre aisle was a common promenade for idlers, and traffic of all sorts was carried on there, advertisements put up, servants hired, &c. See BEN JONSON 'Every Man out of his Humour.' Act III. Sc. 1. So one of the characters in 'Every Man in his Humour' is 'Captain Bobadil—a Paul's man.' This was of course, the old Cathedral destroyed in the Great Fire of London. The present Cathedral was built by Sir Christopher Wren. No such conduct is now allowed in English Churches.

119. *For that.*—Because. *Cf.* XVI. 56. XIX. 102.

121. *Resorts and falls.*—There is a good deal of doubt about the meaning of these two words. Abbott takes them of water (fountains and falls—and *main* of the sea.) But in

the place where resorts occurs in *Adv. of Learning* (II. 2. 5) this is impossible. 'Such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true and inward resorts thereof,' where the context suggests the meaning *springs*, machinery. This is appropriate here. *Falls* would then be issues as the French translator takes it—*main* the general body. The interpretation of the Italian translator is also possible—resorts, rises, successes in contrast to falls. The general meaning in any case is the same. There are men skilled in the intricacies without sense of the real importance.

125. *Looses*.—A loose was the act of loosing or discharging an arrow. We keep the same idea in the phrase 'Make a shot at a thing.' There are some who make ventures, which, by the result, seem to have been well aimed, but they could not reason out the causes that led them to act in that manner. Cf. 'Love's Labour Lost.' V. 2. 732 (of Time.) :—

And often, at his very loose, decides  
That which long process could not arbitrate.

127. *Wits of direction*.—Men whose cleverness lies in the power of directing others; with a turn for management.

128. *Abusing*.—Deceiving, XLII. 23.

129. *Putting tricks*.—Playing tricks.

130. *Solomon saith*.—In the Authorised Version it runs :—  
"The simple believeth every word, but the prudent man looketh well to his going."

Bacon spoke of his father as one who embodied the teaching of this text.

### XXIII. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

Published 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—Self-love tends to the ruin of others. It should be reconciled with love for others. In kings it is more tolerable, but in their ministers it is a great evil, because they make the State secondary to their own interests; conciliating their sovereign by flattery.

Self-love (or self-seeking) is a depraved thing, nothing better than the wisdom of the brute; and it often ends in misfortune.

1. *An ant, &c.*—See *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 10. 'Like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very hurtful for the garden.' As a matter of fact the ant does little harm in a garden.

*Shrewd*.—Evil, mischievous. Now it usually means clever, showing insight, though in such phrases as *to do a shrewd turn* it keeps its old sense. For the interesting derivation see *Skeat*, p. 434. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, II. 2. 242. 'There are some shrewd contents in yon same paper.'

2. *Orchard*.—A. S. *Wyrtegard*, i. e., Wort-yard, a herb garden, which it meant originally, not as now an enclosure of fruit trees.

3. *Waste*.—Lay waste.

3. *Divide with reason, &c.*—Estimate carefully what you owe to yourself and what to others.

4. *Self love*.—There was no such word as *selfishness* in Bacon's time. It was brought into use by the Puritan divines. "If constancy may be tainted with this selfishness (to use our new wordings of old and general actings)." Whitlock quoted in *Trench English Past and Present*.

*So.....as*.—Cf. III. 99.

*True to thyself*.—Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 3. 8.—

This above all; to thine own self be true.

And it must follow, as the night the day.

Thou canst not then be false to any man.

though in *Hamlet* 'true to thine own self' means faithful to thy conscience and here it means faithful to thy own interest.

6. *It is a poor*.—In *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 10, he says "But yet there is another part of this part which differeth as much from that whereof we have spoken as *sapere* (wisdom) and *sibi sapere* (wisdom for one's self); the one moving as it were to the circumference, the other to the centre; for there is a wisdom of counsel, and again there is a wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune, and they do sometimes meet, and often sever; for many are wise in their own way that are weak for Government or counsel."

7. *It is right earth*.—It is exactly like the earth. *Right* is here an adverb.

*That only*.—Bacon adhered to the Ptolemaic astronomy against the Copernican, ascribing the motion of the planets to *primum mobile*. In *Adv. of Learning* he says "so we may see, that the opinion of Copernicus touching the rotation of the earth, which astronomy itself cannot correct, because it is not repugnant to any of the phenomena, yet natural philosophy may correct."

Elsewhere he speaks of 'the daily motion of the earth which, we are agreed, is an utter falsehood.' See Essay XV. 62, and XVII. 20.

8. *His*.—Its, Cf. X. 43.

10. *Referring to*.—Considering only in relation to. So in *Adv. of Learning* I. 3. 6. 'The corrupter sort of politics..... do refer all things to themselves and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes.'

12. *Their good.....fortune*.—The prosperity or adversity of the nation is bound up with their own. Notice the irregular construction: prince.....themselves.

13. *Desperate*.—Desperately bad.

15. *Crooketh*.—We say *bends*, but to crook had a more sinister meaning.

16. *Eccentric*.—Eccentric circles or spheres are such that though contained in some measure within each other, the centre is not the same, like a wheel with its axis not quite in the centre. So the centre of the orbit of the selfish man is shifted from what should be the centre, his sovereign or country, to himself. Cf. XVII. 26.

17. *States*.—Governments, cf. IX. 156, like the States General of Holland, which country was conspicuous in Bacon's day as a commercial and political model.

18. *This mark*.—This characteristic.

19. *Accessory*.—Subordinate, taking the second place; only considered as a help to the main business, which is looking after himself.

23. *A little good.....master's*.—For example, an officer who would betray his troops, or desert his post, for a bribe from the enemy

24. *Carry things*.—Prevail. For this indefinite use of things, cf. the indefinite *it*—*try it*, XIX. 120.

27. *Set a bias upon their bowl*.—Cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 4. A bias is the weight at the side of the bowl (the large wooden ball used in the game of bowls) to make it curve in its course. So self-seekers put the bias of their own ends on all their actions, turn their course to their own advantage. Cf. XXII. 12 note. For the idea, see *Adv. of Learning*, I. 3. 6.

*Petty*.—In Bacon's time this meant *small* without the depreciatory sense now attached to it.

29. *Good they receive.....fortune.*—Which is small. Model, as in III. 73, means measure.

31. *The hurt they sell.*—The harm which they do at the cost of their own small benefit.

32. *Master's fortune.*—Which is great. They receive very little good for themselves for the great amount of harm that they do.

33. *As.*—That; in III. 99, &c., with the antecedent *so*, here without it. See Sh. Gr. § 109. *Taming of Shrew*, Induction 72.

*And it were.*—*As it were*, if it were. Sh. Gr. § 101.

36. *Please them.*—Both words emphatic, contrasted with profit themselves.

37. *Respect.*—Aim, consideration as in the common phrase, have respect to.

38. *Wisdom for a man's self.*—This paragraph was added in 1625.

39. *Rats.*—So it was believed on the authority of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII. 28 'When a house is about to fall, the mice go out of it before.' Cf. *Tempest*, I. 2. 145. 'A rotten carcass of a boat.....The very rats instinctively have quit it.' There is reason to think is some truth in the belief. Since the rats in a ship nest in its planking, they are driven out by the water which makes its way into it when it becomes unseaworthy.

41. *Fox.* This also was taught by the naturalists of the time, and is stated to be true by Buffon.

42. *Crocodiles.*—There were two accounts of this phenomenon. The first was that when a crocodile sees a man approaching it, it weeps to think of his fate, yet devours him. The other is that having eaten his body, it will weep over his head before eating that. Shakspeare gives a further turn to the fable, apparently treating the crocodile's grief as feigned to draw the man near in pity of its distress. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1.—

Gloster's show

Begniles him as the mournful crocodile

With sorrow snares relenting passengers.

43. *Which.*—Who, VIII. 5.

44. *Cicero.*—Marcus Tullius Cicero, the great Roman Orator (B. C. 106—43). By his eloquence and honesty he made



his way to the Consulship in 63 B. C., during his tenure of which he frustrated the attempt of Catiline to overthrow the Constitution. His conceit at this alienated his friends and he was banished for illegal actions in his suppression of the plot. Being allowed to return he took Pompey's side against Cæsar, but was spared by the conqueror. After Cæsar's death he gave his support to Brutus, denouncing Marc Antony in his famous Philippics. In revenge Antony included him in his proscription and he was murdered B. C. 43. Besides his Orations—the most famous of which are those against Verres and Catiline and the Second Philippic—he has left various works on Oratory and on Philosophy, the latter being an attempt to popularise in Rome the Academic and Stoic systems of Greece; also a large number of letters, addressed to his friend Atticus, his brother Quintus and others.

45. *Pompey*.—The protégé of Sulla and rival of Cæsar. After Sulla's death he was regarded almost as the 'only general' of Rome. Cicero supported him at first, strongly urging his being sent to supersede Lucullus in the War against Mithridates. Having brought this to a successful close he had the empire at his feet, but lacked the unscrupulousness or enterprise to make himself its master. He irritated Cicero by depreciating his work in saving Rome from Catiline, and when the first Triumvirate was formed consented to his exile—which Cicero never forgave. When Cæsar cast off the yoke of the Senate, Pompey became its champion, but was defeated at Pharsalia, and murdered in Egypt by the orders of the King, to whom he was flying for refuge. He seems to have been an able man, somewhat spoiled by his early and unrivalled success. But Cicero's sneer is due to his own disappointment at Pompey's indifference to his good deeds.

*Sui amantes, &c.*—Cicero, Letters, ad Quintum Fratrem, III. 8.

47. *Sacrificed to themselves*.—Worshipped themselves. Sacrifice is used to lead up to the point of being sacrificed in the next clause.

49. *Fortune*.—Among the Greeks and Romans Fortune was a goddess, usually represented with wings.

50. *Self-wisdom*.—Short for wisdom for themselves, *i. e.*, cleverness in securing their own ends.

*Pinioned*.—The history of this word is somewhat obscure. Originally pinion was a Noun meaning feather, wing. As a Verb it means to fasten so as to prevent escape. Cf. *Merry*

*Wives*, IV. 2. 120. 'Master Ford, you are not to go loose any longer; you must be pinioned.' But does this use come from tying down the wings (or clipping them as the Latin translation seems to suggest) or is it due to confusion between the three words *pen*, *pinion* and *pin*, the first being really two distinct words, the one akin to pinion, the other to pin, to fasten? Probably both explanations must be taken together.

#### XXIV. OF INNOVATIONS.

PUBLISHED 1625

OUTLINE.—Innovations are necessitated by the course of time, and mostly surpass imitations.

What is customary, if it be not good, yet is often suitable and agreeable, and at first innovations, though useful, often trouble by their strangeness. But when old customs are retained too long and too obstinately, they are as turbulent as the new.

Changes should be made very gradually, and only when the need is urgent, or utility evident, especially as regards States, when it should be very clear that there is really a need for change, and not that the mere desire for change leads to the reformation. Novelty, though not always rejected, should be always suspected.

#### ANTITHETA ON INNOVATION.

##### *For.*

1. Every remedy is an innovation.
2. He who shuns new remedies is preparing for new evils.
3. Time is the Innovator above all; why then should we not imitate Time?
4. Remote precedents are inappropriate; modern ones corrupt and interested.
5. Leave it to quibblers to regulate their lives by precedent.

##### *Against.*

1. Newborn things are always unshapely.
2. The only founder I like is time.
3. There can be no innovation without harm, for it rends what is in existence.
4. Things that have settled down through custom, though they may not be good, at least fit well together.
5. What innovator imitates time in so insinuating his changes that they are not perceived?

*For.*

6. As those who raise their family to nobility are usually worthier than their descendants, so innovation is commonly better than imitation.

7. A froward maintenance of custom is as mischievous as revolution.

8. Since of themselves things change for the worse, what limit will there be to evil if we do not deliberately change them for the better?

9. The slaves of custom are the laughing-stocks of time.

*Against.*

6. When a thing comes unexpectedly it is less acceptable to the man it benefits and more annoying to the man it injures.

*Innovation.*—Generally, a change for the worse; it is always used in that sense by Shakspeare; though its real meaning is simply a change in an established practice by the introduction of something new. Latin *in, in, novus, new.*

1. *Births.*—That which is born.

3. *Those that first bring.*—Cf. XIV. 35.

6. *Attained by imitation.*—The excellence of the precedent (that which came first) is seldom equalled by imitation (that which is modelled on it later).

*For ill, &c.*—This is not necessarily true, but is only in accordance with Bacon's low view of humanity. He says that man's nature is so depraved that only evil has a lasting influence on him, goodness never being natural to him, but always forced. But both good and evil impulses alike act at first with greater strength, afterwards the impulses become habits, which are far stronger, though working with less violence.

7. *Natural.....Forced.*—Reynolds aptly illustrates the former by the acceleration of a falling body, the latter by the diminishing velocity of an arrow shot from a bow.

9. *Medicine.*—Remedy of any kind.

11. *Of course.*—In its course, by its mere lapse.

12. *Fit.*—Fits in with circumstances.

13. *What.....it.*—Cf. VIII. 10.

16. *Confederate*.—Within themselves have a sort of league binding them to one another.

*New things piece not so well*.—He is referring to *Matthew* ix. 16, "No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up, taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse." Piece not so well—fit in so well with the other parts.

18. *Inconformity*.—Want of agreement with the old.

19. *Admired*.—Wondered at.

21. *Froward retention*.—Obstinate retaining of (old and really effete) custom. See *Essay* XLII. 25—31. "The errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men..... care not (scruple not to) innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences."

22. *Turbulent*.—Disturbing, agitating. Lat. *turba*, a crowd. In his *Controversies of the Church of England*, 1589, Bacon pointed out to the Episcopal Party that their bitter opposition to reform, their dogged retention of custom was 'turbulent.'

24. *Scorn*.—A thing for scorn.

28. *Pairs*.—Impairs, injures. Sh. Gr. § 460. So used by Spenser.

29. *Holpen*.—Old form of helped, retained longer on account of its being more euphonious than the modern form "helped." Cf. XX. 85.

30. *A fortune*.—Good fortune, good luck.

33. *Beware*.—Now usually followed by a Negative (direct or implied). Here simply to take care. Cf. LVII. 22.

35. *Pretendeth*.—Makes a pretext of.

36. *Suspect*.—A thing to be suspected. *Suspect* was used for "a person under suspicion" as we use *convict* for "a convicted person." Cf. LI. 42.

37. *Scripture saith*.—*Jeremiah*, vi. 16 "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein." Bacon quotes this text (in Latin) in the *Adv. of Learning* I. 5. 1. of new scientific discoveries. "Surely the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, "state super vias antiquas, et videte quae sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea." Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way: but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression."

39. *And so to walk*.—For the change to the Infinitive construction see Sh. Gr. § 416.

## XXV. OF DISPATCH.

PUBLISHED 1612—SLIGHTLY ALTERED IN 1625.

OUTLINE.—Dispatch must be measured by the saving of time in the end, not by immediate saving. Dispatch is gained by patience at the beginning, keeping to the point, method in the arrangement of the subject, and in the choice of time. The preparation and execution of the business should be the work of a few, though debate may be by the many; it saves time to prepare business previously in writing.

1. *Affected*.—Desired. See I. 4. An excessive desire for haste.

4. *Crudities*.—Undigested food.

7. *High lift*.—Of the foot in walking or running.

10. *Cure*.—Anxiety.

*For the time*.—So far as time is concerned, i. e., regardless of how the business is done, to get through it in a short time.

11. *False periods*.—Business that appears to be, but is not in reality, finished. A period is a complete circuit, so anything complete.

12. *Because*.—In order that. Cf. VIII. 15.

13. *Contracting*.—Compressing, bringing into as small a compass as possible.

15. *Backward and forward*.—Because at the next meeting the business will have to be done again, on account of the unsatisfactory condition in which it was left at the last sitting.

16. *A wise man*.—Sir Amyas Paulet, Elizabeth's Ambassador in France. Bacon joined his household, when he was 16 years old and spent two years in France, at Paris, Blois, Tours, and Poitiers. Cf. Apophthegms. "Sir Amyas Paulet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, "stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner." The saying was also attributed to Walsingham (XXII. 28). Our proverb "more haste, less speed" embodies the same idea."

*By-word*.—Proverb. The Gk. word for proverb has the same meaning.

*Time is the measure of business*.—So we say "Time is money."

21. *At a dear hand*.—Dearly, expensively. As we say at first hand, or at second hand, so Bacon uses dear hand with the verb buy.

22. *The Spartans.....in coming.*—Added in 1625.

*The Spartans.*—Their slowness was often remarked on. Thucydides I. 70, I. 71, I. 84.

*The Spaniards.*—Bacon in a speech to the Commons in which he quotes this same proverb ascribes their dilatoriness to their pride and says 'the delays of Spain are come into byword through the world.'

23. *Mi venga.*—Muerte and de are Spanish. The rest is Italian. In his speech Bacon calls it 'the proverb of Italy.'

30. *Waits upon his memory.*—While he waits for his memory to bring back the subject he was speaking upon, when your interruptions changed the current of his thoughts.

32. *Moderator.*—Questioner, examiner. This word is still used at Cambridge to denote an examiner, and at Oxford one of the examinations is called Moderations. See note on *Disputations*, XVII. 24. The actors were those who were undergoing examination; performing their "Acts" or exercises before taking their degree. Sometimes the witness' digressions are less tedious than the interpositions of the questioner.

34. *Iterations.*—Repetitions, the form now generally used is re-iterations.

37. *Curious.*—Elaborated, worked out with great care. Cf. IX. 11.

39. *Passages.*—Irrelevant matter introduced between the various parts of a speech to make the transition smooth and elegant. It may mean fine sentences personal or irrelevant.

*Excusations.*—Excuses, apologies.

42. *Bravery.*—Ostentation.

*Material, &c.*—Beware of coming too quickly to the point or matter.

43. *Preoccupation.*—i. e., prejudice. Not as we use it of a man thinking of something else.

45. *Unguent.*—Ointment. Lat. *unguere*, to anoint.

46. *Order.....is.*—Notice the three-fold subject with a singular verb, since practically it contains one idea—method.

47. *So as.*—Provided that. Cf. XVIII. 5.

48. *Subtle.*—Intricate, finely drawn. Lat. *subtilis*, woven fine.

51. *Unseasonable motion*.—The bringing forward of some motion or business at an unsuitable time.

53. *Perfection*.—Accomplishment, execution. A Latinism.

56. *Somewhat conceived in writing*.—A plan or scheme drawn up beforehand, notes on paper, as to the method of procedure.

58. *Pregnant of direction*.—Suggestive of another method of procedure.

59. *Generative*.—Fertilising. In his *Natural History* Bacon speaks of the use of both ashes and dust spread upon the ground, as we use manures.

*Ashes*.—The result of destruction, corresponding to a rejected resolution.

60. *Dust*.—Is indefinite, shapeless and unlimited.

#### XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE.

PUBLISHED 1612—SLIGHTLY ALTERED 1625.

OUTLINE.—Some people have many devices for trying to appear wiser than they really are, such as reserve, affected mystery, peremptoriness, pretended disdain, making subtle distinctions and objecting to what is said by others.

Such people should never be chosen for employment, for a fool would be a better servant.

It is said that in this Essay Bacon has in view Sir Henry Hobart who was Attorney-General when Bacon was Solicitor-General.

4. *Between man and man*.—As to individuals, whatever may be said as to whole nations, there are such differences.

*The apostle*.—Paul. 2 *Timothy* III. 5. "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."

6. *There are, &c.*—There are those who, or there are some men who.

*In point of*.—As regards.

7. *Sufficiency*.—We now use the similar words ability, competence.

*Magno, &c.*—Terence *Heaut.* III. 5. 8.

9. *Fit for a satire*.—Cf. XII. 50.

10. *Judgment*.—Penetration, discernment.

*Formalists*.—People who affected what they did not possess, and tried to impose on others. For the meaning of *form* see note on line 4.

11. *Prospectives*.—Or perspectives (1612) optical instruments like our stereoscopes, which give to pictures a solid appearance, as they would really appear in nature. Superficies, the surface, from Lat. *super*, above, *facies*, face.

12. *So.....as*.—III. 99.

17. *That*.—For omission of Relative, cf. VI. 40.

*That which.....well speak*.—When they speak of any thing that they do not understand, or know about, they do it with an air or manner that implies that there is some good reason why they should not say all what they know of the subject.

21. *Respondes, &c.*—Cicero, *In Pisonem*, VI.

25. *To bear it*.—To carry it off. For the use of *it*, cf. XIX. 120.

27. *By admittance*.—By admission, others permitting them. *Make good*.—Prove.

28. *Whatever.....it*.—Cf. VIII. 10.

29. *Impertinent or curious*.—Beside the point, not pertaining to the point, or over-elaborate.

31. *Difference*.—Distinction which they draw between two things.

32. *Blanch the matter*.—Gloss over, avoid the real point. See note on XX. 124.

*Aulus Gellius*.—A Latin Grammarian who lived in the middle of Century I, A. D. He wrote a work called 'Noctes Atticæ' because it was composed in a country-house near Athens during the long winter nights. These words (except the first three) are again quoted by Bacon in *Adv. of Learning* I. 4, 6, where he rightly says they were written of Seneca. They are not from Gellius, however but Quintilian (X. 1. 130), though the *delirum hominem* which is not Quintilian's better represents what Gellius says of Seneca than what Quintilian does.

35. *Of which kind*.—Of which description of men.

36. *Bringeth in Prodicus*.—A celebrated sophist who lived in the time of the Peloponesian war. He travelled through Greece, delivering lectures for money. The substance of one of his lectures was preserved by Xenophon in the fable of "The choice of Hercules." He paid great attention to the correct use of words. Plato's *Protagoras* was one of Plato's dialogues in which he gives a vivid picture of the teaching of Protagoras, (a celebrated Athenian sophist, the first to call



himself by that name) who was especially celebrated for his rhetorical skill. The reference is to Plato's *Protogoras*, XXIII.

39. *Find ease to be.*—Find ease in being; find it easier to deny the statements made by others, than to advance any of their own. Sh. Gr. § 356.

40. *Affect a credit.*—Try to gain credit in objecting.

42. *False point of wisdom.*—Which artful device (of always objecting) prevents any business being done.

44. *Inward.*—Secret, hidden; one who really lives by begging, but endeavours to hide the fact, an impostor—Note the use of "their" after "is" and "hath."

47. *Sufficiency.*—Ability, capacity.

*Seeming wise men.*—This last paragraph was added in 1625.

*Shift to get opinion.*—Manage to gain a reputation.

49. *You were better.*—Originally an Impersonal construction. (For) you (it) were better. Sh. Gr. § 352. But in Bacon's time this origin was lost sight of. Cf. XXVII. 159.

50. *Aburd.*—See VI. 70.

*Formal.*—Superficial. Cf. Formalists, line 10.

#### XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

In the Edition of 1612, a short Essay on Friendship was contained. But it was re-written for the Edition of 1625, at the repeated requests in 1622 and 1623 of one of Bacon's best friends, Mr. Toby Matthew, who seems to have pointed out the richness of the subject, especially in the light of Cicero's 'Dialogue on Friendship' (*de Amicitia*), from which indeed Bacon seems to have borrowed the ideas with which the Essay concludes.

Mr. Matthew was the son of the Archbishop of York but while travelling on the Continent (1607) became a Roman Catholic. On his return he was imprisoned and exiled for refusing the oath of Supremacy. Bacon's friendship for him continued however. He edited the Italian translation of the 1612 Essays, and to him Bacon confided his literary plans and submitted many of his books.

OUTLINE.—A man, to delight in solitude, except when he seeks it for religious contemplation, must have something of the beast in him, and solitude consists not only in the absence of fellowmen, but in that of friends. A principal fruit of friendship is the unburdening of the heart; kings and great

men have eagerly desired this, even to their own injury and ruin. To be friendless is to become a cannibal, a man eating his own heart. Another fruit is a clearing of the understanding, by giving expression to a man's thoughts, and by friendly counsel. A third fruit is the aid a man receives in all matters especially such as he cannot undertake for himself, so that in a friend he acquires another and better self.

#### ANTITHETA ON FRIENDSHIP.

##### *For.*

1. Friendship does the same things for us as fortitude, but more pleasantly.

2. Friendship is the sweet seasoning to all blessings.

3. The worst solitude is to have no true friendships.

4. It is the fitting punishment of perfidy to be deprived of friends.

1. *Him that spake it.*—Aristotle, *Politics* I. 1. "He that cannot associate with others, or by reason of self-sufficing powers has no need to, is no part of a state; wherefore such a man is either a beast or a god." In his *Ethics* (X. 7), Aristotle prefers the contemplative to the active life—a sentiment Bacon condemns in *Adv. of Learning* II, 20, 8. Here Bacon misrepresents Aristotle, who so far as 'aversation towards society' is concerned would have seen nothing divine. In the immediate context he had laid down that 'man is a social (citizenly) animal.'

5. *Aversion.*—Aversion, dislike.

7. *That it should have.*—We should say *that it has*, but the use of *should*, like the Subjunctive in Latin and Greek marks that the sentence is not the author's but another's. *Sh. Gr.* § 323.

9. *Sequester.*—Properly to set apart. We now only use the Participle—as in *a sequestered vale*.

10. *Conversation.*—Manner of life—so, constantly in the New Testament of 1611.

*Falsely, feignedly.*—Not the men themselves, but the traditions about them were false and feigned.

##### *Against.*

1. He who links himself in close friendships imposes additional obligations on himself.

2. It is the mark of a weak mind to go shares in fortune.

11. *Epimenides the Candiian*.—A celebrated poet and prophet of Crete, a contemporary of Solon. It is said that while tending his sheep, he went into a cave to shelter from the heat of the sun, and fell into a sleep, which sleep lasted for 57 years. Going to Athens B. C. 596 to purify it from a plague, he obtained great influence over the people by his simple and unselfish character. St. Paul quotes from his works, *Titus* 1, 12, in describing the character of the Cretans. Candia is the modern name of Crete.

12. *Numa the Roman*.—Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, renowned for his wisdom and piety, his chief care being the establishment of religion among his subjects. He was said to have received instruction from the nymph Egeria, who visited him in a cave near Rome.

*Empedocles the Sicilian*.—A philosopher of Agrigentum, flourished about 444 B. C. He was a poet, and skilled in medicine. He is said to have thrown himself into the crater of Mount Etna, so that by his sudden disappearance he might be taken for a god, but the delusion was dispelled by the throwing up of one of his sandals by the volcano.

13. *Apollonius of Tyana*.—See XIX. 35.

14. *Hermita*.—Properly eremite, a dweller in the desert. In Century IV. A. D. Egypt and other countries abounded in Christian hermits, under a great wave of ascetic feeling.

*Fathers*.—See I. 30.

17. *Tinkling cymbal, &c.*—1 *Cor.* XIII. 1. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

18. *Adage*.—Copied by Bacon into his common-place book from Erasmus' collection of Latin Adages. But what was spoken of the individual Bacon extends to the class. The adage runs 'Strabo in the Sixteenth book of his Geography says that Seleucia on the Tigris was larger than Babylon, but was throughout its great part deserted, and that very appropriately might be applied to it what the comic poet had said about the Arcadian city, Megalopolis, (the Great City)—'The Great City is a great solitude—alluding to its name.'

*Meeteth with it*.—Hits the point. For the indefinite *it* cf. XIX. 120.

23. *Mere*.—Absolute, complete. Cf. III. 69. *Othello*, II. 2. 3 'the mere perdition of the Turkish fleet.'

25. *Whosoerer.....he*.—We now should omit the *he*.

27. *Taketh it of*.—Gets it from.  
*Humanity*.—Human nature.
30. *Induce*.—Bring on.
33. *Sarza*.—Sarsaparilla. From the Spanish, *zarza*, a bramble, *parilla*, a trained vine. It is a Mexican plant, and a medicine is prepared from the root.  
*Flour*.—Flour and flower are different spellings of the same word; it meant the best part of anything, as we speak of the "flower of the flock." Thus flour is the finest part of the meal.
34. *Castoreum*.—A substance obtained from the beaver, formerly used in medicine, now chiefly as a perfume.
35. *Receipt*.—Or recipe, prescription.
38. *Civil shrift*.—Civil—the adjective of citizen—was first used as opposed to military, then to any profession, here as opposed to clerical. Shrift was confession to a priest.
- 41.—*So.....as*.—See III. 99 n.
43. *In regard of*.—By reason of.
47. *Sorteth to inconvenience*.—Results in trouble.
49. *Privadoes*.—Intimate friends, a Spanish word. In the *History of King Henry VII*, the same word is used "she (i. e., Lady Margaret of Burgundy) sent him (Perkin Warbeck) unknown into Portugal with the Lady Brampton, an English Lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time, with some privado of her own, to have an eye upon him, and there he was to remain, and to expect her farther direction." With this whole passage cf. LV. 50, &c.
50. *Grace or conversation*.—A matter of conferring a favour or desire for intercourse.
51. *Participes curarum*.—Tiberius gave this title to Sejanus. *It is that which tieth the knot*.—It is this participation in their cares that binds them together.
60. *Lucius Sylla*.—L. Cornelius Sulla, b. c. 138—78, the cruel dictator of Rome. Pompey was one of the most successful generals of Sulla who bestowed on him the surname of *Magnus*.  
*Pompey*.—See XXIII. 45 n. Bacon has confused two stories from 'Plutarch's Life of Pompey.' It was on Sulla's refusal of a triumph to Pompey that he turned upon him as related by Bacon. It was later that Pompey secured the consulship for Lepidus against Sulla's will.

62. *That.....That.*—We should now say *such a.....that* but the construction of the text is still common in North England.

62. *Over-match.*—More than a match for him.

63. *Pursuit.*—Aim, intention shown in action. Here, perhaps canvassing.

66. *For that more men, &c.*—“All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly again how men did honour the rising, and the setting of the sun.”—*North's PLUTARCH.* For *for that* cf. XVI. 57.

68. *Decimus Brutus.*—The friend and heir of Julius Cæsar, who however conspired against him. Not to be confused with the famous M. Brutus, the hero of Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar*. After Cæsar's death he was given the province of Cisalpine Gaul where Antony besieged him in Mutina. Finally his troops deserted him and put him to death, B. C. 43.

*That interest as*—Such influence that, XIV. 22.

69. *His nephew.*—Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

73. *Calpurnia.*—Calpurnia was Cæsar's wife, who implored Cæsar, on account of dreams that she had had, not to venture out on the day that he was murdered, but Brutus over-ruled him and drew him forth. Shakspeare calls him Decius Brutus, and in a vivid scene (Act. II. 2. 58—108) shows him drawing Cæsar out to his doom.

74. *By the arm.*—“Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand and brought him out of his house.”—*North's Plutarch.*

76. *So.....as.*—III. 99.

77. *Antonius.*—Mark Antony. See X. 10.

*Verbatim*—Word by word.

78. *Cicero's Philippics*—See XXIII. 44. The Philippics—speeches against Antony—were so called in imitation of Demosthenes' Philippics—speeches against Philip of Macedon, the enemy of his country.

79. *Agrippa.*—A celebrated Roman general; he studied with Augustus, when they were both young, at Apollonia. He took an active part in the wars which made Augustus Emperor, commanding the fleet at the battle of Actium. (B. C. 31).

*Benefica.*—*Cicero Philippics*, XIII. 11. Antony and Cicero treat it however simply as a term of abuse.

80. *That.....as.*—XIV. 22 n.

81. *Mæcenas*.—One of the chief friends and ministers of Augustus, though after many years of confidence, a coolness sprang up between them, and Mæcenas retired from public life. He is, however, chiefly celebrated as the patron of Virgil and Horace.

82. *Julia*.—The dissolute daughter of Augustus, who was married in turn to Marcellus her cousin, to Agrippa, and to Tiberius.

85. *Tiberius Cæsar*.—See II. 43.

87. *Hæc pro amicitia, &c.*—Tacitus *Annals*, IV. 40. Sejanus was the commander of the Prætorian Guards, and obtained great influence over Tiberius, so that from 23 A. D. to 31 he completely governed him. He schemed to secure the Empire for himself, but Tiberius suddenly had him seized, tried, and put to death, A. D. 31. See XXXVI. 28. Ben Jonson wrote a play *Sejanus*, dealing with his greatness and sudden fall.

90. *An altar*.—Tacitus *Annals*, IV. 40.

*In respect of*.—In consideration of.

92. *Septimius Severus*.—See II. 50 n.

94. *Plautianus*.—The prefect of the Prætorian Guard, finally reluctantly put to death by Severus. See Gibbon, Ch. V.

*Maintain*.—See XVI. 79.

95. *Write.....by these words*.—We now omit the Preposition.

98. *Trajan and Marcus Aurelius*.—Of Trajan Bacon says in *Adv. of Learning* "Trajan.....was not learned; but if we will hearken to the speech of our Saviour, that saith, "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall have a prophet's reward," he deserveth to be placed amongst the most learned princes: for there was not a greater admirer of learning, or benefactor of learning.....On the other side, how much Trajan's virtue and government was admired and renowned, surely no testimony of grave and faithful history doth more lively set forth, than that legend tale of Gregorius Magnus, bishop of Rome, who was noted for the extreme envy he bore towards all heathen excellency, and yet he is reported, out of the love and estimation of Trajan's moral virtues, to have made unto God passionate and fervent prayers for the delivery of his soul out of hell; and to have obtained it, with a caveat, that he should make no more such petitions." Of Marcus Aurelius:—"As he excelled

all the rest in learning, so he excelled them likewise in perfection of all royal virtues, and the virtue of this prince ..... made the name of Antoninus (his adoptive name) so sacred in the world ..... that they would have had it as a perpetual addition in all the Emperors' style." Trajan ruled 98—117 A. D. He extended the Empire to its widest limits. Gibbon often refers to him as the greatest Emperor. Aurelius 161—180 A. D. was the famous Stoic Emperor—the model of non-Christian virtue.

104. *Half-piece*.—Piece is often used for "work of art," as in *The Winter's Tale*, V. 3. 36, "Does not the stone, (*i. e.*, the statue of Hermione) rebuke me for being more stone than it? O, royal piece!" So half-piece may mean an unfinished picture or statue; wanting the other half to complete it; or it may refer to the practice of cutting coins in two, so that a half-penny was often literally half a penny; small coins being scarce.

108. *Comineus*.—Philip de Comines 1445—1509, historian. He served under Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and under Louis XI. of France. His works which had been translated into English in 1596 give a very graphic description of the times in which he lived,—the days of Quentin Durward.

109. *Charles the Hardy*.—In French *hardi* is bold. The well-known Duke of Burgundy (1467—1477) whose aim it was to form his dominions into a kingdom. He was thwarted by the policy of Louis XI. of France and by the resistance of the Swiss, in attempting to subdue whom he was slain in the Battle of Nancy. (See Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*).

112. *Closeness*.—Secrecy, reserve. Comines refers to his 'hiding himself or holding himself in solitude' after his first defeats by the Swiss.

113. *Perish*.—Destroy. Cf. *Henry VI.* Pt. 2. III. 2. 100. 'Thy flinty heart ..... would perish Margaret.' The verb is rarely used in the transitive as here.

114. *Mought*.—See *Corrigenda*. Cf. XV. 192. XXII. 31.

115. *Louis the Eleventh*.—King of France 1461—1483, proverbial for his intrigues. He succeeded in making the French monarchy supreme over the great nobles, by annexing many provinces to the Crown.

117. *Parable*.—A metaphor, saying, strictly a comparison.

*Pythagoras*.—A celebrated Greek Philosopher flourished B. C. 540—510. He formed a select brotherhood of 300 mem-

bers for the purpose of cultivating the religious and ascetic observances enjoined by their master, and of studying his religious and philosophical theories. But the populace rose against them, set fire to the building where they met, and Pythagoras was believed to have perished in the flames. He believed in the transmigration of souls. *Euclid* I. 47 is said to have been due to him. Plutarch attributes this saying to him; other writers ascribe a different origin to it.

120. *Cannibals*.—Said to be a corruption of Caribs—the cannibal, West Indian natives.

121. *Admirable*.—Wonderful.

125. *But he*.—*Sb. Gr.* § 123.

128. *Alchymists*.—A word borrowed from the Saracens, *al* being the Arabic article. But the Saracens had themselves borrowed the rest of the word from the Greek *chymia*, the mixing art.

*Use*.—XXII. 24.

130. *Still*.—Always. IX. 9.

131. *Praying in aid*.—Calling on for support—a legal phrase. *Antony and Cleopatra* V. 2. 27. ‘A conqueror that will pray in aid.’ The Philosopher’s stone was an imaginary substance largely sought after by the Alchemists, as they imagined that with its aid, not only all the baser metals could be turned into gold, but all bodily ailments could be cured and life indefinitely prolonged.

133. *Bodies*.—Substances of all sorts.

134. *Natural action*.—Bacon implies that such is joy.

135. *Violent impression*.—Such as grief. For the two phrases cf. *natural and forced motions*, XXIV. 718—a passage scarcely consistent with this.

138. *Affections*.—The emotional side of our nature, the feelings.

*From storm*.—After, a classicism.

145. *Clarify*.—Become clear—now used Transitively.

*Break up*.—Instead of forming a confused mass separate into their proper parts. “Seems to be a metaphor from freezing.”—(ABBOTT).

146. *Tosseth*.—Cf. XX. 13.

147. *Orderly*.—Adverb. Cf. I. 20. V. 19.



149. *Than himself*.—Wiser than his former self, or than he could be by himself without the aid and counsel of a friend.

151. *Cloth of Arras*.—Cloth of Arras was a kind of curtain or tapestry made at Arras in N. E. France—usually shortened to arras, e. g., *Hamlet*, II. 4. 'Stage Direction. Polonius hides himself behind the arras.' So Harrison's Elizabethan *England* (Camelot Ed.) p. 118. 'In certain noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras.' See XXVI. 49. n.

152. *In figure*.—That is, when the cloth is spread out all the figures and design can be seen distinctly and completely. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II. 2. 26. 'The arras figures.' Bacon follows the anachronism in NORTH's *Plutarch* which represents Themistocles as speaking of cloth of Arras, which was not made till the Middle Ages. What he did say was "a man's discourse is like a rich Persian carpet, the beautiful figures and patterns of which can only be shown by spreading and extending it out; when it is contracted and folded up they are obscure and lost."—CLOUGH'S *Plutarch*. As so frequently, Bacon applies the illustration differently from its inventor. Themistocles was begging for time to learn Persian that he might explain his plans himself and not through an interpreter. In his *Apophtegms* Bacon follows Plutarch's story more closely. 'Themistocles said of speech: that it was like Arras that, spread abroad, shows fair images, but contracted is but like packs.

153. *They lie*.—*They* properly refers to *speech*. Its Plural form refers to the sentiments which the speech would in its complete configuration convey.

155. *Restrained*.—Restricted. .

159. *A man were better, &c.*—It is better for a man to speak his thoughts out if only to a picture or statue, and to clear them by expression. For the construction cf. XXVI. 49.

160. *Relates himself*.—Bring himself into relations with.

*Statua*.—Latin form of statue—used in Bacon's time. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. 2. 192. 'Even at the base of Pompey's statua.'

161. *Smother*.—Stifle in silence like a fire heaped over so that it smokes thickly without giving light or heat. Cf. the North English Proverb 'Out of the smoke into the smother.'

164. *Vulgar*.—Common, ordinary. See note on "Vulgar natives," Essay XXIX. 195.

165. *Heraclitus*.—A Philosopher of the Ionian school, lived at Ephesus about B. C. 500. He was named "the Weeping

Philosopher," from the melancholy view he took of life. He considered fire to be the chief element of creation.

166. *Dry light, &c.*—Bacon gives a different rendering of this saying in *Adv. of Learning* I. I. 3 "for then knowledge is no more *Lumen siccum* (dry light) whereof Heraclitus the profound said "*Lumen siccum optima anima*;" (dry light is the best soul) but it becometh "*Lumen madidum*" or "*maceratum*," (moist or softened light) being infused in the humours of the affections." In the *Apophthegms* he explains it:—

"Heraclitus the obscure said; The dry light is the best soul: meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not drenched, or, as it were, blooded by the affections." The enigma seem originally to have been 'The dry soul is the wisest and best.' *Light* has crept into it by a confusion of *aué*, dry, and *augé*, light. The meaning would be the soul which is not affected by emotion will act most wisely and virtuously.

167. *That a man.*—For *that which*.

173. *There is no such flatterer, &c.*—See LIII. 20, "the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self" and X. 28, "the arch-flatterer with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self."

176. *Manners.*—Morals. A Latinism.

177. *For the first.*—Cf. VI. 41. .

180. *Some time.*—We now use *sometimes* in this sense, keeping *some time* for the Future.

*Corrosive.*—Fretting or vexing. Lat. *con, rodo*, to gnaw.

181. *F'lat.*—Dull.

182. *Unproper.*—See *Corrigenda*. Not fitting for, not appropriate to.

183. *Best to work, &c.*—Most effective and most palatable.

188. *St. James saith.*—*James* i. 23—24. "He is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass, for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was."

189. *Presently.*—At once.

190. *Favour.*—Face, as often in Shakspeare.

192. *A Gamester.*—Here, one who is playing a game. It usually means a gambler. We still say "an onlooker sees

most of the game." Cf., XLVIII. 48. In *Adv. of Learning* II. 21. 7, Bacon makes a reservation—"For although sometimes a looker-on may see more than a gamester.....yet there is small doubt but that men can write best and most really and materially in their own professions."

193. *A man in anger.....letters*.—See Essay XXXVIII. 15, "like to him that would say over the four-and-twenty letters when he was angry." Plutarch in his *Morals* tells the story that an aged philosopher, Athenodorus, advised Cæsar to follow this practice. *J* and *U* were not used in Elizabeth's time, *I* and *V* doing duty for them, so that the alphabet would be 24, instead of 26, letters as now. But *U* was practically in use though not recognised authoritatively, in James I's time.

195. *Upon a rest*.—Muskets were at that time fixed upon a stand, called a rest, to be fired. This rest was discarded during the Civil Wars, so that this "fond and high imagination" proved to be a sober fact in about 30 years from the time that Bacon wrote.

*Fond*.—Foolish. See *Skeat*.

196. *High*.—Presumptuous. XIX. 139.

*To think himself all in all*.—Thinking himself all in all—explaining how he comes to trust his own opinion against general experience. For the construction cf. Sh. Gr. § 356. There is no idea of purpose. The Infinitive is used to attach the new conception to the other indefinitely without any clear idea of its grammatical or logical relation to it.

*But when all is done*.—As we still say 'when all is said and done,' i. e., when all that can be urged against the statement has been urged.

205. *Bowed*.—Bent. Now almost confined to legs curving outward. Distinguished by pronunciation from the p. p. of bow.

*Crooked*.—Cf. XXIII. 15.

209. *Would call a physician*.—See XXX. 56. "Forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed for his faculty."

216. *Dasheth upon*.—The same idea as in *incurs*, runs upon—but more emphasized.

217. *Rest not*.—Rely not.

222. *Pomegranate*.—The word itself recalls the characteristic to which Bacon alludes. It is derived from the Latin *pomum*, an apple, and *granum*, a seed.

224. *To life*.—To the life, vividly. The *to* is equivalent to *up to*.

225. *Cast*.—To reckon up; as we say “cast up an account.”

227. *A sparing speech*.—They spared to say all they might have done, they could have said more.

228. *A friend is another himself*.—Aristotle and other philosophers have this saying.

*For that*.—*For* means because, here: Cf. XVI. 57.

229. *Have their time*.—Their appointed time.

230. *In desire*.—Before accomplishing that which they desire. Cf. *Luke* x. 24. ‘Many prophets and kings have desired to see the things which ye see and have not seen them.’ Originally *desire* implied that the wish was beyond attainment.

231. *Bestowing*.—Settling in life, providing for. The Latin translation renders it *marrying*.

232. *Rest secure*.—Remain without anxiety.

234. *For his desires*.—For that which he desires, *i. e.*, he has his own life time and that of his friend in which to accomplish that that he wishes.

236. *Offices*.—Duties, its original meaning

238. *How many things, &c.*—See LIII. 45. “To praise a man’s self cannot be decent.”

241. *Brook*.—Endure. It originally meant *enjoy*.

243. *Blushing*.—Immodest. It seems better to treat this as straining the meaning of the word somewhat than as a case of transferred epithet.

244. *A man’s person*.—The part he bears in the drama of life. The Latin *persona* meant an actor’s mask, then the character signified by that mask.

*Proper*.—Peculiar to himself, personal.

247. *Upon terms*.—*i. e.*, only under conditions, as opposed to the informal and unrestrained intercourse of friendship.

248. *Sorteth*.—Suits, agrees with. VI. 5.

251. *Quit the stage*.—Leave the matter alone.

#### XXVIII. OF EXPENSE.

First published in 1597; enlarged under the title of *Of Expences* in 1612, and again enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Riches are to be used, on ordinary occasions with care and prudence, on extraordinary occasions, liberally. In a general way only a fixed proportion of income should be

spent and personal inspection made into the expenses. If such inspection be not made, the servants should be carefully chosen and frequently changed, and fixed sums should be allotted to the various departments; any extravagance on one side should be counteracted on another. In clearing off debts too great haste should be avoided, but also too much delay. Small expenses should not be despised, and care should be taken before commencing expenses that are likely to be permanent.

1. *Spending for honour.*—Is for honour.

3. *Voluntary undoing.*—Sacrificing one's self or one's money. This may be necessary to obtain the kingdom of heaven (cf. *Luke* XVIII. 22). Bacon adds that our country may require it of us. He and his brother Antony both sacrificed their money, running into debt to procure information that was of great value to Elizabeth, Antony having been abroad, and having foreign connections and knowledge of foreign politics. Bacon had, of course, in view the obtaining of a good place under Government.

5. *Expense.*—Expenditure.

*Limited.*—Fixed, measured, appointed—as often in Tudor English, not necessarily restricted. Cf. *Macbeth* II. 3. 51:—

I'll make so bold to call  
For 'tis my limited service.

A limit was properly a fixed boundary. Usually the idea of boundary predominates—but here that of fixity.

6. *Governed with such regard as.*—Looked after so that it is kept within his income. For *as* cf. VIII. 49.

7. *Not subject.....servants.*—Bacon did not practise what he preached. His servants were under no control. See note on Essay XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.

8. *Ordered to the best show.*—Regulated so as to appear to the very best advantage, so that one is thought to be richer than he really is. Cf. Essay XXXII. 37, where Bacon evidently considers it a benefit to be considered wiser than one really is:—"If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not."

10. *But of even hand.*—Keep his accounts equally balanced, so that his income just covers his expenses. Cf. IX. 27.

11. *Be.....to.*—A somewhat unusual construction, probably a confusion of *be* the half and *amount* to the half.

12. *Baseness*.—Degradation, lowering of one's self.

14. *Not upon negligence*.—Not upon the ground of negligence.

*Doubling to*.—Thinking they possibly may.

15. *Respect, &c.*—In case, &c.

*Broken*.—Fearing lest they should find that they have spent more than they possess.

18. *Choose*.—To choose, infinitive after *had need*.

19. *More timorous, &c.*—Not knowing the character of their new master, they are at first afraid to venture on peculations, &c., so Bacon advises a frequent change before they have had time to wrong their master much.

21. *Certainties*.—To appoint a certain fixed sum to each separate part of the establishment. The Latin translation includes his income also among what is to be fixed—but this is doubtful.

22. *Plentiful*.—Layish.

*Again*.—On the other hand.

24. *In the hall*.—Perhaps the servants' hall, but perhaps the great Hall where master and servants all ate together. The objection to the latter is that it seems simply to repeat the idea of diet.

26. *Clearing . . . . . estate*.—Freeing an estate from mortgages.

*May as well*.—Not our modern English phrase. But *can as much*.

29. *As interest*.—Interest on the money borrowed on mortgage. "Hasty selling" would often result in selling at a great loss, by forcing property on to the market when there was no demand for it. Cf. XLI. 58.

*Disadvantageable*.—Disadvantageous.

31. *Straits*.—Difficulties, (lit. in narrow ways). From Latin *strictus* pp. of *stringere*, to tighten, to draw together. Cf. strait-laced, narrow, rigid in opinion, &c.

33. *Gaineth upon his mind*.—Gains advantage over his nature. On the other hand, cf. XXXVIII. 19 'But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best.'

34. *Who*.—For omission of the antecedent cf. Sh. Gr. § 251 and *Oth.* III. 3. 157. 'Who steals my purse steals trash.'

*Who.*—In the Edition of 1597 *He that.*

*A state.*—Estate.

37. *Which.....that.*—Evidently there is no difference in their use.

38. *Return not.*—Do not occur at stated intervals, are not recurrent. For example, the coming of age of the heir of the estate.

## XXIX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

FOR PUBLICATION SEE INTRODUCTION.

OUTLINE.—Of statesmen, many are incompetent, some can manage affairs, and some can make a small state great.

The true greatness of a state does not consist in its size nor in its towns, or arsenals, nor in the size of the army, &c., but in the mettle and warlike character of the people.

To encourage the warlike spirit, the people should not be overtaxed. The nobility and gentry should not be allowed to increase too fast, so as to drive out the yeomanry, but the nobility should be encouraged to maintain retainers. Naturalisation should be rendered easy, so as to imitate Rome, taking warning from Sparta and Spain. As slavery is abolished, sedentary and indoor arts should be left to foreigners, and the nation trained to outdoor work, and above all to study and love war, keenly alive to every just cause for war, and constantly exercised in war. The mastery of the sea is a great advantage, naval battles often deciding a war.

Encouragement should be given to soldiers by honours particularly designed for them—a point in which antiquity excelled to-day. By considering such points princes may add to the greatness of their kingdoms, and sow the seed of further greatness in the future.

INTRODUCTION.—The first draft of this Essay appears in the form of a paper which Bacon began in 1608 but did not complete on 'The True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain.' This treatise was a political tract having its origin in the political conditions of the time. Wearied with their long war, Spain and the United Provinces (the present Holland) had commenced negotiations for peace. Holland asked that France and England would guarantee her independence and support her against Spain in case of failure or breach of the treaty. Irritated by the Dutch demands and by disputes as

to the amount Holland owed him, James at first showed signs of refusing and even talked of dividing the Provinces with France. Eventually however he gave the desired guarantee. At the same time Spain was negotiating with him for an alliance, which policy Salisbury actively encouraged. Bacon had just been made Solicitor-General and no doubt saw in the conditions of the time a hopeful chance of rising higher, and supplanting Salisbury, the too successful cousin whom he never ceased to regard with jealousy.

The Commons and country had no goodwill to Spain. James was vacillating. So, flattering James by improving upon his idea of annexing part of Holland, and treating the union of Holland to England, which Elizabeth had wisely declined as impracticable, as easily capable of realisation under James, Bacon set himself by speech and pen to promote war with Spain and to create in the mind of the King and Commons visions of a great Protestant Empire in the North-West of which England should be head. In the notes he entered in his diary in 1608 as to the policy he should follow he writes 'Persuade the King in glory, 'Aurea condet secula,' [He shall found a golden age.] 'Succeed Salisbury and amuse the King and Prince with pastime and glory.' Of the means to his ends 'the fairest, without disorder or peril, is the general persuading to king and people, and course of infusing everywhere the foundation in this isle of a Monarchy in the West, as an apt seat, state, people for it; so civilising Ireland, further colonising the wilds of Scotland, annexing the Low Countries.'

In 1609 Holland and Spain made a twelve years' truce which England and France guaranteed, so that the policy advocated by Bacon ceased for the time to be possible. It may be noted that anxiety for her possessions in both the Indies now that Holland was supreme at sea, perhaps more than any other cause, led Spain to desire peace, though under Spinola her forces were successfully encroaching on the boundary-fortresses of the United Provinces.

Accordingly Bacon recast his paper and published it in 1612 among his Essays with a more general application under the title 'Of the greatness of Kingdoms' or as the Latin more appropriately renders it 'Of the extension of an Empire's Territories.' By this time Salisbury was dead, but his policy of peace was continued by James. Accordingly Bacon now found his account in abandoning his militant views. Thus in his 'Advice to Sir George Villiers' the King's favourite, in 1616 he writes 'For matter of war either by land or sea,



your Gracions Master (is) so settled in his judgment for peace as he hath chosen for his motto that part of our Saviour's beatitudes, Blessed are the peacemakers. It is a happiness to this country to be in this blessed condition.'

In 1622 Bacon was in disgrace but was still hopeful of being recalled to office. The Thirty Years' War had broken out, and Protestant Europe was looking to James to espouse his son-in-law's cause with energy. Bacon throughout was in favour of a vigorous policy. While still a minister he had urged the King, though in vain, to put himself at the head of the Protestant League. Towards the end of 1622 it seemed as if he would do so. Buckingham for a time advocated war, the people were wildly eager to fight, and the disasters of the Protestant cause on the Continent seemed to demand it. It was at this crisis that Bacon recast his Essay once more, had it translated into Latin—it is said by the famous Hobbes—and published it in its Latin form in his '*De Augmentis Scientiarum*.'

The next year Prince Charles and Buckingham visited Madrid to secure the Spanish Match and returned full of anger at the insult they had received. Under their influence war with Spain and Austria was at once proclaimed to the unbounded joy of the English nation. Not unnaturally Bacon took advantage of this feeling to reproduce what he had written in this Essay. To it he gave the title '*Of the True Greatness of Kingdom, and Estates*,' by *True* denoting greatness in expansive force as opposed to mere size or numbers. But he himself in a 'dry light,' free from temporary political considerations, would have been the first to see that the true greatness of kingdoms depends on other qualities besides fighting qualities. The Essay may very well have been a bid for office. Not long before, he had written to Prince Charles encouraging him in his war policy, and this Essay, so suited to support the plans of Charles and Buckingham, along with the dedication of the whole volume of Essays to Buckingham, is best understood in this light.

*Estates*.—States; so throughout the Essay.

*Themistocles*.—The famous Athenian statesman and general, (B. C. 514—449).

This tale is told by Plutarch, who brings out that it was in defence of himself against the mockery of some 'men of culture' at his ignorance of 'humanity,' that Themistocles made this boast. Bacon gives it again in *Adv. of Learning* I. 3. 8. 'That which was said of Themistocles, arrogantly and uncivilly, being applied to himself out of his own mouth; but, being

applied to the general state of this question, pertinently and justly; when being invited to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great State."

3. *Censure*.—Opinion, judgment, its meaning in Latin.

4. *At large*.—Generally.

6. *Holpen a little with a metaphor*.—In his application of them, Bacon turns fiddling into a metaphor, and the words thus helped out are used to describe two kinds of politicians. For the form *holpen*, cf. XX. 85.

12. *Cunningly*.—Skilfully. Cf. I *Samuel*. xvi. 16, 'a cunning player on the harp.'

*Fiddle*.—For the explanation of the Metaphor see line 18. It is now colloquially used of a man who busies himself with trifles, but the idea of pleasing others is not retained.

16. *Arts and shifts*.—Devices and expedients practised merely to curry favour. Cf. XXII. 8.

19. *Graceful to themselves only*.—Giving grace to themselves only, not to their state.

22. *Negotiis pares*.—Cf. LV. 57. The phrase literally means 'equal to (the discharge of) business,' so it denotes that so long as they have to do with routine they are excellent, but that they have no originality. Elsewhere he puts Salisbury in this class.

23. *Manage*.—A metaphor from horsemanship, meaning to rein in. See Essay VI. 27. "They were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn."

24. *Which*.—For who. Cf. VIII. 5.

29. *An argument*.—A subject. Originally an introduction making clear (Lat. *arguo*) a speech or play; then its subject.

*Have in their hand*.—Like a book to read, study.

31. *Leese*.—See *Corrigenda*. Old form of *loss*. Cf. XIX. 148.

33. *Fearful*.—Timid.

35. *Doth fall under measure*.—May be ascertained by measurement.

38. *Cards*.—Charts. Cf. XVIII. 42.

39. *Civil affairs*.—Politics.

41. *Power and forces*.—In 1625 substituted for greatness (1612) to define the meaning.

*The kingdom of heaven, &c.*—"The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."—*Matthew XIII, 31, 32.*

The Tamil proverb substitutes the banyan seed for mustard seed.

Bacon had used the same illustration in a speech to the Commons in 1606, referred to in 145, n.

44. *Property and spirit.*—Characteristic and principle.

53 *Stout.*—Brave, valiant.

*Nay.*—This passage—lines 53—81, was added in 1625.

*Importeth not much.*—Is not of much importance. Cf. III. 52.

55. *Virgil.*—*Eclogues VII, 52.*

56. *Plains of Arbela.*—Alexander the Great won the battle of Arbela over the Persians under Darius, B. C., 331. Darius is said to have had a force of more than a million men. The incident is recorded in Plutarch's 'Life of Alexander.'

61. *Tigranes.*—King of Armenia, B. C. 96—55. He was son-in-law of Mithridates, King of Pontus, who having been conquered by the Romans fled to him for help. When he refused to give him up to the Romans, Lucullus with a small army invaded Armenia, and completely defeated the mighty host that Tigranes brought against him. This incident is related by Plutarch in his 'Life of Lucullus.'

67. *Enow.*—Old form of *enough.*

68. *Olds.*—The difference in favour of one against the other. Superiority of one over the other. Cf. XXI. 15.

*Example.*—Among such examples; Thermopylæ, Crecy, Agincourt, Arcot will at once suggest themselves.

72. *Trivially.*—Tritely, commonly. See III. 69 n. The saying is attributed first to Bion, in the form 'Money is the sinews of all business.' Bacon, following Tacitus, in his 'True Greatness of Britain' assigns it in its present form to the Roman general Mucianus. But Cicero (Phil. V. 2.) had already said it. Machiavelli had already asserted its falsity.

74. *Solon.*—One of the seven sages of Greece, and a celebrated Athenian legislator, B. C. 633—558. After giving a code of laws to Athens, it is said that he exacted from the people a solemn oath, that they would observe his laws with-

out any alteration for a certain space, and then absented himself from Athens for 10 years. Among the places that he visited during that time was Lydia, and his interview with Croesus was celebrated in antiquity. Bacon follows Lucian's description of it. This is taken from Machiavelli's *Discourses* where he refutes "that Apophthegm that money is the sinews of War; which saying is now-a-days in every Prince's mouth; but improperly in my judgment." (Quoted by Abbott).

77. *Think soberly.*—Cf. *Romans* XII. 3.

78. *Militia.*—Soldiery.

82. *Mercenary forces.*—Hired foreign soldiers. Machiavelli, *Prince* c. 13, had already pointed out how little a prince should rely on these.

85. *Mew.*—To moult; literally to change, from the Latin *mutare*. For the word, though in a derived sense (*renew*), cf. Dryden 'Nine times the moon hath mewed her horns;' and Milton, *Areopagitica*:—'Methinks I see her (England) as an eagle mewing her mighty youth.'

86. *Blessing of Judah and Issachar.*—Jacob, the father of the people of Israel, when dying pronounced characteristic blessings on his twelve sons,—two of which were as follows:—"Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?" "Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens: and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."—*Genesis* XLIX 9. 14. 15.

92. *Excises of the Low Countries.*—Cf. XIV. 16. Cf. also the following passage quoted by Wright. "T were cheap living here, (in Amsterdam) were it not for the monstrous excises, which are imposed upon all sorts of commodities . . . for the Retailer pays the States almost the one moiety as much as he payed for the commodity at first, nor doth any murmur at it, because it goes not to any favourite or private purse, but to preserve them from the Spaniard."—*Howell's Family Letters* (1645).

96. *By imposing.*—By the despotic imposition of a ruler.

101. *Gentlemen multiply.*—Cf. XV. 147.

105. *Studdles.*—The young trees left standing in a plantation, when others are cut down. See note on line 117. Webster's Dictionary says the word is still used in America

to denote trees from three to four years old. In England it is obsolete except in dialects of the eastern counties.

108. *Hundredth Poll.*—Head. Cf. Poll-tax. That is one out of every hundred.

110. *Nerve.*—Strength. The preference of infantry to cavalry as the strength of an army marks the end of the age of chivalry. It was the archers of England and then the infantry of Spain that taught Europe this lesson.

*England and France.*—This was noticed by many travellers even long before Bacon. Sir John Fortescue 150 years before had drawn out the contrast at length. The whole comparison—lines 111-124—was added in 1625.

115. *In regard.*—Because. Cf. XXVII. 43. Crecy was very largely a battle of English yeomen against French Knights. France had no corresponding class to oppose to the English yeomen—its peasantry being famished, tax-ridden and discontented.

117. *Device of King Henry VII, &c.*—"Enclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few headsmen; and tenancies for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the King's wisdom was admirable, and the Parliament's at that time. Enclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom, nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility; but they took a course to take away depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition but by consequence. The ordinance was "That all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them;" and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared: this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action,

but by seizure of the land itself by the King and Lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a State run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, if you leave the staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briers, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy, and some other parts abroad where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry. I speak of people out of towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good forces of foot, insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby it also comes to pass, that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have."—BACON'S *Hist. of the Reigns of King Henry VII.*

In the Parliament of 1601 Bacon opposed the repeal of the Statute of Tillage maintaining that 'it stands not with the policy of the State that the wealth of the kingdom should be engrossed in a few pasturer's hands.'

123. *And to keep.*—Notice the irregular construction. We should say—so as to keep.

124. *Hirelings*.—Those who serve for wages.

126. *Terra potens*, &c.—Virgil's *Æneid* I, 531.

128. *Neither is that state*.—The following passage (128—180) was added in 1625.

131. *State*.—Class, estate as in the *third estate*. However useful this might be for providing a warlike people for foreign war, it was a disturbing element at home, and from Henry IV. to Charles I's time constant attempts were made by Government to suppress it. Henry VII's punishment of the Earl of Oxford for maintaining retainers is well-known.

135. *Received into custom*.—Become habitual.

141. *Nebuchadnezzar's tree*.—"I saw, and beheld a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great, the tree grew and was strong and the height thereof reached to heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth." "The tree that thou sawest.....it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong: for thy greatness is grown and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth."—*Dan.* iv. 10. 11. 22.

144. *Strange*.—Foreign, its literal meaning. It comes through the French from the Latin *extraneus*.

145. *Naturalization*.—Investing a foreigner with all the rights and privileges of a subject of the State, or a citizen. Bacon in 1607, in the Commons spoke strongly in favour of an Act for the Naturalization of the Scottish nation, predicting that unless it were granted quarrels and even war would ensue.

146. *For to think*.—For as to thinking. The indefinite use of the Infinitive. Cf. XXVII. 196.

149. *The Spartans*, &c.—According to Herodotus only two foreigners were ever admitted to the citizenship at Sparta. Tisamenus of Elis, and his brother Hegias. This contrast of Sparta and Rome is borrowed from Machiavelli, and had been used by Bacon in his Speech of 1607.

*Nice*.—Fastidious, particular.

151. *Compass*.—Narrow limit, bounds.

152. *Becomen*.—See *Corrigenda*. Old form of pp. of to *become*.

153. *Windfall*.—This word now usually means an unexpected boon—being regarded from the point of view of the man who finds it. But its literal sense—as here—is still kept

in speaking of fruit blown down by the wind, which is more or less ruined.

156. *It sorted with them.*—It resulted in their case.

158. *Jus civitatis, &c.*—The Romans only granted this in its full form grudgingly at first and under force, *e. g.*, in the Social War. Caracalla finally granted it to all free subjects of the Empire in 212 A. D., but the Empire was then in its decline.

163. *Singular persons.*—Single persons, individuals.

165. *Plantation of Colonies.*—The Roman Colonies were official foundations of the State, composed usually of soldiers; and the government of each was modelled on that of Rome. The idea was that each was a fragment of the Roman State in the midst of a land which required to be closely held by Roman arms.

166. *Roman plant.*—The Roman stock.

167. *Both constitutions.*—Naturalisation and colonisation.

171. *They contain.*—Keep together. Cf. III. 2. Notice the irregularity of grammar, though the sense is plain ‘Spain..... they.....Spaniards.’

172. *Whole compass of Spain.*—Spain is a country, Rome and Sparta were only towns.

176. *Indifferently.*—Without distinction of race.

178. *Highest commands.*—“Mr. Ellis in his note on *De Augustis VIII.* 3, quotes among the foreign generals who held high commands in the armies of Spain “Bourbon, Prosper Colonna, Pescara, Egmont, Castaldo, Parma, Piccolomini, Spinola.” He adds, of these, however, one or two might almost be called Spaniards, and it must be remembered that the dominions both of Charles V. and of his successors extended beyond the natural limits of the Spanish monarchy. Mr. Buckle regarded this practice at the end of the 17th century, as one of the signs of the decay of Spain.”—WRIGHT.

180. *Pragmatical sanction.*—A Pragmatic (Greek *Pragma*, a deed) is a sovereign decree. This special Pragmatic was one issued in 1622 by Philip IV. giving certain privileges to persons who married, and immunities to those who had six children. It was based on the recommendations made in 1619 by the Council of Castile in view of the distress and depopulation of that part of Spain.

*Sanction.*—Here, Act or Agreement.



*Now published.*—1622, the year in which the 'De Augmentis' was published.

181. *Sedentary.*—From Latin *sedentarius*, ever sitting, requiring much sitting.

185. *Travail.*—Toil, painful labour. Through the French from Latin *trabs*, a beam.

186. *Shall be preserved.*—Are to be kept. Cf. Sh. Gr. § 315.

187. *Therefore.*—From this point to *arming* 255 was added in 1625.

*Advantage.*—From the point of view of military power. This does not imply that Bacon approved of slavery on the whole.

189. *Rid.*—Dispose of, get rid of. Cf. 3 Henry. VI. V. 3.

191. *Christian law.*—In the New Testament there is no direct and explicit condemnation of Slavery. But the spirit of Christianity and its doctrine of the brotherhood of man are opposed to it. Very early the Christian Church encouraged manumission, and it was mainly through its influence that gradually Slavery was prohibited by law. By the fourteenth century Slavery in Christian countries was practically extinct. Negro slavery was a later growth and was at first regarded in a different light.

192. *Strangers.*—Cf. line 144.

*Which.*—Who. VIII. 5.

193. *Contain.*—Restrict, confine.

194. *Vulgar.*—Common, not as now in the sense of rude, or low. From the Latin *vulgus*, the mass, the common people. Cf. *Vulgar-Fractions*. Also *Vulgute*, the ancient Latin version of the Scripture, so called as being the one, published for general use.

198. *It importeth most.*—Is of the greatest importance.

201. *Habilitations.*—Lit. means of making skilful, training.

202. *Intention.*—Application. Cf. *intend*, line 204.

203. *Romulus sent a present, &c.*—Romulus is said to have appeared to one of the Romans after his death and bidden him give them his command that they should devote themselves to a military life, for the gods had promised them perpetual victory.

204. *Intend.*—Attend to, strive after, study. From Lat. *in-tendere*, to stretch to, to bend or apply the mind to.

207. *Not wisely*.—The means taken to secure its warlike character were not the best means for the purpose.

*Scope*.—End, aim, intention. (Gr. *skopos*, a mark.)

208. *Had it*.—This organisation.

*Flash*.—A very short time, a moment.

211. *Declination*.—Cf. XXII. 79. The decline of Turkish power is usually dated from the death of Soliman II., 1566, and the Battle of Lepanto, 1571. But if we accept this view it can only be because the Janissaries became unruly. The siege of Vienna in 1683, which came so near success, was perhaps the high water-mark of their power. Bacon was perhaps a little premature in announcing their decay.

213. *Profiteth in that he most intendeth*.—Becomes proficient in that pursuit to which he most applies himself. For *that* cf. VI. 40.

214. *Stood upon*.—Insisted upon, dwelt upon.

215. *Directly*.—Expressly, as the one object they have in view.

217. *Certain oracle of time*.—A truth that time reveals, a lesson of experience. This is in accordance with Bacon's idea as to what the true greatness of a kingdom consists in, but the greatness of some nations of to-day (e. g., United States) consists in the fact that they have not "professed arms," but have devoted themselves to manufactures, &c., and so ensured the well-being and happiness of the great mass of the people.

221. *That.....which*.—We should say *such.....as*.

224. *State.....them*.—A constructio ad sensum. Cf. XXVI. 45.

229. *Quarrel*.—A cause of complaint, ground or reason for a quarrel. The Latin *querela* meant a complaint, plea. Cf. VIII. 50.

231. *His law or sect*.—Mahometanism, which was propagated by the sword. Cf. Essay III. "We may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars."

232. *The Romans.....they*.—For repetition of the Nominative, cf. VIII. 38.

235. *Pretend to*.—Make any claims to.

236. *Sensible of*.—Sensitive to. VIII. 21.

237. *Borderers*.—Those dwelling just within the borders of the country and so liable to be assailed by those across it.

"The Borders," i. e., the parts lying on each side of the boundary between England and Scotland, were long the scene of strife, constant incursions, with consequent reprisals, taking place. The old Ballad Minstrelsy is full of the tales of daring of knights and squires who lived in incessant warfare with those "across the Border."

*Politic ministers.*—Ministers of State.

238. *Sit not.*—Do not remain quiet.

239. *Prest.*—Ready. Fr. *prêt*.

243. *Severally.*—i. e., of each of the States with which they had defensive leagues.

246. *Tacit conformity of State.*—To secure the establishment of a government which should conform to the wishes of the invader, though not avowedly.

248. *The liberty of Græcia.*—The reference seems to be to the Second Macedonian War, B. C. 200—197, though Rome had other pretexts for war.

250. *Democracies and Oligarchies.*—In the Peloponnesian War the oligarchic States sided with Sparta, the democratic with Athens. Every conquest on each side was accordingly followed (or preceded) by a revolution.

257. *Body politic.*—State. For the idea of war as necessary exercise for a State cf. Tennyson's *Maud*, Canto I.

259. *A civil war..... fever.*—So, in his *Life of King Henry VII*, Bacon speaks of the various insurrections as the breaking out of a fever:—

"When the King was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year." Cf. *Montaigne*, II. 23.

262. *Courages.*—The courage of many.

*Effeminate.*—Become effeminate.

*Manners.*—Morals, character.

*But howsoever.*—From these words to *conclude* 321 inclusive was added in 1625.

263. *Maketh to be still.*—It is an advantage to be always.

265. *Veteran army.*—An army that has been long accustomed to fight, grown old in warfare, a standing army.

*Chargeable business.*—A heavy charge on the resources of the State.

*Always on foot.*—Cf. our *standing army*.

266. *Commonly giveth the law, &c.*—Has the supremacy and the power of making its wishes respected.

268. *Spain.*—This State, had 'the law or reputation amongst all neighbour States' through its veteran armies from the capture of Granada in 1492 to the annihilation of its infantry at Rocroy 1643.

270. *Abridgement of a monarchy.*—An epitome of a monarchy, a little monarchy in itself. In his 'Influence of Sea-Power in History,' Capt. Mahan takes *abridgement* as equivalent to bridging over, in the sense of shortening the distance between the parts of an Empire. Thus while Hannibal had to march for months from Punic Spain to Italy, two or three days sufficed for the Romans to pass from one to the other because they had the control of the sea and could venture their armies upon it as Hannibal could not. This is evidently a misinterpretation of Bacon's phrase, though suggestive enough.

272. *Pompey his.*—See *Corrigenda* and XIX. 91.

275. *Themistoclea.*—Who persuaded the Athenians to trust not in their land forces or fortifications but in their fleet—their 'wooden walls.'

279. *Actium.*—Fought between Octavian and Mark Antony B. C. 31. Antony's defeat gave to the former the Empire of the World.

280. *Lepanto.*—Fought 1571 when the Turkish fleet was defeated by the combined fleets of Spain, Venice, Genoa, Malta, and Pope Pius V, under the command of Don John of Austria. The maritime power of the Turks was for the time ruined, and "a hook put into the nostrils of the Ottomans to this day." But almost immediately after, the Turks were able to take from Venice Crete and many others of its maritime possessions.

281. *There be.*—Cf. I. 2.

282. *Have been final to.*—Have ended.

283. *Set up their rest.*—Staked their all, risked everything. In *primero* as in some modern card games after each player had paid his stake, any player who felt that his cards justified the venture might risk a further sum on the chance of increasing his gains correspondingly. This was called a rest. Naturally it came to mean to risk all, or as a further derived meaning to be resolutely determined.

285. *May take as much, &c.*—This was especially seen in the Napoleonic Wars, in which England by its complete

control of the sea after Trafalgar was able to reduce France to great straits and then to seize the opportunity of invasion after the Peninsular War.

288. *Vantage*.—Advantage. A state in which one has better means of action or defence than another. Fr. *avant*, before. Bacon's acumen is seen in this sentence. The whole history of England since his day is a confirmation of it.

289. *Principal dowries*.—Their dominion of the sea was a cherished belief of the English. They claimed that in the English Channel every foreign ship should lower its sail when passing a British ship. This practice is said to date from 1200 A. D., if not before. But in Bacon's time as a matter of fact Holland was more mistress of the sea than England, and Sir Thomas Overbury asserted that Spain had three times as many ships as England.

291. *Merely*.—Absolutely. III. 67.

292. *Compass*.—Circuit.

293. *Necessary, &c.*—Cf. Bacon's Notes of a Speech concerning a War with Spain—'If we truly consider the greatness of Spain, it consisteth chiefly in their treasure; and their treasure in the Indies and their Indies (both of them) is but an accession to such as are masters by sea.' Bacon may well have learnt this from the way in which Drake and other Elizabethan seamen had drained away from Spain the wealth of its West Indian possessions.

296. *In respect to*.—In comparison with.

300. *No soldiers*.—Civilians. Bacon himself, a civilian, had been knighted. The bestowal of knightships on these has grown vastly more common than in Bacon's day.

*Some remembrance.....escutcheon*.—Some extra quarterings added, an augmentation of honour. The escutcheon is the shield on which a coat of arms is represented.

302. *Trophies*.—Trophies, monuments to mark the place of flight (*tropé*—*route*), were erected on battle fields by the Greeks.

303. *Funeral laudatives*.—Orations in praise of the dead, such as the speech pronounced over the body of Julius Cæsar by Mark Antony. But the most famous of the class referred to by Bacon here—for those that died in the wars—is the oration of Pericles over the Athenians that fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, given in Thucydides.

305. *Personal*.—Bestowed as rewards on individuals, such as the Mural or Civic crown given by the Romans to the

soldier who was first to mount the wall of a besieged city or who saved a citizen's life in battle.

*Style.*—Title.

*Emperor.*—The title Imperator is a military one. It was usual for the Roman soldiers after a victory to salute their General with this title, and from this the "Kings of the world," took their title.

306. *After.*—Afterwards.

*The triumphs.*—After successful campaign or great victory the Romans accorded to the General a Triumph, in which he was carried through Rome, with a great procession, the captives taken during the war, and the spoils of the various cities preceding him. Thus Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, adorned the Triumph of her conqueror Aurelian, and the vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem were carried in the Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

307. *Donatives.*—The special gifts made by the Emperors to the soldiers.

*Largesses.*—Gifts, bounty.

310. *That of the triumph.*—Probably "institution" or "custom" should be inserted.

*Pageants.*—Equivalent to *pageantry*.

311. *Gaudery.*—Empty display.

315. *Fit for monarchies.*—Because there was actual danger to the monarch, since the Emperor's power depended on his control of the army, and to grant a triumph would be to raise up a rival to himself in the army's esteem. Under the Emperors triumphs were very rarely allowed to any but the Emperor himself. Thus when in 564 Belisarius was granted a triumph for his conquest of Africa, he received an honour unknown for four hundred years.

317. *Improprate.*—Appropriate.

*Ensigns.*—The insignia, decorations.

321. *As the scripture saith.*—"Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature."—*Matt.* vi. 27.

322. *Model of a man's body.*—Little model corresponds to great frame; *of* is appositive. Man's natural body is a miniature of the body politic.

### XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

Published in 1597. Enlarged 1612, and again in 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—The best preservative of one's health is observation of what harms and what benefits it, and gradually to

change one's habits as age advances. Cheerfulness and change should be pursued, anxiety and other fretting feelings avoided. Physic should be used, but only occasionally; in health diet being the chief thing to be attended to. No accident should be despised. One's nature is rather to be cherished than resisted. A physician should be chosen for his knowledge of the constitution of his patient, as well as of his art.

*Introduction.*—Bacon's health was weak; this combined with his own character led him to fastidious care of it. His attention to it made him famous as a valetudinarian. For the last thirty years of his life he took three grains of nitre in broth every morning. Once a week he would take rhubarb. To his diet he paid special attention, having especial confidence in beef and mutton. With this Essay should be read *Adv. of Learning. II. X.*

#### ANTITHETA ON HEALTH.

##### *For.*

1. Anxiety about health keeps the mind low and makes it wait upon the body.

2. A healthy body is the soul's host; a sick body its gaoler.

3. Nothing advances the conclusion of business like good health; weak health on the other hand keeps too many holidays.

##### *Against.*

1. Often to recover health is often to renew one's youth.

2. Ill-health is a very convenient excuse, to which even when well we often resort.

3. Health joins body to soul in too close a bond.

4. The couch has swayed great empires, the litter great armies.

*Regiment.*—Regimen, regulation of diet, &c., with a view to health. *Lat. Regere, to rule, direct.*

1. *Wisdom in this.*—*i. e., skill in the regiment of health; or it may mean 'wisdom in this sentence that follows.'* Cf. XII. 1.

2. *Finds good of, finds hurt of, no offence of.*—For "finds good from," or hurt from, or offence from. Offence, injury.

6. *For strength of nature, &c.*—The excesses of youth, the ill effects of which the natural strength of youth seems to counteract but really only conceals, accumulate a debt which a man has to pay in his old age, by increased weakness or feebleness, or even perhaps disease.

8. *Owing*.—Sh. Gr. § 372. We still have the same construction, in common use, *e. g.*, ‘How much is still owing to you?’

*Discern of*.—Take account of. A classicism.

9. *Still*.—Always, at all stages of life.

12. *And State*.—Bacon perhaps has in his mind Machiavelli’s advice that a prince conquering a province ‘should make innovation in every thing.’

16. *But so as,.....thou come*.—As for that. VIII. 49. So, under such conditions, not quite the same as in XVIII. 5.

19. *Particularly*.—In your particular case, individually.

20. *Free-minded*.—With a mind free from care.

22. *Of long lasting*.—For prolonging life.

*Passions*.—Feelings, affections. Lit. the sufferings of the mind, the phenomena of the mind on its passive side. Studies are what the mind actively seeks.

24. *Fretting*.—Lit., eating away little by little.

*Inwards*.—Internally.

*Inquisitions*.—Investigations, questionings.

25. *Communicated*.—Shared.

26. *Mirth*.—Simply a merry disposition; *joy*, sudden access of overpowering delight.

29. *Illustrious*.—Bright.

30. *Objects*.—Visions.

*You*.—Notice the change from *thou* to *you*. The lines in which *thou* is used (13—20) were added in 1625.

30. *Fly physic*.—Abstain from or shun the use of physic.

33. *I commend, &c.*—So Montaigne says: “Experience is properly upon its own dung-hill in the subject of physick, where reason wholly gives it place. Tiberius said, that “whoever had lived twenty years, ought to be responsible to himself for all things that were hurtful or wholesome to him, and know how to order himself without physick.” And he might have learnt it of Socrates, who, advising his disciples to be solicitous of their health as the chiefest study, added, that it was hard if a man of sense, having a care of his exercises and diet, did not better know than any physician, what was good or ill for him.”



36. *Accident*.—Anything that befalls. A new accident is equivalent therefore to anything strange.

37. *Opinion of it*.—Take advice about it.

*Respect*.—Think about, look forward to.

38. *Action*.—Do not give way to morbid fear. A life of activity.

39. *Put to endure*.—Compel to suffer hardship.

41. *Tendering*.—Nursing. *Tend*, to take care of, is a shortened form of *attend*, from Latin *attendere*, to stretch towards, give heed to. Cf. *Richard II.* I. 32. 'Tendering the precious safety of my prince.'

*Celsus*.—A Roman writer on medicine, who lived probably in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. He wrote eight books on medicine; one survives and is very valuable. The quotation is from the opening sentences of his work. Bacon gives rather a wrong impression of what Celsus says. Celsus is speaking of the man in full health and advises him to seek constant change of air, occupation, diet. The 'inclination to the more benign extreme' is entirely foreign to Celsus' thought.

43. *Lasting*.—Cf. line 21.

44. *Interchanges contraries*.—For the phrase cf. XIX. 35.

45. *Benign*.—Here, equivalent to pleasant, 'grateful and comforting.'

48. *Nature*.—i. e., one's own bodily nature.

49. *Taught masteries*.—Be enabled to overcome the disease. Mastery, or the French *maîtrise*, seems to have been a technical phrase for mastery of a disease. In its wider sense cf. XIX. 48, and in the Bible, *Exodus xxxii.* 18, 2 *Timothy ii.* 5.

50. *Pleasing*.—Anxious to please, easy-going.

*Conformable*.—Capable of being moulded.

*Humour*.—Whim.

*As*.—That. VIII, 49.

51. *Press*.—Force on the patient the method or medicine required.

52. *Regular in proceeding*.—Bound by rules in their conduct.

53. *Respect the condition*.—Consider the character and circumstances.

54. *Middle temper.*—Temper meant blend.

55. *Of either sort.*—Cf. Sh. Gr. § 12. Deliberately changed from 'of both sorts' which was the phrase in the Editions of 1597 and 1612.

56. *Call.*—We say *call in*. Cf. XXVII, 211.

57. *Faculty.*—The same as facility, skill.

### XXXI. OF SUSPICION.

First published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Suspicion should be repressed, for it interferes with friendship, and with business, even in the bravest natures, much more in timid. Suspicion should be remedied by fuller knowledge. Instead of suspecting men of falseness, remember their weakness and provide for safety by acting upon that knowledge.

Suspicious that are artificially nourished are the worst. The best way of clearing them away is by frankly speaking of them to the suspect, except with men of base nature, who on finding they are suspected will be no longer faithful.

#### ANTITHETA ON SUSPICION.

##### *For.*

1. Distrust is the sinews of wisdom, but suspicion is the medicine for its joints.

2. When a man's faith is shaken by suspicion, it is rightly suspected.

3. Suspicion loosens weak faith, but strengthens strong.

1. *Bats among birds.*—Bacon is of course wrong in classing bats among birds. They are mammals with prolonged forelimbs and the wings are membranes connecting the different bones.

3. *Well guarded.*—Restrained; suspicions are to be repressed; or, at least kept from breaking out.

4. *Leese.*—See *Corrigenda*. Lose, bring about the loss of. XIX. 148.

*Check with.*—Hinder. Cf. X. 50.

5. *Currently.*—Continuously, smoothly. Latin *curro*, I run.

8. *Not in the heart.*—The heart was supposed to be the seat of courage; courage is derived from the Latin *cor*, the heart.

##### *Against.*

1. Suspicion discharges faith.

2. Excess of suspicion is a sort of civil madness.

*Take place.*—Find a place.

9. *Stoutest.*—Bravest, most vigorous.

*Henry the Seventh.*—In his *History of Henry the Seventh*, Bacon describes Henry as “having the composition of a wise King (stout without, and apprehensive within). He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others.”

11. *Composition.*—Temperament, lit., mingling of qualities. Cf. VI. 108.

13. *Fearful.*—Timid. VI. 81.

16. *Procuring.....more.*—Procuring fuller knowledge. The Infm. after procure is an obsolete construction.

17. *To keep.*—“Keep” depends on should; “to” is unnecessary therefore.

*Keep in smother.*—To stifle, XXVII. 161.

22. *To account upon.*—To consider them as. We say *count upon* or *account*.

24. *Provide as.*—Provide that, cf. VIII. 49.

26. *Buzzes.*—Empty noises that annoy one, in contradistinction to the “stings” below. The figure is that of bees or wasps.

29. *Mean.*—Means, method. XIX. 58.

30. *Communicate them with.*—This construction shows the transition from the early use of communicate to the modern; from *communicate (share) with* to *communicate (impart) to*.

31. *He suspects.*—Notice the irregular construction, and the sudden change to the personal.

34. *Would not.*—Should not, III. 153.

37. *Sospetto, &c.*—i. e., suspicion gives perfect liberty to the man suspected to prove unfaithful. See *Corrigenda*.

38. *Passport.*—A discharge. The word is used of the discharge given to soldiers by Shakespere in *Henry V.* IV. 3. 36.

Proclaim that he which hath no stomach to this fight

Let him depart: his passport shall be made.

It really means “a written permission to pass through a gate.” Fr. *passer*, to pass, *porte* gate.

39. *Discharge itself*.—Break it up, destroy it. A suspected man should be stirred up by the knowledge that he is suspected to be so faithful as to remove all suspicion.

### XXXII. OF DISCOURSE.

First published in 1597, enlarged in 1612, and again in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Good conversation is marred by the desire to appear quick-witted rather than judicious and by monotonous repetition of common-place remarks.

The conversation should not be monopolised by one talker, but should be varied to induce others to join in it.

Jests should be confined to certain subjects, and be without bitterness.

A questioner learns much, and pleases the answerer, but he should not direct his questions to one only.

By concealing one's knowledge one sometimes gains a reputation for knowledge, as one is then credited with knowledge when really ignorant.

Speaking of one's self and all personalities should be avoided.

Apt speech is better than eloquence, therefore readiness in debate should be acquired, and all tediousness and hurtfulness avoided.

INTRODUCTION.—Rawley, in his *Life of Bacon* says, 'He was no dashing man as some men are (he did not use his wit as some do to put others out of countenance) but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself or delight to outvie others but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on and allow him to speak upon such a subject as wherein he was peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak. And for himself he contemned no man's observations but would light his torch at every man's candle.' Much of this Essay might be illustrated from the great conversationalists such as Johnson, Coleridge, Macaulay and Gladstone. The Latin student may read *Cicero De Officiis* I. 37 and 38.

1. *Discourse*.—Conversation, talk, not in our present sense of a formal treatise or dissertation. Latin *discursus*, a running about.

2. *Wit*.—Ingenuity, ability. "Commendation of wit," the reputation for being able to talk cleverly on any subject.

*Judgment*.—Discernment, discrimination.

5. *Common-places*.—A common place was a theme, or college exercise, in which a particular subject was discussed; and so has come to mean a trite remark, anything ordinary or common.

8. *Honourablest*.—The use of the words *more* and *most* to form the comparative and superlative degrees did not begin till the end of the thirteenth century. In Old English all adjectives formed these degrees by the suffixes *er* and *est*.

9. *To give the occasion*.—Give the opportunity to others to talk, start the subject, suggest the topic.

*To moderate*.—To moderate or control, as the moderator presided over the public exercises at the University. Cf. XXV. 32.

11. *Speech of conversation*.—As opposed to set speech of oratory.

12. *Of the present occasion*.—Talk about matters of mere temporary interest, which ought to be varied by arguments of general and lasting interest.

16. *To jade*.—Properly jade is a Noun—a poor-looking horse. As this passage shows, its use as a Verb meaning to over-drive was just coming in. We talk of 'riding a subject to death.' It is now used only in the Participle, jaded, over-driven, worn out.

17. *Privileged*.—Exempted as by a privilegium, a law relating to an individual.

18. *Present*.—Immediate.

21. *To the quick*.—Cutting—going down to the quick. The old phrase *he would rather lose his friend than his jest* was well known to Bacon. Reynolds quotes similar phrases as common in the mouth of his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon.

*Tain*.—An inclination, or disposition, I. 7., IX. 62.

*Would*.—For should, III. 153.

22. *Parce puer, &c.*—Ovid's *Metamorphoses* II. 127.

25. *Saltiness*.—Wit. Cf. the phrase 'Attic salt' for Athenian wit.

*He*.—This is an unnecessary repetition of the Nominative. Sh. Gr. § 242. Cf. VIII. 10.

26. *Had need be*.—The omission of *to* before *be* seems due to a mixture of construction between *must needs be* and *had need to be*.

28. *Content much*.—Please others much.

29. *Apply*.—Adapt.

33. *That*.—Referring to the whole clause preceding—to put troublesome questions.

*Poser*.—One who asks puzzling questions, one who apposes or poses questions. The word is still in use at Eton and Winchester. It comes from the Latin *ponere*, to put. Cf. the phrase “apposite answers” that is suitable answers made to a poser or opposer (examiner). Cf. *Appose* XXII. 70. Poser is now colloquially applied not to the questioner, but to a question too difficult to answer.

36. *Use*.—Are accustomed. XV. 247.

37. *Gulliards*.—A French dance of that period, resembling a horn-pipe. Said to have been introduced into England about 1541.

*If you dissemble, &c.*—If you pretend not to know what you are supposed to know, then though you may fall for the time in estimation, yet afterwards, when people find out that after all you did know it, they will not believe you when you hereafter truthfully protest ignorance. Bacon (*Adv. of Learn.* II. 13. 4. and elsewhere) accuses Socrates of this trick.

38. *That*.—For that which cf. XXVII. 172.

40. *Speech . . . . . self*.—Speech concerning or respecting, or about a man’s self.

*Seldom*.—Here an Adjective.

41. *I knew . . . . . wont*.—For the omission of the Relative cf. *Sh. Gr.* § 244.

45. *Pretendeth*.—Lays claim.

*Speech of touch*.—Talking about people, touching on their affairs. The addition of the illustration of the two noblemen in 1625 makes it seem to refer to offensive personalities.

47. *As a field*.—Open, common to all.

52. *Dry blow*.—*Dry* seems to mean scornful. *Blow* must be metaphorical. As we might say a hard or nasty cut, i. e., a satirical taunt.

56. *Agreeably*.—That is, in a style that agrees with, or is suitable to him with whom we deal.

57. *A good . . . . . &c.*—A man who can deliver a good continuous oration but cannot talk well in ordinary conversation is slow: to be good at repartee, but poor at a set speech shows shallowness.

58. *Without . . . . . interlocution*.—Speech means power of speech: interlocution—conversation.

59. *Second speech*.—Answer, repartee.  
 61. *In the course*.—In the straight running.  
 62. *Hare and greyhound*.—This comparison which was inserted in 1625 is reproduced from *Adv. of Learn.* II. 14. 6.  
 63. *Circumstances*.—Matters *standing around* the subject, so here introductory remarks, preface.

### XXXIII. OF PLANTATIONS.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Colonisation revives the old exploits of the Heroic Age. Colonies should be planted in lands which are not peopled already. An immediate profit should not be looked for; nor should they be peopled with criminals or the dregs of the people, but skilled labourers. Besides making use of the fruits of the country, the colonists should take with them seeds of such vegetables, &c., as bring the quickest crops, and animals that multiply fastest. The land should at first be mostly in common, then the products of the country should be developed especially if there be iron, but mining should be only a secondary matter. A colony should be governed by a Governor assisted by a Council, executing martial law, with some limitation. Its Government should at first be in the hands of noblemen and gentlemen. Custom duties should not be imposed while the colony is young, and free trade should be allowed at first. A colony should not be over-peopled at first, high ground should be chosen for building upon, the natives should be treated in a just and conciliatory manner, and induced to imitate the better manners of the colonists. When the colony is settled and strong, women should be sent there, and when once planted, a colony should never be deserted.

INTRODUCTION.—There were two groups of plantations in which Bacon was interested—those in Ireland and those in America. The Irish plantations were not ‘in a pure soil’ (line 5), and were indeed ‘rather an extirpation than a plantation.’ Early in the reign of Elizabeth proposals had been made to colonise both Munster and Ulster, but little came of them till after her death. After the rebellion of 1608 it was resolved to settle Ulster with English and Scotch colonists. Six counties were escheated and the lands re-distributed by Commissioners who regarded the Irish as having no claim upon them. Bacon sent to James I. a treatise on the subject marked by all his usual practical insight but also by an utter absence of regard for the natives. Similarly the Elizabethan attempts to found plantations in America all ended in failure. The most per-

sistent was Raleigh's attempt in Virginia. (See note on *Destitute*, line 101). In 1606, however, the work was taken seriously in hand, a charter obtained from the King, and an expedition sent which founded Jamestown in 1607. After some difficulties and disorders, the colony's safety was ensured by a change in its form of Government which provided for its control by a Council in England of 52 members, Bacon being one, and the establishment of a firmer discipline in the colony itself. This was in 1609. This Essay may fairly be taken as embodying the principles of the new régime as opposed to the old. Bermuda was occupied in 1609, Barbadoes in 1614. The most famous of all the plantations—Plymouth—was founded by the men of the *Mayflower* in 1620. These exiles sailed with a charter from the Virginia Company, intending to settle within their territories, but were driven northwards beyond them. Even if they did not come personally into contact with Bacon, he cannot but have known of their enterprise, alike as a member of the Virginia Council and as a Minister, for the exiles had personally\* to interview the King to obtain permission to settle in his dominions.

The student may be referred to Mill's *Political Economy*. Bk. V., Ch. XI., for some suggestive remarks on Colonisation which will illustrate parts of this Essay.

1. *Plantations*.—Colonies. XXIX. 165. The planting of colonies began at a very early date. The Phœnicians were great colonisers. Tyre, according to the Old Testament was a colony from the Phœnician city of Sidon. (*Isaiah* xxiii, 2—11). Other Phœnician colonies extended along the Northern coast of Africa,—of which Carthage became the most noted,—and the coasts of Spain, and many islands of the Mediterranean. The ancient Greek colonies in Ionia and the islands in the Ægean sea date from almost as early a time. Before 500 B. C.—in the Heroic Age—Greece and Phœnicia had thus planted colonies all over the Mediterranean coasts.

3. *It begets fever*.—Bacon's illustration was unwisely chosen, and his dogmatism premature in view of the remarkable development of colonisation which immediately followed his time, resulting in the present large colonial possessions of Great Britain, and other European States.

5. *I like, &c.*—Somewhat more colloquial a style than Bacon usually adopts in his Essays.

6. *Not disappointed*.—In what are now Canada and the United States, it has been estimated that the Indians in the 17th Century did not number over 100,000.



9. *Make account.*—Calculate upon.

*Loss.*—Lose. Cf. XXXI. 4. XIX. 148.

12. *Base and hasty.*—The first Council for Virginia was mainly composed of commercial men, who, no doubt, considering the quick and large profits of the East India Company and the large revenues drawn by Spain from America, expected similar advantages from their own enterprise. In 1608 the Company demanded that the Governor should send home gold, threatening to leave him without supplies unless he did so. But the change of 1609 which revolutionised the management and brought Bacon upon the Council gave Virginia the chance it needed. Bacon's experience was not lost upon him. In his address to the new Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (1617) he said 'And take this from me that the bane of a plantation is when the undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for time to come.' (Quoted by ABBOTT).

15. *Stand with.*—Be consistent with.

16. *Scum of the people, &c.*—In 1620 James I. determined to use Virginia as a penal settlement to which criminals might be transported, but it was not till the reign of George I. that this system was widely followed. Transportation to America ceased at the time of the War of Independence, 1775, criminals being then sent to Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and Norfolk Island. In 1857 transportation was abolished. Bacon included 'known schismatics' among those unfit to found a colony. (See his Advice to Sir George Villiers.) Yet New England began with such. Bermuda seems to have been colonised mainly by criminals. And many of the earliest settlers in North America were pirates and others picked up at random. But the declared policy of the London Company, led by Hakluyt, was to refuse 'idle and wicked persons such as shame and fear compels into this action: and such as are the weeds and rankness of this land.'

20. *Certify over.*—Send information over sea.

22. *The people wherewith.*—It is interesting to note that the Declaration of 1609, perhaps the first document authorised by Bacon and his colleagues in the new Council, stating who were required for Virginia asks 'for 2 Sturgeons, 2 Druggists, 10 Ironmen for the Furnace and Hammer,..... 6 Blacksmiths,.... 6 Carpenters, 10 Fishermen, 6 Fowlers, 2 Joyners,..... 2 Bakers.' (Quoted in CUNNINGHAM'S *Growth of British Industry*, II. 144, note 4.)

24. *Fowlers*.—Bird-catchers.

25. *Country of plantation*.—Country where a colony is being planted.

26. *Yields of itself*.—What is indigenous, in opposition to the "esculent things" in the next sentence, that the colonists are to introduce.

*Esculent*.—Eatable, from Latin *esca*, food.

27. *Chestnuts, walnuts, parsnips, artichokes*.—For the interesting derivations of these words, see *SKEAT*.

29. *Fictual*.—Apparently an Adjective here.

31. *Artichokes of Jerusalem*.—We usually say Jerusalem artichokes.

32. *For*.—As for. Cf. VI. 41.

43. *Certain*.—Fixed. How necessary this is was shown by the imprudence of the Virginian colonists in 1609 who exhausted quickly their supplies for the winter and were reduced almost to starvation, when happily they were relieved through the change of management.

44. *Employed to*.—We now should say *for* or *as*.

45. *To a common stock*.—For the general benefit of the colonists. Till 1614 Virginia was managed on communistic principles. This worked badly, so in that year three acres were assigned to each settler as his private property.

*And to be laid in*.—As the Latin translation shows this refers to the crops from the land. For the loosely attached Infinitive construction, cf. XXVII. 196.

47. *Manure*.—Cultivate. Its original meaning was work with the hand. It is really the same word as manoeuvre.

48. *Private*.—Here used as a Substantive. Private use, or private benefit.

48. *Commodities*.—Products that are available for commerce.

51. *So*.—Provided. XVIII. 5.

*Untimely prejudice*.—Early injury.

52. *Tobacco in Virginia*.—Tobacco was introduced into England in 1586, by the unsuccessful settlers from Virginia. At first it was imported from Spanish America. But in 1616 its cultivation was introduced into Virginia. At once everybody found in it the means of becoming rich and

neglected all other occupations. Corn ran short and the colonists only obtained sufficient food by taking it from the Indians by force. Wright quotes from Captain John Smith's History of Virginia, 1626, the following answer given by him to the Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia.

*Quest.*—What conceive you should be the cause, though the country be good, there comes nothing but tobacco?

*Answer.*—The oft altering of Governors it seems causes every man make use of his time, and because corn was stinted at two shillings six pence the bushel, and tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a man's labour a year worth fifty or three score pound, but in corn not worth ten pound, presuming tobacco will furnish them with all things; now make a man's labour in corn worth three score pound, and in tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they have corn sufficient to entertain all comers, and keep their people in health to do any thing, but till then, there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

54. *Iron.*—In Virginia, iron was soon found and worked with profit.

*Ure.*—Ore, a different word from the *ure* of VI. 84.

55. *Brave.*—Fine, excellent.

56. *Bay ... climate, &c.*—Bay salt is obtained from seawater by evaporation by the heat of the sun. In the Declaration of 1609 (see note on line 22) '2 salt-makers' are asked for.

57. *Would ... experience.*—Should be tried. III. 153.

*Growing silk.*—If we accept the guidance of the Latin translation, *growing* is here an Adjective, meaning vegetable. A reference to the silk-cotton tree of South America or to a grass growing in Virginia which was described as bearing 'very good silk in form of a thin glittering skin to be stript off.' In the Declaration of 1609, '2 silke-dressers' are asked for.

58. *Pitch and tar.*—In the Declaration of 1609 '4 Pitch-boilers' are asked for.

60. *Sweet woods.*—Spices.

61. *Soap ashes.*—Vegetable soaps. In the Declaration of 1609 '2 sope-ash makers' are asked for.

62. *Moil.*—Labour, toil, drudge. Originally it meant to defile with dirt, to daub with dirt, hence to drudge, from the dirt consequent on toil.

63. *Mines, &c.*—Apparently gold and silver mines. The Spaniards had entered on their conquest of the New World very largely in search for gold and their possession of Mexico and Peru was of the utmost use to them in their wars. Other adventurers hoped to meet with regions as rich in the precious metals, and El Dorado—the Golden Country—attracted Raleigh and many another to search for it. In the Elizabethan explorations the search for gold held the first place. When Gilbert sailed for Newfoundland in 1578 Elizabeth reserved a right to a fifth of all minerals which might be discovered. The voyagers found certain ores which they too hastily assumed to be silver. Of Frobisher's voyages 1576—1578 the second and third were ostensibly what the first had been really—simply directed to bringing home what was wrongly believed to be gold ore. Raleigh's Virginian settlement failed because the colonists gave themselves up to the search for gold. The Companies of James I.'s reign were wiser. They turned their attention to the development of the wealth of the country—more especially the products of the land. But as was natural some of the colonists had hopes of gold which unsettled their minds. John Smith, the great leader of the Virginian colonists, who contributed more than anyone else to establish right principles of colonisation, writes as follows:—'The worst was, our gilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaves in hope of recompenses; there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold, such a bruit of gold that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should by their art make gold of his bones'. The supplementary body of colonists who reached Virginia in 1608 were almost all bent on digging for gold. Smith's letters to the Council did much to effect a change. 'Nothing' he wrote 'is to be expected from the land but by labour.'

*Useth.*—XV. 247.

65. *One.*—In 1609 the original constitution of Virginia which had left the power in the hands of a committee was done away with and a *General* was sent out with large powers. Charles I. afterwards abolished the London Company and appointed a Governor and Council dependent upon himself. This constitution was followed in most of the other colonies.

66. *Martial laws.*—This power was given to the *General* in 1609. The second General, Sir Thomas Dale, definitely introduced a system of martial law.

*With some limitations.*—But a succeeding Governor, Argall, 1617—8, so abused his powers that the system of martial law was abolished and a Virginian Parliament established in 1619.

69. *That.....as they.—i. e., such.....that they.* XIV. 22. Living in the wilderness, they lived to some extent the life of hermits; so they ought to imitate their piety and dependence upon God.

70. *Undertakers.*—In its wide sense those engaged in the enterprise, whether as financing it from home or as settlers in the plantation. Here the former.

71. *Temperate.*—Moderate.

72. *Noblemen and gentlemen.*—This was the policy of the Council of 1609 who sent out to Virginia Lord de la Warr as *General*, and other gentlemen as his officials and counsellors.

74. *Freedoms from custom.*—Customs or customs duties are the duties imposed by law on merchandise imported or exported. Of the Spanish settlement in Hispaniola Prescott says: "The settlers in Hispaniola were to have their passage free; to be excused from taxes; and they were furnished with a gratuitous supply of grain and stock for their farms. All exports and imports were exempted from duty; a striking contrast to the narrow policy of later ages." For Protection in young Colonies see *Mill Pol. Econ.* V. X. § 1.

76. *Freedom to carry.*—Contrast with this the restrictions imposed on the English colonies in America by the Navigation Act of 1651 which forbade trade with any country but England. For *Carry* cf. the phrase *Carrying trade* which means the transportation of goods to one country from another, which may be effected in the ships of a third country.

77. *Make their best.*—We now say make the most they can.

79. *Waste.*—Decrease.

80. *So as.*—Cf. VIII. 49.

81. *Surcharge.*—Excessive burden, more than the land will maintain.

84. *Marish.*—Marsh.

85. *Carriage.—i. e.,* having to carry the products of the country a long distance before they can be put on board-ship.

*Discommodities.*—Disadvantages.

86. *Still.*—Always.

88. *Plantation.*—The colonists—so *them* follows.

91. *Trifles and gingles.*—Toys and rattles, such trifles as they had been in the habit of giving to the natives in exchange, or with a view to conciliate them.

92. *Use them justly.*—In the early days of Virginia the Indians complained not without ground that the settlers plundered their stores, and in the dark days of 1609 revenged themselves by withholding the help the famine-stricken colonists needed.

*Sufficient guard.*—In 1622 the Indians attacked the Virginian settlement without any warning. Had not a convert informed his benefactors in time, all the colonists would have been massacred.

94. *But for their defence..... amiss.*—It is a good plan, to gain their favour, to defend them against their enemies.

95. *Of them.*—Some of them. The most famous instance of this was the bringing of Pocahontas, the daughter of the Indian Chief Powhattan, to England in 1616. She was presented to the Queen and shown all the sights of London. So delighted was she that she scarcely consented to return home. She died at Gravesend on her return. Earlier instances occurred. Cf. *Tempest* II. 2. 30. 'When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.'

100. *Pieced.*—We say pieced out. III. 104.

*Sinfullest.*—Cf. honourablest, XXXII. 8.

101. *Destitute.*—A Latinism—leave in the lurch, abandon. leave without supplies. *Destitute* is now used only as an Adjective. This had been done in the case of the first Virginian colonists.

In 1585 Drake brought home the remains of a colony that Raleigh had settled in Virginia. The same year Greville left fifty settlers there, but when governor White was sent out to them in 1587 he found nothing but the bones of one man. Those whom White brought similarly perished, no attempt being made to relieve them till 1590 when not a trace of them could be found.

Bacon and the Council of 1609 did their utmost to supply the Virginian colonists with food and to recruit their numbers.

103. *Commiserable.*—Deserving commiseration, pitiable—a Latinism.

#### XXXIV. OF RICHES.

Published in 1612—Greatly enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Riches are the "impedimenta" of virtue.

Great wealth is of no real enjoyment to the owner, though its distribution or its reputation may be; its value is chiefly in the imagination.

Riches are not to be sought except for good ends; yet must not be despised; those which come slowly are more to be desired than those which come hastily, as by the death of others; such as come by fraud, &c., come from the devil.

There are "many methods of acquiring wealth, " most of them foul," even parsimony.

Agriculture is one of the few honest methods, it is slow unless pursued on a large scale. Whereby the rich man easily becomes richer.

Other ways are by trading especially when one is diligent and has a good name for honest dealing; bargaining which is more doubtful; partnerships, usury, invention, monopolies, service, and legacy hunting. Those who pretend to despise wealth should not be trusted; one should not be penny-wise; should be judicious in bequeathing his wealth, and should not defer his charities till death.

#### ANTITHETA ON RICHES.

##### *For.*

1. Those despise riches who despair of them.

2. It is envy of riches that has made virtue a goddess.

3. While philosophers doubt whether virtue or pleasure is to be the end of life, do you collect the means for both.

4. It is by riches that virtue is turned to the advantage of all.

5. All other blessings bear only a partial rule, only riches a general.

2. *Impedimenta*.—Lat. *Impedio*, to hinder—from *is* and *pes, pedis*, a foot. *Impedimenta* means therefore those things which hinder or entangle, and was generally used to denote

##### *Against.*

1. Of great riches you may have the keeping or the distribution or the reputation, but no enjoyment.

2. Do you not see that fancy prices are set on precious stones and rarities of that sort, that great riches may be of some use?

3. Many men while they believed that they could purchase everything by their riches have been first sold themselves.

4. I can call riches only the baggage of virtue, for virtue finds them both necessary and cumbrous.

5. Riches are a good handmaid, but a very bad mistress.

the baggage of an army; which might hinder or delay it in its marches and manœuvres. So riches are represented as a moral hindrance to a man.

3. *No is riches*.—Strictly *riches* is Singular as here—representing the French Singular *Richesse*; but even in the 1611 translation of the Bible it was treated as a Plural, e. g., *Psalm* LXII. 10. 'If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.' In line 93 Bacon treats the word as Plural.

7. *Conceit*.—Imagination, fancy. Cf. the use of *conceit* to denote a fanciful phrase or idea in poetry. Cf. *Cymbeline* II. 2. 17. 'a very excellent good-conceited thing.'

8. *Saith Solomon*.—*Ecclesiastes* v. 11. In the Authorised Version "when goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?" Bacon following the Vulgate and other early versions of the Bible always spelt this name Salomon. The modern Solomon is the form adopted by the Translators of 1611.

*Personal fruition*.—The power of real enjoyment on the part of the possessor of wealth. (Lat. *fruor*, I enjoy).

11. *Dole*.—Distribution, dealing. The word is connected with "deal," meaning a share or part; "to dole out" means "to deal out." It usually has a depreciatory shade of meaning—to distribute in small shares, parsimoniously. Though the owner of wealth has the power of storing and looking after his money, or of distributing it, or of acquiring fame through boastful display of it, yet in itself it has no power to give him real personal enjoyment.

12. *Donative*.—We should say donation or gift. But as we use gift to denote giving, so *donative* which properly means gift is here used for giving. For the word cf. XIX. 156.

*Fame of them*.—Reputation of being wealthy.

13. *Feigned price*.—A fancy price, or fictitious value, placed upon things, not because of any real merit they possess, but because of their rarity, or history, or some circumstance in connexion with them.

15. *Because.....seem*.—So that there might; in order that there might seem. Cf. VIII. 15.

18. *Solomon saith*.—*Proverbs* x. 15. "The rich man's wealth is his strong city." *Proverbs* XVIII. 11. "The rich man's wealth is his strong city, and as an high wall in his own conceit." "Conceit" here, as above, means imagination, fancy.



21. *Sold*.—Deceived, injured. This meaning is retained in our slang phraseology, we speak of any one being "sold," when he is taken in, or deceived.

22. *Proud riches*.—Large, to be used in a proud display.

24. *Abstract*.—Unpractical.

*Friarly*.—Contempt such as was expressed by the Orders of poor and begging friars. See note on II. 8.

26. *In studio rei*, &c.—The Rabirius of the speech was chief treasurer to Ptolemy Auletes at Alexandria. His extortions were so terrible that he was arrested, but escaped to Rome. Here he was tried, and defended by Cicero, and was probably condemned. The words quoted by Bacon were spoken by Cicero of his client's father.

31. *Qui festinat*, &c.—*Proverbs* XXVIII. 20. "But he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent."

32. *The poets feign*.—It was not a poet but Lucian (*Timon*, § 20) to whom we owe this fable.

33. *Plutus*.—The Greek god of wealth. Zeus is said to have deprived him of light, that he might distribute his gifts blindly, without any regard to merit.

34. *Jupiter*.—Identified with the Greek Zeus, was the father or lord of heaven. As has been already seen when the Roman and Greek civilisations blended, an attempt was made to represent the two very diverse religions as the same. Thus the Roman gods were paired off with the Greek gods, and the attributes and myths of the latter were attributed to the former. Bacon usually uses the Roman name of the god to whom he refers.

35. *Pluto*.—The god of the nether world. Bacon accordingly treats him first as equivalent to Death, then since to the Christian the Devil is the lord of Hell, as the Devil. See *Introduction*.

36. *Gotten*.—Cf. XV. 136. It is still in use in America which retains many forms used by Bacon's contemporaries, now obsolete in England.

*Pace*.—Here, come.

38. *Testaments*.—Cf. the regular phrase, 'The last will and testament.'

39. *Mought*.—See *Corrigenda*. *Might*. Cf. XV. 192. XXII. 31, XXVII. 113.

42. *Upon speed*.—Quickly, at a good pace. For the construction cf. *a-pace* for *on pace*, cf. *Twelfth Night* II. 2. 5 'On a moderate pace I have since arrived but hither.'

*Enrich*.—Here to grow rich.

46. *Most*. . . . . *obtaining of*.—Means of obtaining. Cf. 1 *Timothy* VI. 5. 'supposing that gain is godliness,' i. e., that godliness is a means of gaining wealth.

50. *Audits*.—Here accounts of money received.

51. *Grazier*.—One who pastures cattle, and who rears them for market.

52. *Collier*.—Colliery-owner. We now use *collier* only of one who works in the coal-pit.

54. *Husbandry*.—Notice how wide a meaning Bacon gives to the word.

*So as*.—So that, Cf. VIII. 49.

55. *In respect of the perpetual importation*.—From the point of view of what it constantly brought in to him.

56. *Himself*.—Refers to 'one,' not to the nobleman in the preceding sentence. The anecdote is from *Plutarch's Morals*—where it is told of a certain rich merchant and ship-master, Lampon.

57. *Stock*.—Property.

58. *Come to that, that*.—Reached such an amount that.

*Expect*. . . . . *markets*.—Afford to wait for the market to reach its highest price. The Latin *expecto* literally means I look out for.

59. *Overcome*.—Be able to make, put himself in the position of master of.

*For their greatness*.—On account of, because of. Sh. Gr. § 150.

60. *Few men's money*.—Few men are able to undertake or have the large capital necessary to undertake them.

61. *Mainly*.—Greatly. XV. 75.

65. *Wait upon*.—Watch for the pecuniary necessities of others, and take advantage of them.

66. *Broke*.—Do business. Cf. our broker, stock-broker, &c.

*Instruments*.—a Latinism. We use *tools* in this sense of persons made use of.

68. *Chapmen*.—Buyers. From A. S. *ceipman*, from *ceip*, price, barter, and *man*, a man. Cf. *Cheapside*.

69. *Naught*.—Utterly disreputable, bad. What Bacon here condemns is what is common in India as regards servants and in England as regards managers—the giving to these of commissions by men anxious to buy from their masters, on condition that they persuade their master to do business with those who have bribed them and not with their rivals who would give fairer prices.

*Chopping*.—Exchanging. To *chop* means to barter, the same as to cheapen, from A. S. *ceáþian*, to cheapen, buy. See *Chapmen*, line 68. For the practice see note on *engrossing* XV. 170.

71. *Grindeth double, &c.*—That is, presses on the man that sells to, and the man that buys from, the first purchaser.

72. *Sharings*.—Companies, partnerships.

73. *Usury*.—See Essay XLI. Of Usury.

*Certainest*.—Note on XXXII. 8.

75. *In sudore, &c.*—Cf. XLI. 11.

76. *Plough upon Sunday*.—XLI. 3. Unlike shop-keeping and manufactures, Usury has no rest-days.

77. *Flaws*.—Weak points.

*For that*.—XVI. 57.

*Scrivener*.—A money-broker, one whose business is to place money at interest. Lit. one who draws up contracts or other writings. Latin *scribere*, to write.

78. *Value*.—Give a value to, represent as sound.

*To serve their own turn*.—To secure their own advantage, i. e. here, to get their commission.

79. *Fortune in being*.—We should say The good fortune to be.

*Invention*.—Or discovery.

80. *Privilege*.—Privileged foreign trade.

81. *Sugar-man*.—Owner of a sugar plantation. Sugar was introduced into the Canaries in 1507, and soon became an important part of the trade of Bristol.

82. *Logician*.—Elsewhere Bacon assigns four Arts to Logic; *Invention, Judgment, Retaining and Transmitting*.

84. *Fit*.—Suitable, favourable.

*Resteth upon*.—Cf. XXIX. 84.

*Gains certain.*—He who is content with having a sure return must necessarily have a small one, as a safe investment never bears a high rate of interest.

87. *Uphold losses.*—Enable one to bear—compensate for—losses.

88. *Monopolies.*—Exclusive rights of trading in any merchandise or article. They were often given to their favourites by Tudor Sovereigns. "Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign this abuse had reached an intolerable height; and some of the most necessary articles of life, as salt, iron, calf skins, train oil, vinegar, sea coals, lead, paper, and a great many more, were in the hands of patentees."—*Student's Hume*. Raleigh held a monopoly of cards, and Essex one of sweet wines. Elizabeth revoked the most oppressive of these monopolies in 1601. James at first cancelled many more, but afterwards granted others. In 1621 he cancelled all by his prerogative. In 1624 Parliament passed an Act making them illegal except in the case of new inventions. See Introduction. *Life of Bacon*.

*Coemption.....resale.*—Exclusive right of buying up a commodity, so as to give the buyer the right of selling it again at his own price.

92. *Store himself.*—Supply himself with the stock he will require.

*Riches gotten.*—One of the most loosely-constructed sentences in literature. The second *they* is redundant, (Cf. VIII. 35). It obviously refers to *Riches*, yet, in the clause *though it be of the best rise*, it almost certainly also refers to *Riches*, which is thus in the same sentence treated both as Singular and as Plural. The general meaning is plain. Wealth acquired as the reward of work in the service of a king or prince has an origin most honourable; but if, instead of being earned by the discharge of duty, it is extracted by flattery its source is most base.

93. *Rise.*—Source.

*Gotten.*—Cf. line 36.

94. *Feeding humours.*—i. e., pandering to the master's caprices.

95. *Fishing for testaments.*—In his *Commentarius Solutus* or *Private Notebook* of 1608, Bacon has a note to remind him to be "practising to be inward with my Lady Dorset per Champners ad utilit: testam," i. e., through Champners for testamentary purposes. It has been charitably suggested

that the legacy Bacon was trying to secure from her, he was planning to devote to his Philosophical Schemes. Fishing for testaments = fishing for a legacy to be left in some one's will or testament.

96. *Tacitus*.—*Annals* XII. 42. But Tacitus quotes it as a saying of an enemy of Seneca. On *Tacitus* see II. 43.

*Seneca*.—See II. 16. V. 1.

98. *It is yet worse, &c.*—When in office, or service, men are under the employ of their superiors, but when legacy hunting they become hangers-on of inferior persons.

99. *By how much*.—Cf. VI. 61.

102. *And none worse*.—*i. e.*, and none are worse. See Sh. Gr. § 403 on this construction, and for Shakesperian parallels.

103. *Penny-wise*.—Sparing in small things. The proverb runs 'Penny-wise, pound-foolish.'

It is not always well to save, for sometimes small sums can be used to advantage, so as to bring in more.

*Riches have wings*.—Cf. *Proverbs* XXIII. 5. "For riches certainly make themselves wings: they fly away as an eagle toward heaven."

109. *The better*.—Unless the richer he is, the more judicious he is. In such phrases *the* stands for *thi*, the old Instrumental case of the Demonstrative—*by so much*.

110. *Glorious gifts, &c.*—Bacon evidently has in mind an incident in his own life. A certain rich merchant, Mr. Thomas Sutton, having no near relations, was anxious to leave his wealth to some good cause. Great pressure was put upon him to make Prince Charles his heir. But instead he bought the old Charterhouse (Carthusian monastery at Smithfield) and endowed it in his will as a hospital for impoverished gentlemen and a Public school. In 1610 he died, and a vigorous attempt was made to set his will aside. A distant relation came forward to claim the inheritance, the King displayed great interest in the case, and Bacon who was Solicitor-General was consulted by James on the subject. He drew up a paper commenting unfavourably on the manner in which Sutton had bequeathed his property. In it occurs this passage 'I find it a positive precept of the old law that there should be no sacrifice without salt. This cometh into my mind upon this act of Mr. Sutton, which seemeth to me as a sacrifice without salt, having the materials of a good intention, but not powdered with any such ordinances and

institutions as may preserve the same from turning corrupt or at least from becoming unsavoury and of little use.' It is satisfactory to remember that, despite the efforts of Bacon and other courtiers, the attempted job failed. Sutton's bequest was upheld, and is far from being 'of little use.' Readers of Thackeray's *Newcomes* will know that Sutton's hospital and school, there described as Greyfriars, are fulfilling his beneficent design.

*Glorious.*—Ostentatious, made only for display. Sutton seems to have been moved by a wise benevolence in reality.

*Foundations.*—e. g., of Colleges, Hospitals, &c.

111. *Sacrifices without salt.*—Cf. *Mark* ix. 49. 'Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt' and *Leviticus*, ii. 13, 'With all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt.' Bacon implies that men like Sutton, anxious only to make a sensation, cannot take thought about the details of management necessary to save their gifts from growing corrupt and useless.

*Painted sepulchres.*—He is referring to Christ's condemnation of the Pharisees: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness."—*Matt.* xxiii. 27.

112. *Corrupt.*—Grow corrupt. Cf. XXIX. 262.

113. *Advancements.*—Gifts, charities.

114. *Measures.*—By due measure, i. e., in proportion to the object in view. Thus Bacon disapproved of Sutton's leaving for a Hospital the Charterhouse which he described as fit for a Prince's palace.

115. *Weigh it.*—For the indefinite it cf. XIX. 120.

116. *Another man's.*—His heir's.

### XXXV. OF PROPHECIES.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—The subject is that of prophecies of historical certainty, though unexplained, of which numerous examples are given, as The Witch of Endor's, Seneca's of the discovery of America, &c.

They ought all to be despised as prophecies, though they may have mischievous effects on those who believe them.

The reasons why such prophecies have any credit are (1) because they are noted when they prove true, and forgotten

when false, (2) many of them are not really prophecies at all, but probable conjectures, (3) and many have been forgeries made after the events have occurred.

1. *Divine prophecies*.—Such as were inspired by God Himself. Bacon means the prophecies of the Bible. Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, II. 3. 2.

*Heathen oracles*.—The ancients, especially the Greeks, always sought to obtain directions from the gods before undertaking any business of importance. The word *Oracle* was applied both to the revelation itself, and the place where the god was consulted. (Lat. *oraculum*, a divine announcement.) The most celebrated oracle was that of Apollo at Delphi.

2. *Natural predictions*.—Forecasts naturally made from known facts as distinguished from those 'of hidden causes,' i. e., without any public event to suggest them.

3. *Of certain memory*.—Undoubted historical facts.

4. *Saith . . . Saul*.—These words were really spoken by the spirit of Samuel, which was summoned by the Witch-1 Sam. xviii. 19. Bacon's quotations are made from memory, and are often not verbally accurate.

*Pythonissa*.—Witch. The story must be read in 1 Samuel xviii. It is also referred to in 1 Chronicles x. 13 where in the Vulgate—the version Bacon chiefly used—the woman is described as Pythonissa. In *Samuel* she is called 'a woman having a Python' in the Vulgate—'a woman having a familiar spirit' in the English version. The early Christians regarded the heathen gods as devils. Apollo therefore, the god of the great Delphic Oracle, was to them the type of familiar spirits. As the god of divination he was known as Pythian Apollo, which probably, through mythological etymology, originated the legend of his slaying a gigantic serpent, Python. Python was used as a name of Apollo—and hence stood for any diviner or spirit of divination. Pythonissa is the Greek Feminine of Python.

6. *At domus Æneæ, &c.*—The lines are from Virgil's *Æneid* (III. 97. 98) but are adapted from Homer's *Iliad* XX: 307. 308. which run:—"But now indeed the mighty Æneas shall rule over the Trojans, and his children's children, whosoever shall arise after him." It is the change made by Virgil that is applicable to the Roman empire, so that this is really a 'prophecy after the event.'

12. *Ventent annis, &c.*—*Medea* II. 374—Probably written by Seneca. See note on line 103.

15. Tiphys was the Pilot of the mythical voyage of the Argonauts—he is therefore the type of the voyager on unknown seas.

17. Thule was the name given by the ancients to the half-known or unknown lands farthest to the North-West.

22. *Polycrates*.—Tyrant of Samos, one of the most powerful of all the Greek tyrants. He possessed a large navy, and extended his power over several other islands. In the midst of his prosperity he was plotted against by Oroetes, the Satrap of Sardis, who enticed him to the mainland and had him arrested and crucified, B. C. 522. His daughter, on account of her dream, had endeavoured, but in vain, to dissuade him from the journey. The tale is told in Herodotus III. 124. Apollo was the Sun-god and Jupiter the Rain-god.

25. *Philip of Macedon*.—Narrated in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, 2.

29. *Do not use*.—XV. 247.

31. *Philippis.....ridebis*.—"He saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him.... The spirit answered him, "I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." NORTH'S *Plutarch*. Marcus Brutus was the leader of the murderers of Julius Cæsar. After his defeat at the battle of Philippi, he committed suicide by falling upon his sword, B. C. 42.

32. *Tu quoque, Galba, &c.*—The story in this form is from Tacitus, *Annals* VI. 20.

For *Tiberius* see II. 43; for *Galba* II. 47.

But Suetonius tells it of Augustus, not Tiberius.

34. *In.....time*.—Tacitus, Suetonius and the Jewish historian Josephus all mention the general belief in a prophecy that those who came forth then from Judæa should be masters of the world. This, which seems to have originated in the scriptural predictions of the Messiah, is treated by all three, as fulfilled in Vespasian and his son Titus. These were in A. D. 69 in command of the Roman army engaged in the great Jewish War, when Vespasian was chosen as Emperor by the Army of the East to put down the usurper Vitellius. He succeeded in doing so, became Emperor and was succeeded by Titus.

For *Tacitus* see II. 43; for *Vespasian* II. 46.

36. *Which though.....was*.—A Latinism. It is no longer permitted in English to have a Relative as the subject of a subordinate Adverbial clause.



38. *Domitian drowned, &c.*—Emperor of Rome and son of Vespasian. A. D. 81-96. His cruelty and tyranny led to many conspiracies against his life, but he was at length murdered by the connivance of his wife. The same story is told in *Adv. of Learning*, I. 7. 4. "Which felicity of times under learned princes doth best appear in the age which passed from the death of Domitianus the emperor, until the reign of Commodus: comprehending a succession of six princes, all learned, or singular favourers and advancers of learning; which age, for temporal respect, was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman empire, which then was a model of the world, enjoyed; a matter revealed and prefigured unto Domitian in a dream the night before he was slain: for he thought there was grown behind upon his shoulders a neck and a head of gold: which came accordingly to pass in those golden times which succeeded."

The six princes were—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus.

43. *This is the lad, &c.*—"One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose Innocency gave him Holiness) was washing his hands at a great Feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said: This is the Lad, that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." *BACON History of Henry VII.* Cf. SHAKSPERE 3 *Henry VI.* Act 4, Scene 6.

*K. Hen.*—My lord of Somerset, what youth is that  
Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

*Som.*—My liege, it is Young Henry, Earl of Richmond.

*King Hen.*—Come hither, England's hope: If secret powers, (Lays his hand on his head)

Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,  
This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.  
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,  
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,  
His hand to wield a sceptre; and himself  
Likely in time to bless a regal throne.  
Make much of him, my lords; for this is he  
Must help you more than you are hurt by me."

See also *Richard III.* V. 3. 131.

If the prediction was made, it was not more than what might seem possible to any one.

45. *The Queen Mother.*—Catherine de Medici, wife of Henry II of France, who died 1559 from a wound received at a tournament, from the Count of Montgomery. Catherine was

Queen-Mother in Bacon's younger days when this tale was told him.

*Curious arts.*—Magic. For Bacon's views on astrology see *Adv. of Learning* I. 4. 11.

46. *Nativity.*—Casting a nativity was a practice of astrologers, who, calculating from the position of the stars at the time of any person's birth, foretold his future. This prediction and others about Henry II. were subjected to careful investigation by Bayle 200 years ago and shown to be probably prophecies after the event.

52. *Beaver.*—The front part of a helmet, which had openings for the eyes, and when down covered the face. (O. F. *barrière*, a child's bib.)

*Trivial*—Common. III. 69.

58. *Principal.*—See *Corrigenda*. Initial. (Lat. *principium*, beginning.) This word seems not to be used elsewhere.

62. *King's style.*—The king's title, official designation. When Elizabeth was succeeded by James, King of Scotland, the royal title was changed, and he became, not King of *England*, but "James, by the grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland.*" Mr. Wright quotes another form of the prophecy—

When Henpe is come and also gone  
Scotland and England shall be all one.

66. *The Baugh and the May.*—The Bass Rock and the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth. Part of the Armada was driven here.

68. *When that.*—When. An archaism.

72. *Spanish.....eighty-eight.*—The *Armada*, which set sail from Lisbon, May 29, 1588. It was dispersed by a storm, and put back into Corunna to re-fit. On the 29th of July it was sighted by the English off the Lizard. The fleet consisted of 134 vessels, 100 of them being galleons, of larger size than had ever before been used in Europe. The *Armada* was provided with 2,500 cannon, and had on board 8,000 seamen and 20,000 soldiers. But as it moved up the Channel, the English cut off one ship after another. Drake frightened them out of Calais, and storm after storm completed the work of destruction, till only 50 ships with 10,000 men worn out with fatigue and hardships, returned to Spain. Philip of Spain made another attempt to subdue England, but the

destruction of his Invincible Armada, practically removed the war from English coasts.

*For that.*—Cf. XVI. 56, because.

*King's surname.*—There seems to be no authority for this. The saying probably comes—more or less altered—from a time when the fleet of Norway proper was a menace to England and Scotland, as it was in the Viking days.

74. *Regiomontanus.*—Johannes Müller, so surnamed from the place of his birth, Königsberg or Mons Regius (It was the fashion in Bacon's time to latinise names.) He was a famous astronomer, was made Archbishop of Ratisbon by Sixtus IV., and died at Rome A. D. 1476. The prophecy about the "wonderful year" was made in 1475, but was altered again and again.

78. *Though not in number.*—Probably Bacon is thinking of the fleet of Xerxes which was much larger.

79. *Cleon's dream.*—This is loosely taken from Aristophanes' Comedy 'The Knights,' in which the demagogue Cleon is held up to ridicule. Cleon was the son of a tanner, and one point in the play is that an oracle has declared that a leathern eagle with crooked claws should be conquered by a serpent, which was expounded as meaning that Cleon was the eagle as being descended from a tanner, and was put to shame by a sausage-maker, the serpent. "The serpent is long, and also the sausage is long; also both the sausage and the serpent are drinkers of blood. The oracle says, therefore, that the serpent shall immediately conquer the leathern eagle, unless it be cajoled with words."

80. *I think.*—It is clear Bacon was not sure that it was a jest. Probably he forgot the origin of the tale.

81. *Of.*—As referring to.

90. *Done much mischief.*—Cf. Fragment of an Essay on 'Fame.'

*Severe.....them.*—In the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Elizabeth Acts were passed against "fond and fantastical" prophecies. In his "Charge on opening the Court of the Verge" in 1611 Bacon says "Lastly, because the vulgar people are sometimes led with vain and fond prophecies; if any such shall be published to the end to move stirs or tumults, this is not felony, but punished by a year's imprisonment and loss of goods." In 1581 an Act was passed making it felony to 'seek to know and set forth by writing how long

the Queen shall live or who shall reign after her death or to utter any prophecies to any such intent.'

91. *Grace*.—Favour.

93. *Never.....miss*.—Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 14. 9.

97. *Coreteth divination*.—Desires the power to know the future.

98. *Collect*.—Gather, infer.

99. *Seneca's verse*.—See line 12.

*Subject to demonstration*.—Could be shown.

101. *Mought*.—Might. Cf. XXXIV. 39.

102. *Plato's Timæus*.—In this Dialogue Plato recounts a tradition that beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar) had lain a great island called Atlantis, larger than Asia and Africa together, but that it had been destroyed by earthquake. (Cf. Essay LVIII. 30). Hakluyt, the collector of Elizabethan Voyages, who was a colleague of Bacon's on the Virginia Council, interprets these references to Atlantis and Seneca's verses as a proof that 'Antiquity had some kind of dim glimpse and imperfect notion of America. Before him too Sir Humphrey Gilbert had spoken of America as the remnants of the Atlantis spoken of by Plato in his *Timæus* and *Critias*.

103. *Atlantius*.—The dialogue generally known as the *Critias* in which a long account is given of its people and laws. Cf. Bacon's *New Atlantis*.

#### XXXVI. OF AMBITION.

Published in 1612. Greatly enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Ambitious men become dangerous when checked, therefore should only be employed by Princes when necessity obliges, as in the case of war, danger to themselves, or to overthrow subjects grown too powerful. They are less dangerous, when of mean birth, so that they may be counterbalanced by favourites, or by rivals, when they are of harsh nature, or newly raised. They should be kept in uncertainty and perplexity. Meddlesome ambition is not so dangerous as powerful ambition.

Princes should distinguish between honest ambition, which desires to do good, and to associate with great people, and dishonest ambition, which is merely to raise a man's own fortunes.

1. *Ambition*.—From the Latin *ambire*, to go about. Really the going about of candidates in Rome to solicit votes, hence a seeking for preferment.

*An humour*.—We say a humour; *h* in Elizabethan times taking *an* before it constantly.

*Humour*.—Moisture. Cholera was one of the four humours that were supposed to make up human dispositions—blood, phlegm, cholera (the bile,) melancholy (black bile.) A man's disposition was supposed to depend on the condition of these fluids, and varied as they varied. *Cholera* here means anger. See VIII. 21. XV. 102.

3. *His*.—See *Corrigenda*. For its. X. 43.

4. *Adust*.—Parched, burnt up. It is a medical term.

5. *Ambitious men.....they*.—Cf. VIII. 38.

6. *Still*.—Always.

8. *Discontent*.—We now say discontented.

9. *Evil eye*.—Cf. IX. 8.

10. *Property*.—Quality. III. 30.

12. *To handle it so as*.—To arrange matters so that. Cf. VIII. 49.

*Still*.—Always.

13. *Which*.—Bacon changes his construction altogether, so that *which* serves simply to connect this with the preceding clause and has no syntactical position.

15. *Take order*.—Arrange.

16. *But since*.—From these words to *would* (line 53) was added in 1625.

18. *Upon necessity*.—Cf. II. 32.

20. *Be they never so*.—This is an abbreviation—the full sentence would be “Be they so ambitious as never were any before.”

*Use*.—Usefulness, advantage.

21. *Dispenseth with*.—Pardons, condones. Hence the legal use of the word: “dispensation” for permission, pardon; and of the term “dispensing power of the Crown.” Cf. *Measure for Measure* III. 1. 131:—

What sin you do to save a brother's life,  
Nature dispenses with the deed so far  
That it becomes a virtue.

23. *Being screened, &c.*—Bacon warned Villiers of this in his 'Advice.' Cf. IX. 110 and XV. 244.

24. *Envy.*—Unpopularity, as in the latter part of Essay IX.

25. *Seeled dove.*—To seel was "to close the eyelids partially or entirely by passing a fine thread through them. O. F. *siler*, to seal up the eye-lids. (Lat. *cilium*, an eyelash.) It was a common notion that, if a dove was let loose with its eyes so closed, it would fly straight upwards, continuing to mount till it fell down through mere exhaustion." (Nares) Cf. Sidney's *Arcadia*. 'A seeled dove who the blinder she was, the higher she strave.'

28. *Tiberius, &c.*—For many years Tiberius ruled through Sejanus the commander of the Praetorian Guards. At last Sejanus formed the design of obtaining imperial power. Tiberius having discovered his designs sent Macro to Rome, to take command of the Guards. After securing them he summoned the senate and produced a letter from Tiberius accusing Sejanus of treason. The senate decreed his death, he was immediately executed, his body dragged about the streets, and finally thrown into the Tiber.

30. *Resteth to speak.*—Remains to speak of.

34. *Popular.*—A depreciatory word—courting the favour of the mob.

36. *To have favourites.*—This was probably written with an eye to Buckingham's favour.

37. *Of.....best.*—See note on III. 18.

38. *Pleasuring and displeasuring.*—Giving pleasure and displeasure. Sh. Gr. § 290.

43. *Ballast.*—Heavy matter laid in the hold of a ship, to keep it steady. Dan. *baghst*, lit. back-load. The ship or State is a very favourite metaphor.

44. *Inure.*—To habituate, accustom, make use of. The word came from *in ure*, (VI. 84), in operation, in work, in use.

46. *Obnoxious to.*—Exposed to, liable to.  
*Fearful.*—Timid.

47. *Stout.*—Bold.

49. *The affairs.*—"The affairs of the moment."

50. *That.*—After *if*, to save repeating it, as in *When...that*. XV. 56.

51. *The interchange, &c.*—Not to treat them with uniform kindness and favour, but occasionally with harshness, that they may not always be certain with regard to the future.

53. *In a wood.*—Mazed, in perplexity,—such as Sejanus was in during the reading of Tiberius' letter to the Senate, which by alternately praising and blaming him kept him in perplexity till finally it denounced him, when it was too late for him to gain the Senate to his side.

57. *Dependances.*—Trains of retainers, followers, who would espouse his cause. So Bacon said of Essex 'I always vehemently dissuaded him from seeking greatness by a military dependance or a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the State perturbation.'

60. *Ciphers.*—Men who are utterly incapable, mere nothings, puppets,

*Decay.....aye.*—*i. e.*, the age is ruined by one minister trying to do the whole business of the State himself and surrounding himself with nobodies, keeping able men out of office. Bacon is no doubt thinking of Salisbury who from 1607 to 1612 was practically sole minister and prevented Bacon's rise.

61. *Honour.....in it.*—Office brings with it three advantages.

*Vantage-ground, &c.*—A place or condition which gives a good opportunity for doing good. Cf. XI. 38. This was certainly one of Bacon's objects in seeking office.

62. *Principal.*—Leading.

64. *The best*—Which is the first.

65. *Discern of.*—Distinguish between, XXX. 8.

68. *Sensible of.*—Sensitive about.

69. *Bravery.*—Show, appearance. Princes and Governments should choose men whose sense of right and justice will stand before any advantage to themselves, and who do their work from a sense of duty, whether they gain approbation from others or are passed unnoticed. They should also distinguish between a merely meddling man, and an active-minded one who is really willing to do good service.

70. *Discern.*—Distinguish, see 65.

## XXXVII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Masques and Triumphs are only trifles, but when they are attempted elegance and not show of cost should be studied.

The dancing and acting should be accompanied by music, but complicated figures should be avoided; there should be plenty of change of scenes, light and colours, with perfume, but above all neatness and order.

The tourneys, justs, &c., interest now by the gorgeous array of the challengers, not by the fighting.

INTRODUCTION.—Masques were theatrical performances in which the actors wore masks, and the plots were generally fanciful and improbable. They were much in favour in the courts and the houses of the nobility in the 16th and 17th centuries. Milton wrote his *Masque of Comus*, for presentation at Ludlow Castle before John, Earl of Bridgewater, President of Wales in 1634, the music being supplied by Henry Lawes, in conjunction with whom he also produced a smaller Masque, *Arcades*, to be presented to the Countess Dowager of Derby at Harefield. Ben Jonson wrote many. Bacon himself was greatly interested in Masques. In 1593 he took part in Masques performed by the students of Gray's Inn. On other occasions he arranged them for Elizabeth. When the Princess Elizabeth was married to the Elector Palatine, he mainly managed the Masque given by the Inns of Court representing the marriage of the Thames and Rhine. When Somerset married the Countess of Essex, Bacon gave a Masque at a cost of £2,000.

Triumphs—Properly triumphal processions—then any shows.

1. *Toys*.—Trifles, things of no real value.

*To come among, &c.*—Such serious topics as he has been treating of in his former Essays.

3. *Graced with elegance, &c.*—Be really graceful and beautiful instead of mere vulgar exhibitions of wealth.

4. *Daubed*.—Like buildings plastered over—so showy.

5. *State*.—Stateliness, splendour.

6. *Quire*.—An erroneous form of *choir*.

*Aloft*.—In a gallery at the end of the hall, as in the Colleges at Cambridge.



*Broken music.*—Music, (i. e., instrumental music) in parts—a band.

7. *Ditty.*—The words of a song. O. F. *dite*, a kind of poem. Lat. *dicture*, to dictate.

*Device.*—Another word for *Masque*.

*Acting in song.*—The player is to sing his part, not speak it.

9. *Not dancing, &c.*—Notice the distinction between dancing to song and dancing in song. The latter is a man's dancing to his own singing. Above Bacon approved of the former, i. e., dancing to the singing of the choir.

10. *Would be.*—Should be. Cf. III. 153.

11. *No treble.*—All female parts were taken by boys, so he seems to think it would be best to exclude female parts altogether.

*High and tragical.*—Dignified.

12. *Nice or dainty.*—Fastidiously dainty or elegant.

*Several quires, &c.*—The different choirs singing verses in turn as an anthem is sung. Antiphonally, i. e., alternate singing by two choirs. (Gr. *anti*, against, *phone*, voice.) Anthem is only another form of Antiphone—through the Anglo-Saxon, instead of direct from the Latin and Greek.

14. *Turning dances, &c.*—Making difficult and complicated figures in a dance.

15. *Curiosity.*—Cf. IX. 17.

17. *Take the sense, &c.*—Things that will give pleasure to the intelligence, not merely excite wonder.

*Respect petty wonderments.*—Aim at exciting childish wonder. Cf. XI. 99.

18. *So.*—Provided that. XVIII. 5.

22.—*Let the masquers, &c.*—Scene (as in Gk. and Lat.) means Stage here. The masquers appeared on the stage, as in tableaux vivants, grouped in some device. Then the device was explained by some who came down from the stage (scene) on to the floor, and carried on perhaps the dialogue there. Bacon advises that they shall not come down at once but keep the audience interested and curious, by their appearance and 'motions' in dumb show.

*Other.*—The old Plural of *other* even when a Pronoun.

25 *That.*—For that which. VI. 39.

27. *Pulings*.—Whining. Bacon evidently approves of sharp and clear effects in the music, song, and colour. For the word cf. Florio's *Montaigne*. II. 30.

30. *Oes*.—Round, bright spots; spangles; then of recent invention. It is the plural of O, used of any circular spot. Shakspeare uses it of the stars. *M. N. D.* III. 2. 157:—

Fair Helena who more engilds the night,  
Than all yon fiery Oes and eyes of light.

31. *Spanga*.—Spangles.

*They*.—Cf. VIII. 38. Cf. *Ant.* and *Cleo*, V. 2. 81.

32. *Glory*.—Lustre, brightness. They make a great display at little cost.

34. *Vizars*.—An old form of *rizers*. The word was used to denote a mask.

36. *Antimasques*.—There are three explanations of this word.

- (1) "A grotesque interlude introduced between the acts of the masque, to which it served as a foil and contrast."
- (2) It has been suggested that the anti-masque was intended to precede the principal masque, and that it should be ante-masque; as in the word ante-camera (Essay XLV) which in the original is spelt anticamera.
- (3) In Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Augurs' he uses the term antic-masque twice. Perhaps anti-masque is a corruption of this, though the converse is possible.

37. *Satyrs*.—Sylvan deities, half-man and half-goat, with snub noses and pointed ears.

*Antic*.—Buffoon, properly an old-fashioned person.

38. *Turquets*.—Either Turkish dwarfs, or puppets dressed as Turks.

39. *Statuas*.—Statues, XXVII. 160.

40. *Not comical enough*.—Cf. Jonson's 'Masque of Augurs.' 'All the better for an antickmask; de more absurd it be and vrom de purpose, it be ever all de better.'

43. *Recreative*.—Refreshing.

45. *As there is, &c.*—Strict grammar requires the addition of *in*.

47. *Stato*.—Cf. line 5.

50. *Justs*.—Or jousts. (Lat. *justa*, together, nigh to), an encounter of two knights on horseback with lances, battle-axes or swords. An old explanation of these terms however makes it a fight on horseback with lances.

*Tourneys*.—Or Tournaments, fights on horseback between parties of combatants. They were probably so called from the skill required in turning the horses. Lat. *tornare*, to turn. The same old explanation makes this a fight on horseback with swords.

*Barriers*.—Jousts in which the combatants fought on the opposite sides of a barrier—a boarded railing in the midst of the lists; (the lists were the ground enclosed for the tournament. Lat. *licie*, barriers) so that the horses could not meet. The same old explanation treats this as a general term for these combats derived from the barriers (lists) which separated the knights from the spectators. For a description of a Tournament see Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Chapter VIII. But by Bacon's time these had ceased to be real combats, and were merely shows. The invention of gunpowder had changed the whole system of warfare, so that these "Mimic battles" were no longer means of instruction.

54. *Bravery*.—Fine show, display.

55. *Furniture*.—Trappings, harness. To furnish really means to provide with what is necessary, so furniture would mean equipment. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. 2, 245. 'He was furnished like a hunter.'

### XXXVIII. OF NATURE IN MEN.

Published in 1612—Slightly altered in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Nature is never changed or subdued except by custom. This should be done by graduated steps,—first easy, then gradually more difficult, arresting, diminishing, and lastly discontinuing; unless a man have fortitude enough, when it is best to "burst the chains" at once, and go to the contrary extreme.

Strengthen good habits by intermission, and banish old temptations altogether, or make them powerless by familiarity.

A man's real nature is best seen in privacy, in passion, or in novel experiences.

A man's nature does not require forcing to pleasant duties, only to what he does not like. Nature runs either to herbs or weeds; water the herbs, destroy the weeds.

With this Essay should be read *Adv. of Learning* II. 22.

#### ANTITHETA ON NATURE.

##### *For.*

1. Custom's is an Arithmetical Progression; Nature's a Geometrical.

2. As common laws are to customs in States, so Nature is to custom in individuals.

3. A Custom contrary to Nature is like a despotism; it is soon and easily overthrown.

2. *Force maketh . . . the return.*—Too great restriction causes violent reaction afterwards.

3. *Doctrine and discourse.*—Teaching and advice.

*Importune.*—Importunate. IX. 165.

4. *Custom . . . nature.*—This we have embodied in the saying "Habit is second nature."

8. *Make him a small proceeder.*—Enable him to make a little progress.

*Often prevailings.*—Frequent success. But he will not be a great gainer, as the success is in such small matters. Notice often used as an Adjective.

10. *Bladders or rushes, &c.*—So also in *Adv. of Learning* II. 19. 2. "The consideration where to begin with the easiest, and so proceed to the more difficult, and in what courses to press the more difficult, and then to turn them to the more easy; for it is one method to practise swimming with bladders, and another to practise dancing with heavy shoes."

12. *Practice . . . the use.*—All training being but a preparing, it must necessarily be severe to ensure success when the struggle comes. Thus the dancer practises in thick shoes, knowing that if he can overcome such disadvantages, in the lighter ones he will use he must succeed. The Roman soldiers in their training were subjected to all kinds of hard-

##### *Against.*

1. We think according to Nature, we speak according to rules, we act according to custom.

2. Nature is a schoolmaster, custom a magistrate.

ship that they might the more easily endure those that they must encounter when in actual warfare.

14. *Stay*.—Transitive.

15. *In time*.—In the matter of time.

*Like to him*.—See XXVII. 194.

18. *Drinking healths*.—*i. e.*, drinking copiously. See note on XVIII. 65.

22. *Optimus ille, &c.*—Ovid. *Remedia Amoris* 293.

26. *The ancient rule*.—Given by Aristotle (*Nic. Ethics*, II. 9. 4.)

31. *If a man . . . perfect, &c.*—See *Advancement of Learning*:—"The ordering of exercises is matter of great consequence to hurt or help: for, as is well observed by Cicero, men in exercising their faculties, if they be not well advised, do exercise their faults, and get ill habits as well as good, so there is a great judgment to be had in the continuance and intermission of exercises."

36. *Lay*.—Lie.

37. *Æsop*.—The old Greek fable-teller, to whom many fables besides his own have been attributed as in this case, for this fable was invented by Babrius, a Latin fabulist. He lived about 570 B. C. He was originally a slave. Socrates during his imprisonment is said to have versified some of his fables. Cf. XLIV. 39.

39. *Board's end*.—End of the table. The fable really described this as happening in the bed-chamber, not at the feast.

40. *Occasion*.—The circumstances which present the temptation.

41. *Put himself often to it*.—As Tennyson's 'Northern Cobbler' did.

42. *Privateness*.—Privacy.

43. *There is*.—There is emphatic:—*in it*.

*Putteth . . . precepts*.—In it he is unrestrained by the remembrance of maxims.

45. *Custom leaveth him*.—In totally new circumstances, a man cannot be guided by experience or habit, having of course had none, so that he must, necessarily be guided by his own sense and judgment, and will so show what his real nature is.

*Happy men.*—Fortunate men.

46. *Sort with.*—Agree with, are in accordance with. VI. 5.

*Vocations.*—Professions or business. What a man is called upon to do.

47. *Multum incola, &c.*—*Ps.* cxx. 6 “My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.” This is a very favourite quotation of Bacon’s, to express his longing to devote his life to philosophy, when in the troubles of his political career, or to politics when he is out of office. “I think no man may more truly say with the *Psalm*, ‘Multum incola fuit anima mea’ than myself. For I do confess since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done.”—*Letter to Sir T. Bodley*.

“I may truly say with the *Psalm*, ‘Multum incola fuit anima mea;’ for my life hath been conversant in things wherein I take little pleasure.”—*Letter to the king (asking for office, 1612.)*

“His exclamation, so often repeated, ‘Multum incola fuit anima mea,’ bears witness to the longings that haunted him in his hours of legal drudgery, or in the service of his not very thankful employers.”—*Church*.

48. *Conversæ.*—Are engaged in. Cf. XX. 125 also:—

“Let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ.”—Paul’s Epistle to the *Philippians* i. 27.

“Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles.”—1 *Peter* ii. 12.

49. *Affect.*—Have a liking for, I. 3.

*Commauleth upon himself.*—Forces himself against his inclination, to do, i. e., whatever is not congenial.

52. *So as.*—VIII. 49.

53. *Spaces of.*—Intervals between.

*A man’s nature ..... weeds.*—A man’s nature is like the soil, something must grow, so that if it is not properly cultivated and made to produce what is useful, there will be a crop of weeds. This sentence was added in 1625.

### XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Published in 1612—Enlarged in 1625.

*OUTLINE.*—It is custom that most influences men’s actions, though superstition has often helped men to do desperate deeds. Illustrations of the power of custom.

Good customs or habits should, therefore, be formed in youth, which is education, as youth is more open to influence, and not only by individual cases, but also through the aid of well-ordered societies, which should supplement the work of the Commonwealth and Government, by minding "the seeds of virtue."

For the Antitheta, see those on Nature, XXXVIII.

1. *Men's thoughts.....inclination.*—Men think of things according as they wish them to be. Cf. "Imaginations as one would." Essay I, 26.

3. *Infused.*—Acquired, derived from external sources. Lit. poured in.

*After us.*—According to, according as. Cf. "Deal not with us after our sins, nor reward us not after our iniquities."—*Book of Common Prayer.*

4. *Machiavel.*—See XIII. 25. n.

*Well noteth.*—The quotation is from Machiavelli's 'Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius':—

"For there is no man, how resolute and bloody soever he be, but must be surprised and discomposed in such cases as these. Wherefore, for such exploits, experienced men and such as are used to those kind of affairs are to be chosen, and no other, though never so stont."

5. *Evil-favoured.*—Ugly, ill-looking.

6. *Bravery.*—Boastfulness.

7. *Corroborate.*—Strengthened, confirmed. For the form cf. VIII. 37. n. From Lat. *corroborare*, to strengthen, *robust*, strength.

9. *Rest upon.*—Cf. XXIX. 84.

12. *Friar Clement.*—Henry III. of France to rid himself of the tyranny of the League, had caused its leaders, the Duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal to be assassinated, and had entered into a confederacy with the Huguenots. Having thus incurred the deadly hatred of the Catholics, he was stabbed by a fanatic friar Jacques Clement, at St. Cloud, July 31st, 1589, and died the day after.

*Ravillac.*—Better known as Ravillac. Henry IV. of France, while riding through the streets of Paris, was stabbed by a fanatic Papist named Ravillac, in pursuance of a long meditated act of revenge, 1610. Henry IV. had been the leader of the Huguenots but had found it necessary "to purchase Paris by a Mass."

*Jaureguy and Baltazar Gerard.*—A price having been put upon the head of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, several attempts to assassinate him were made. One of these, in which he was desperately wounded, was by a young man named Juan Jaureguy, employed by a Spanish merchant Gaspar d'Anastro. In March 1582, after a festival and dinner at the palace, while the Prince was leading the way from the dining hall, Juan Jaureguy stepped forward, under pretence of presenting a petition to him, and shot him through the neck and mouth. Two years later, July 10th, 1584, another attempt was made, which proved fatal. Baltazar Gerard shot the Prince while passing from the dining hall, three balls entering his body. In the Latin edition of the *Essays*, Guy Fawkes is added to this list of men who were led by superstition to deeds of blood, though without practice.

*Nature nor the engagement.....are not.*—Notice the double negative, also *are* after two Singulars joined by *nor*.

14. *Engagements of words.*—Obligation, an undertaking.

15. *Superstition.....advanced.*—"In neither of the instances mentioned above was the assassination attempted on account of personal hatred caused by real or supposed wrongs, but at the instigation of others, and with the secret support of the Roman Catholic authorities. The papers, &c., found on Jaureguy showed that he was actuated by what Bacon calls superstition. Besides two bits of hareskin, and two dried toads, intended as charms to secure success, there were tablets covered with vows and pious prayers in reference to the intended murder, and papers which showed that the poor fanatical fool had been persuaded that the deed he was to do was so meritorious in the sight of heaven, that immediately after accomplishing it, he would become invisible."—*Lewis*.

16. *Of the first blood.*—Those who are committing their first murder.

17. *Votary resolution.*—The resolution of a devotee, one who has taken a vow to do a certain deed.

*Equipollent.*—Having equal power or force. *Lat. æquus*, even, *pollere*, to be strong. *Equivalent* is the word that would be generally used now to convey the same meaning.

23—39. *We see also.....obtain good customs.*—This passage illustrating the force of *custom* was added in 1625.

*We see.....what it is.*—This peculiarity of putting first the noun (*reign*) in the principal clause and representing it by the Pronoun only, in the subordinate clause where we should



expect it is called Antiptosis. It is common in Bacon's time, being a Latinism. Cf. *Mark* i. 24. 'I know thee who thou art.'

24. *Indians*.—Hindoos.

25. *Wise men*.—Brahmins, or as Cicero, whom Bacon here follows, called them Gymnosophists. *Tusc. Disp.* V. 27. Plutarch also told of an Indian philosopher who came to Athens and immolated himself on a pyre. 'He laid him down upon the wood-stack, covered his face and never stirred hand nor foote, nor quitted when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himselfe in this sort as the maner of his countree was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves.' NORTH's *Plutarch*. Bacon is here following *Montaigne* (II. 29.)

26. *Nay the wives*.—A reference to Sati, abolished 1829. Bacon evidently follows Cicero's account which was that on a man's death his wives (two apparently) 'come to a judicial contest as to which he had loved best.....The successful wife, with joy, is laid on the pyre along with her husband, her relations attending her, while the other goes away vanquished and dejected.' *Montaigne*, earlier in the Essay above referred to, had already used the same illustration.

28. *Sparta*.—Or Lacedæmon, the capital of Laconia, and chief city of Peloponnesus, situated about 20 miles from the sea. It stood on a plain which contained within it several rising grounds and hills. During the flourishing times of Greek independence, Sparta was never surrounded by walls, since the bravery of its citizens, with the difficulty of access to it, was supposed to render such defences unnecessary.

*Lads of Sparta*.—The Spartans were subjected to very severe training in their early youth, and were taught to bear pain without giving any sign of it. In an Essay by *Montaigne* I. 40. (That the relish of goods, and evils, does in a great measure depend upon our opinion of them), he says "a poor simple boy of Lacedæmon, having stole a fox, (for they more fear the shame of their knavery in stealing, than we do the punishment of our knavery,) and having got him under his coat, did rather endure the tearing out of his bowels, than he would discover his theft. And another, offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered himself to be burnt to the bone, by a coal that fell into his sleeve, rather than disturb the ceremony. And there have been a great number, for a sole trial of virtue, following their instructions, who at seven years old endured to be whipt to death, without changing their countenance. And Cicero has seen them fight in parties, with fists, feet, and teeth, till they have fainted and sunk down rather than confess themselves overcome."

29. *Querhing*.—Flinching. It is connected with *quick* in the sense of living, moving. See Extract in note on line 29. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, V. 9. 33. 'He could not move nor quick at all.'

30. *Queen* ..... *England*.—We should now say Queen Elizabeth of England's time.

32. *Withe*.—A willow-twig. Other forms are *wūky* and *wīth*. Cf. *Judges* xvi. 7 'Seven green withs that were never dried.' Such withs were used for halters in the Highlands and in Ireland. This story of Bacon's has caused some confusion. Of a certain Bryan O'Rourke who was hanged in 1597 a later writer tells it on the authority of Bacon, but this was not 'in the beginning' of Elizabeth's reign. In the First Part of *Sir John Oldcastle*, the play which suggested Falstaff to Shakspeare and which was published in 1600, an Irishman is introduced making this request, 'Prethee... let me bee hanged in a wyth after my countree the Irish fashion.' Reynolds suggests that this is the origin of Bacon's story. But it seems more likely that such an incident really happened, that it was embodied later in the play, and recollected by Bacon. If it was O'Rourke who made the request, we have only another instance of the tricks that memory plays in confusing time past and of Bacon's inaccuracy in detail. If Bacon on the contrary is correct, the attributing of the words to O'Rourke only illustrates the tendency to connect anything that strikes the popular mind with well-known names.

33. *It had been so used*.—It was the custom, had been done in the case of. But Bacon apparently overstates the case, not without humour. What the man asked was that his country custom might be followed, not that the regular practice with regard to *rebels* might be maintained.

35. *Engaged*.—Bound down. The word originally meant 'bound by a gage.' Cf. Florio's *Montaigne* II. 12. 'The Barbel fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged.'—i. e., caught by hook and line. Bacon seems to have confused what he may have read in two books on Russia (published 1587 and 1591)—one of which tells how the Russian hermits 'go stark naked even in the very extremity of winter', and the other how when in winter the Archbishops bless the rivers, men and women for bodily or spiritual health, 'when the cold is at its height, break up the ice and go down through the hole into the water.'

38. *Magistrate*.—A Magistrate is a master, (*Lat. magister*) a ruler, therefore as custom is what rules and guides man's life, men should "endeavour to obtain good customs."

46. *Take the ply.*—Ply is a fold or bend. Latin *plicare*, to fold. To take the ply is to take a bent shape, or the desired bend.

47. *Fix.*—To become fixed, or rigid, so that they cannot bend.

49. *Simple.*—In the individual. Latin *simplex*, in one piece.

50. *Copulate.*—Coupled, united.

51. *Collegiate.*—In association. College is properly a colleague-ship.

52. *Comforteth.*—Strengthens. Low Latin *con-fortare*, to strengthen.

*Glory.*—Ambition, the desire for glory.

53. *His.*—Its.

*Exaltation.*—An astrological term meaning in the ascendant. "A planet was said to be in its exaltation, when it was in that sign of the zodiac, in which it was supposed to exert its strongest influence. The opposite sign was called its dejection, as in that it was supposed to be weakest."—TYRWHITT.

56. *Commonwealths.*—As distinguished from *societies* in the commonwealth.

58. *Most effectual means, &c.*—Bacon is evidently referring to the Church of Rome, which through its "societies" possessed great power, which it did not always use for the best purposes. Bacon gives his view of the chief of these Societies—the Jesuits—in *Adv. of Learning* I. 3. 3.

#### XL. OF FORTUNE.

1612. Slightly altered and enlarged in 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Though outward circumstances, *e. g.*, the folly of others may conduce to fortune, a man is the real moulder of his own fortune, by certain nameless little virtues (*?*), such as readiness, being "a little of a fool," being not too scrupulously honest. Sudden fortune makes men mighty, yet Fortune is to be respected as it begets confidence and reputation. Wise men ascribe their virtues to Providence and Fortune, but it rests mainly with a man, himself, whether he finds his fortune smooth or otherwise.

**INTRODUCTION.**—With this Essay may be compared and contrasted the following Extract from Bacon's 'Discourse touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers.'

'I did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky saying, *Faber quisque suae Fortunæ*, except it be uttered only as a hortative or spur to correct sloth. For otherwise, if it be believed as it soundeth and that a man entereth into a high imagination that he can compass and fathom all accidents and ascribeth all successes to his drifts and reaches and the contrary to his errors and sleepings, it is commonly seen that the evening fortune of that man is not so prosperous as of him that without slackening of his industry attributeth much to felicity and providence above him. But if the sentence were turned to this, *Faber quisque ingenii sui*, [Every man is the artificer of his own mind] it were somewhat more true and much more profitable, because it would teach men to bend themselves to reform those imperfections in themselves which now they seek but to cover; and to attain those virtues and good parts, which now they seek to have but in show and demonstration. Yet notwithstanding every man attempted to be of the first trade of carpenters [*faber suae fortunæ*] and few bind themselves to the second [*faber sui ingenii*] whereas nevertheless the rising in fortune seldom amendeth the mind; but on the other side the removing of the stonds and impediments of the mind doth often clear the passage and current of a man's fortune.'

## ANTITHETA ON FORTUNE.

*For.*

1. Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; secret and hidden virtues bring forth fortune.

2. Virtues shown in duties done bring forth praise, those shown in abilities bring forth fortune.

3. Fortune is a kind of Milky Way; a cluster of obscure and nameless virtues.

4. Fortune should be honoured if but for her daughters, Confidence and Authority.

*Against.*

1. The folly of one man is the fortune of another.

2. This feature of Fortune I praise above all that as she makes no choice for her favours, she does not maintain them.

3. Great men though they shrink from the envy that follows their virtues have been found among Fortune's worshippers.

1. *But.*—After *doubt*, a Latinism. Sh. Gr. § 122.

2. *Occasion fitting virtue.*—The opportunity coming to the man who has the necessary qualities. Throughout the Essay virtue has its Latin meaning, manly qualities, ability.

3. *The mould.*—The power of moulding.

4. *Faber quisque, &c.*—These words occur in Sallust's letters, "De Republica Ordinanda," and are there attributed to Appius Claudius Cæcus, a Roman poet whose works are now lost. But it has been conjectured from the *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 10 that Bacon thought it grew out of a line in the *Trinummus* of Plautus, a famous Roman Comic Poet, b. c. 225—184. "This wisdom" he there says "the Romans did take much knowledge of: "nam pol sapiens" saith the comical poet, "fingit fortunam sibi," and it grew to an adage, Faber quisque fortunæ propriæ."

8. *Serpens nisi, &c.*—From the Adages of Erasmus.

10. *Orert.*—Open.

*Apparent.*—Manifest, conspicuous.

12. *Deliveries.*—Methods of expressing one's real nature or character. This seems better than to follow the Latin and make it mean simply methods of extricating oneself from trouble.

13. *Desemboltura.*—'There is no such word. Bacon probably means 'desenvoltura,' i.e., easy carriage, grace of movement. This is the word substituted in the Italian version.'—*Reynolds.*

14. *Stonds.*—Stops, hindrances. *Adv. of Learning* II. 22. 10. 'Knots and stonds of the mind.' See also the last clause of the passage quoted in the Introduction to this Essay.

15. *That.*—Taking up *when*. Cf. XV. 56.

17. *Liry.*—Titus Livius (b. c. 59—A. D. 17) the greatest Prose-writer of the Augustan Age. His History of Rome—in 142 books—is the model of a clear and picturesque narrative, though diffuse and wanting in research.

*Cato Major.*—Cato the Censor (b. c. 234—149). The first 26 years of his life he devoted his energies to military pursuits, and distinguished himself on several occasions, in the Second Punic War, in Spain, and in Greece. He afterwards took an active part in civil affairs, and distinguished himself by his opposition to the Roman nobles who were introducing Greek luxury and refinement into Rome. He was elected Censor in 184. In his old age he applied himself to the study of Greek literature, and wrote several books, only one of which,

De Re Rustica,' has come down to us. The year before his death he was one of the chief instigators of the Third Punic War, ending every speech in the Senate, on whatever subject it might be, with the words "Delenda est Carthago"—Carthage must be destroyed.

18. *In illo viro, &c.*—Livy XXXIX. 40. Quoted also *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 10. It had been quoted by Montaigne III. 3.

22. *Falleth upon that.*—Emphasises this.

25. *She is not invisible.*—Cicero had said (De Amicitia XV. 54.) 'For not only is Fortune blind herself but she makes those whom she has embraced blind too.'

26. *Milken.*—Milky. The adjectival suffix "en" was formerly very common, denoting material, as wooden, golden, wheat-en, oaten, &c.

32. *Cannot do amiss.*—Seems to fail in nothing.

33. *Conditions.*—Qualities.

35. *Properties.*—Qualities.

40. *Enterpriser.*—An adventurer.

*Remover.*—A restless man, one who will not let his affairs remain unchanged.

41. *Entrepreneur.*—Venturesome.

*Remuant.*—Restless, fidgety.

*Exercised fortune.*—Fortune tested by endurance. Cf. Milton's *Areopagitica* 'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed that never sallies out and sees her adversary.'

43. *And.*—If. Sh. Gr. §101. Cf. XXIII. 33.

44. *Felicity.*—Fortune—in the sense of Good Fortune.

46. *To decline the envy, &c.*—To turn aside the envy with which others might regard them.

49. *So Cæsar.*—These illustrations (49—52) were added in 1625.

50. *Cæsarem portas, &c.*—Julius Cæsar is reported to have used these words to a pilot terrified by a storm, who was taking him across the Adriatic in a boat, when he was in pursuit of Pompey, B. C. 48.

52. *Felix.....Magnus.*—Fortunate, not Great. Sulla assumed the title Felix after the triumph in which he celebrated his defeat of Mithridates, attributing his success to Hercules. He was born B. C. 138, and was most fortunate in all his campaigns, and in the Civil War between Marius and himself.

But he followed up his victory by a most cruel vengeance, drawing up a list of his enemies who were to be put to death, called a Proscriptio. Fresh lists kept appearing as he gratified his friends by allowing them to place on the lists their personal enemies, or persons whose property was coveted by his adherents. He was made, in 81, dictator for as long as he judged necessary. He held the office till 79, when he resigned, and retired to his estate at Puteoli, where he died in 78 B. C.

54. *Infortunate*.—See *Corrigenda*. Unfortunate. Cf. IV. 42.

55. *Timotheus the Athenian*.—An Athenian general, son of Conon, and friend of Plato. Died B. C. 354. 'Timotheus said "My Lords of Athens, Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told you." Hereupon the gods it should seem, were so angry with this foolish ambition of Timotheus that he never afterwards did any worthy thing; but all went utterly against the haire with him; until at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in the end they banished him from Athens. But Sylla, to the contrary, did..... patiently abide their words that said he was a happy man, and singularly beloved of fortune, either for a vain-glory, or for that he had in fancy that the gods did prosper him in all his doings.'—NORTH'S *Plutarch*.

Bacon refers to this again in *Adv. of Learning* II. 23, 11. "This conceit or position, if it be too much declared and professed, hath been thought a thing impolitic and unlucky, as was observed in Timotheus the Athenian; who having done many great services to the estate in his government, and giving an account thereof to the people, as his manner was, did conclude every particular with his clause, "and in this fortune had no part." And it came so to pass that he never prospered in any thing he took in hand afterwards."

57. *Interlaced this speech*.—Introduced this phrase as he passed from one incident to the next.

59. *Certainly*.—From this point to the end was added in 1625.

*There he chose*.—Cf. I. 2.

60. *Slide*.—Flow. Cf. XIV. 48.

61. *Timoleon's fortune*.—"And like as... in Homer's verses, besides the passing workmanship, and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight that they were easily made and without great pain, even so in like manner, whosoever will compare the painful bloody wars and battles of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with the wars of Timoleon in the which,

besides equity and justice, there is also great ease and quietness—he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they have not been fortune's doings simply, but that they come of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wisely impute it unto his good hap and favourable fortune.”  
—NORTH'S *Plutarch*.

Timoleon was an illustrious Greek general, born at Corinth about 400 B. C. He expelled the Carthaginians from Syracuse, and helped all the rest of the Greek cities in Sicily to get rid of the tyrants, and establish democracies, and brought the island into a flourishing condition. He died B. C. 337.

*Epaminondas*.—The statesman and general who destroyed the hegemony of Sparta and made his own Thebes supreme. Four times he successfully invaded Peloponnesus at the head of the Theban armies. He fell at the battle of Mantinea, in the full career of victory, B. C. 362.

*Agesilaus*, king of Sparta, carried on a war in Asia Minor with great success, and assured the supremacy of Sparta in Greece by his victories over the Athenians and Thebans. When Thebes became supreme under Epaminondas it was the skill of Agesilaus that saved Sparta from capture.

63. *It is .....self*.—“This conclusion rejects fortune, except as a convenient make-believe for great men.”—(ABBOTT.)

## XLI. OF USURY.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—There have been many witty invectives against usury, and cunning remedies have been proposed but they have been useless. Since it must exist, the advantages and disadvantages should be set forth, so as to augment the one, and diminish the other.

Its disadvantages are —(1) that it makes fewer merchants, (2) that it makes merchants poor, (3) that it causes the decay of the King's customs, (4) that it puts wealth in a few hands, (5) that it diminishes the price of land, (6) that it discourages industries, (7) that it ruins men's estates.

Its advantages are —(1) encouragement of young merchants, (2) the doing away with the necessity of selling or mortgaging, (3) the countless inconveniences are avoided that must follow if borrowing be cramped.

In attempting to reform usury our aim must be to prevent its excess, yet maintain the possibility of merchants borrowing. While a low rate of interest should be legalised, say



5 per cent., to stimulate trade, ease borrowers, and raise the price of land, certain persons should be licensed on payment to lend to merchants at a higher rate, but no banks or "common stock" should be licensed. The number of such licensed persons should be unlimited, but they should be restricted to the principal mercantile cities and towns.

Such authorised usury is better than the present unlicensed abuse.

INTRODUCTION.—Many causes tended to make Europe in the Middle Ages look somewhat askance upon the practice of taking Usury or Interest as we now call it, reserving Usury for exorbitant Interest. When trade was despised and when men lived more in family groups, naturally there was not much need to borrow. A man would ask another for a loan only when he was in some sudden need, and to take interest would have seemed like oppressively taking advantage of his time of calamity. Thus among the Romans and Greeks, who left trade to slaves and foreigners mainly, interest was considered immoral. For similar reasons, strengthened by the intense spirit of brotherhood in the nation, the Israelites were forbidden in the Mosaic Law to take interest from their fellow-countrymen.

"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury."—*Exod.* xxii. 25. "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen into decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him..... Take thou no usury of him, or increase: but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury."—*Lev.* xxv. 35, 36, 37. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury."—*Deut.* xxiii. 19. So we read when Nehemiah instituted his reformation in the 5th Century B. C. "And I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother..... It is not good that ye do, ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God?..... I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine and the oil, that ye exact of them. Then said they, We will restore them, and will require nothing of them."—*Nehemiah* v.

Thus the teaching of antiquity both classical and Jewish was opposed to usury. And the habits and institutions of

mediæval Europe seemed also to make it seem unnatural. The old Village Communes, even the feudal relations of lord and tenant, left little room for it in the country, and in the town at first the Gilds must have it largely made it unnecessary. But with the growth of towns and of trade it made its way surely. At first the Jews, who had no scruples about taking usury from the Gentiles, had money-lending to themselves, and this fact also militated against its becoming respected. But gradually others shared in the gain. Kings were often borrowers—of more or less credit. In 1171 the Bank of Venice was founded. In other cities banks or individual lenders sprang up—like the Bardi of Florence whom Edward III. ruined by refusing to repay his vast loans, and the Fuggers of Augsburg who were rich enough to finance Charles V. and finally to make him a present of his bond. Under these circumstances the rates they charged were naturally high—25, 30 or even 50 % being mentioned in these royal transactions. And when the New World opened and expeditions had to be fitted out, men who under other conditions would have had no need were glad to borrow even at high rates.

Thus in Tudor times in England usury became prevalent as it had long been in Italy. In Henry VII's time as Bacon tells us in his History 'there were also made good and politic laws against usury which is the bastard use of money.' Such attempts to prevent it were of course vain. In 1546 Parliament recognised usury by fixing 10 % as the maximum rate of lawful interest. Under the influence of the extreme religious movement of Edward VI's reign this came under condemnation. Latimer preached against it. 'Certain it is that usury was allowed by the laws of this realm; yet it followed not that usury was godly nor allowed before God. For usury is wicked before God, be it small or great, like as theft is wicked.' In 1552 Parliament repealed the Act of 1546, laying down that 'no person shall lend or forbear any sum of money for any manner of usury or increase to be received or hoped for above the sum lent.' But under Elizabeth 1571 the Act of 1546 was revived.

The first quarter of the seventeenth Century was marked by continuous animated discussion of several economic points—one of which was the question of Usury. Sir Thomas Culpepper set himself to bring about a lowering of the maximum legal rate. His 'Tract against Usury' made a considerable stir, and for the next two or three years Usury was a burning question. Bacon—now in disgrace—of course could not be silent, so in 1623 he sent to Sir Edward Conway,

Secretary of State, a treatise on 'Usury and the Use thereof' to be shown to the King. This is practically the Essay. In 1624, Culpepper induced Parliament to Pass an Act limiting the rate of interest to 8 %/o. In 1652 he got it lowered to 6. Locke and Petty subsequently argued against fixing any maximum, but it was Bentham's 'Defence of Usury,' 1747, that effectually asserted the folly of restricting interest, and brought about the abolition of all laws for that purpose. His chief arguments were that they hampered the spread of money, thus cramping commerce, and that they could so easily be evaded. It must however be remembered that when borrowers are ignorant, when the competition to lend is little or none, when communication is difficult as in Mediæval Europe and in the Pancherries of India to-day, so that money cannot circulate freely, then restrictions upon usury may be useful. The Courts in India exercise some such restrictive influence, cutting down sowcars' rates frequently. Bacon's Essay cannot be said to throw much light on the subject or to reflect much credit upon his economic ability. His setting forth of the commodities and incommunities of Usury is weak and his suggestion for its reformation is utterly impracticable. His whole treatment of the subject is unpractical, except that, as has been pointed out, being a debtor himself he was anxious to reduce the interest he had to pay. From the Essay and passages in his other writings (*e. g.*, XXXIV. 73) it is clear that he was opposed at heart to Interest, which shows that he was even behind his age on this matter.

1. *Invectives*.—Bitter reproaches, censures, through inveigh, from the Latin *invehere*, to carry into, attack. In XXXIV. 73, &c., Bacon quotes some with approval.

3. *Tithe*.—The tithe is the tenth part of produce, &c., that is devoted to the Church. It is now in England commuted by a money payment. The practice of paying tithes is very ancient; the first mention of them in the Bible is in *Genesis* xiv. 20, where Abraham gave tithes to Melchizedek "the priest of the Most High God." In *Leriticus* xxvii. 30, 31, 32, Moses lays down the law of the tithe: "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's, it is holy unto the Lord. And if a man will at all redeem ought of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof. And concerning the tithe of the herd, even whatever falleth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord." See also *Numbers* xxviii, *Deut.* xiv. 22 and 28, 29, &c. "The most barbarous nations, and the heathen Greeks and Romans, out of a principle of religion

common to all men, have often dedicated their tithes to their gods. Some have made it a standing obligation, others have done it upon particular occasions, and by the impulse of a transient devotion. Laertius says, that when Pisistratus, tyrant at Athens, wrote to Solon, to persuade him to return to Athens, he tells him "that every one there pays the tithe of his goods for the offering of sacrifices to the gods." *Laertius*, Lib. I. Pliny says, that the Arabian merchants who traded in spices durst not sell any till they had paid the tithe to their god Sabis. And Plutarch in more places than one, mentions a custom of the Romans, of offering to Hercules the tithe of what they took from their enemies."—CRUDEN.

The point of the saying lies in the allusion to the 10 per cent. interest allowed by an Act of Henry VIII. and revived by Elizabeth in 1571.

4. *His.....Sunday*.—The interest would accumulate day by day, no exception being made of course of the Sunday. Cf. XXXIV. 73, &c.

6. *Ignavum fucos, &c.*—Virgil *Georgics* IV. 168.

9. *In sudore vultus.....alieni*.—See *Genesis* III. 19.

12. *Orange-tawny bonnet*.—Cap. In Mediæval Europe, the Jews were compelled to wear either a cap or badge on the breast of a saffron colour—here called orange-tawny. The Jews were the great money-lenders of the Middle Ages. "He wore a high square yellow cap of a peculiar fashion, assigned to his nation to distinguish them from Christians." Isaac of York in Sir W. Scott's *Iranhoe*.

13. *Judaize*.—Act like Jews, or go over to Judaism, the Jews being the chief money-lenders.

*Against nature.....money*.—This is borrowed from Aristotle *Politics* I. 10. "Usury is justly to be censured; for it has not its origin in nature but amongst ourselves, for usury is most reasonably detested, as the increase of our fortune arises from the money itself, and not by employing it to the purpose for which it was intended. For it was devised for the sake of exchange, but usury multiplies it, and hence usury has received the name of produce, for whatsoever is produced is itself like its parents; and usury is merely money born of money, so that of all means of money-making this is the most contrary to nature." Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 70—95 and 133. The Greek word for Interest literally meant offspring, produce.

15. *Concessum...cordis*.—It alludes to *Matt.* XIX. 8. "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you."

17. *As*.—That. VIII. 49.

19. *Suspicious*.—Suspected, a thing to be suspicious of.

20. *Banks*.—The first public bank in Europe was founded at Venice, 1171. It lasted until the overthrow of the Venetian Republic in 1797. It was an incorporation of public creditors, to whom privileges were allowed by the State. Cunningham (*English Industry* II. 100) writes 'On the whole the banking system seems to have been very considerably developed before the close of Elizabeth's reign.' There were however no banks in England in the modern sense of the word. The Goldsmiths mostly kept money for people then. A writer in 1601 found it necessary to explain at considerable length what bankers and banks were.

*Discovery . . . estates*.—The estate or income of a man was to be disclosed, reported by him, so that it might be ascertained whether he had increased it by usury. For *Discovery* cf. VI. 44.

22. *Incommodities or commodities*.—Disadvantages or advantages.

23. *Weighed . . . out*.—Either properly estimated, or if that be not possible, separated from the evil.

24. *Make forth to*.—Set out in search of.

27. *Lazy trade . . . lie still*.—Bacon contradicts this statement very shortly after, when he says "the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade."

29. *Vene Porta*.—See XIX. 144. note.

31. *Husband*.—Farm, cultivate.

32. *Sit at a great rent*.—Be subject to a great rent.

34. *Is incident to*.—Follows from, depends on.

35. *Customs*.—Duties and taxes, which form part of the revenue of the State.

*Ebb or flow*.—Decrease or increase. But *usury* unless it is excessive will rather encourage than diminish trade (line 52.)

38. *For the usurer . . . uncertainties*.—The usurer being certain of the money he has lent, having, as a rule, exacted large security for it, while the borrower can never be sure whether the business in which he invests it will succeed, or prove a total failure.

40. *The box*.—i. e., of the money-lender.

41. *Spread*.—Cf. XV. 168. "And money is like muck, not good unless it be spread."

43. *Purchasing*.—Of land or estates is implied.

*Waylays*.—Prevents. But the successful usurer will probably buy.

*The sixth*.—Bacon makes no attempt to substantiate this.

46. *Slug*.—Hindrance, that which makes a thing heavy or slow.

*So as*.—VIII. 49.

52. *Driven*.—Conducted.

55. *Stand*.—Stand-still, stagnation,

57. *Undoing*.—Ruin. For the sentence, cf. XXVIII. 29.

59. *Under foot*.—Below the true value. It seems to have been a regular phrase of the time.

61. *Mortgaging or pawning*.—A mortgage is a conveyance of property as security for the payment of a debt, or fulfilment of some condition. When the debt is paid or the condition fulfilled the conveyance becomes null, but if it is not paid or fulfilled it becomes absolute, and the property thus becomes forfeited. Mortgage literally means a dead pledge; 'because whatever profit it might yield, it did not thereby redeem itself but became dead or lost to the mortgagee on breach of the condition. From Latin *mortuus*, dead, and *gage*, a pledge.'—SKEAT.

62. *Pawns*.—Pledges, securities.

63. *Without use*.—Without usury. If the mortgagee knows that the mortgagor will recover his security, he is not likely to advance him money without claiming interest on it.

*Precisely*.—With precision, exactness.

67. *Vanity*.—Cf. I. 26, n.

73. *Utopia*.—The land of imaginary perfection in Sir Thomas More's political romance. Gold and silver were held in contempt, criminals wearing them as a punishment. "Who-soever for any offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold. Thus, by all means possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy."

74. *Reglement*.—Regulation.

79. *Grinded*.—To grind is now a strong verb. Its past tense would be *ground*.

83. *Several*.—Separate, different.
85. *To seek*.—At a loss for; in want of.
93. *Be reduced to five*.—Bacon's debts were at 10%.
96. *To take any penalty*.—Declare that it will exact no penalty for lending money at this rate. For the Infinitive see XXVII. 196, n.
98. *This will in good part... yields but five*.—It is strange that it should not have been obvious to him, that while land gave profit of 6% and more, the rate of interest could not be fixed at 5%.
99. *Sixteen years' purchase*.—This was the regular rate in those days though it sank in some cases to thirteen or fourteen.
102. *Edge*.—Incite, stimulate. In this sense the word has the same derivation as the verb "to egg" meaning to instigate.
- Industrious*.—Such as will aid industry.
110. *All borrowers... be he*.—For the confusion of number cf. XXVI. 45.
114. *Brooked*.—Endured, put up with. A. S. *brucan*, to use.
- Certain suspicious*.—These were that the bankers manipulated the money deposited with them too freely, that they were averse to letting the depositor take it out again, that they sent the money out of the country, and that they pried too much into their customers' business.
115. *Answered*.—Paid, guaranteed.
120. *Trade of usury, and go... hazard*.—Leave the business of a money-lender in which the gains are certain, for another business, in which he is not sure that he might succeed, or in which his gains might be uncertain.
124. *Colour*.—They will not be able to give to other people's money the appearance of being their own, i. e., they will not be able to use the money of others. This is the only safeguard Bacon provides against that which must always prevent any such scheme as his being carried out. If A is forbidden to take more than 5% and B is permitted to take 9, A will entrust his money to B. Bacon thought that by confining his B class to a few towns, the A class would not be able to get their money into their hands. But the difficulty of communication was certainly greater in Bacon's time than now.

128. *In a sort.*—In a manner.  
 130. *Declaration.*—Open regulation, recognition.  
 131. *Rage.*—Grow excessive.  
*Connivance.*—Winking at its breach of all rules.

### XLII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

First published in 1612 with the title 'Of Young Men and Age'—Enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Youth and age are not to be reckoned only in time. Youth has less wisdom than age, but more invention and imagination. In violent natures it is unripe for action, but reposed natures do well in youth, vivacious natures in age. Youth does better in action and new projects than age, but its errors are more mischievous. Youth and age should be employed together, that the defects of each may be counteracted. Youth errs in attempting too much, does not consider the means, relies on chance principles, does not shrink from innovation, uses extreme remedies, and never acknowledges its errors, while old men object needlessly, will not risk anything, and are contented with a moderate success. Youth has the moral advantages, age, the political. Youth fails sometimes to fulfil its promise, when the intellect cannot bear a long strain, when the qualities are only appropriate to youth, and when men set their aim too high.

#### ANTITHETA ON YOUTH.

##### *For.*

1. First thoughts and young men's plans have more inspiration.
2. Old men are too wise for themselves and not wise enough for their neighbours and their country.
3. Old age deforms the mind more than the body could we but see it.
4. Old men fear everything but God.

##### *Against.*

1. Youth is a seed-bed for repentance.
2. There is innate in youth contempt for the authority of age; so that every man may grow wise at his own cost.
3. Time does not ratify the counsels to which he is not summoned.
4. In old men the Loves are changed into Graces.

INTRODUCTION.—With this Essay should be compared the following from Bacon's *History of Life and Death*, published 1623. "Youth has modesty and a sense of shame, old age is



somewhat hardened; a young man has kindness and mercy, an old man has become pitiless and callous; youth has a praiseworthy emulation, old age ill-natured envy; youth is inclined to religion and devotion by reason of its fervency and inexperience of evil, in old age piety cools through the lukewarmness of charity and long intercourse with evil, together with the difficulty of believing; a young man's wishes are vehement, an old man's moderate; youth is fickle and unstable, old age more grave and constant; youth is liberal, generous, and philanthropic, old age is covetous, wise for itself, and self-seeking; youth is confident and hopeful, old age diffident and distrustful; a young man is easy and obliging, an old man churlish and peevish; youth is frank and sincere, old age cautious and reserved; youth desires great things, old age regards those that are necessary; a young man thinks well of the present, an old man prefers the past; a young man reverences his superiors, an old man finds out their faults."

2. *Happeneth rarely*.—We have embodied the same idea in the proverb "you cannot put an old head on young shoulders."

3. *Cogitations*.—Thoughts. Lat. *cogitare*, to think. Proverbially, "second thoughts are best."

5. *Invention*.—Power of invention, inventive faculty.

7. *Divinely*.—By Divine inspiration. Latin *divinitus*.

10. *Meridian of their years*.—Till they have arrived at middle life. Meridian—noon. From Lat. *medius*, middle, *dies*, a day.

*Julius Cæsar*.—Dictator of Rome (B. C. 100—44). He struggled through much opposition all his youth. After devoting all his energies to gain the favour of the people, by unbounded liberality, he became quaestor (B. C. 68) at the age of 32, ædile in 65, Pontifex Maximus in 63. He was made Consul in 59 at the age of 41. After this his life was a long success, till it aroused the envy of the Roman aristocracy and he was murdered B. C. 44. Till he was over 40 he never had a military command and was regarded as uncertain. In the next dozen years he showed himself the ablest man the world has known, a masterly general, great writer, and unrivalled statesman and ruler.

11. *Septimius Severus*.—Roman Emperor, born A. D. 146, proclaimed Emperor 193, when he was 47 years of age. He conducted several campaigns with great success, and then

after remaining seven years quietly at Rome, he went to Britain to free it from the Caledonian invaders. He erected the great wall which bore his name from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne, and died at York (then called Eboracum) in the 65th year of his age, A. D. 211. One of Bacon's Apophthegms is as follows: 'It was said of Augustus and afterwards the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings and infinite good toward their ends; *That they should either have never been born or never died.*' Gibbon says "The uncommon abilities and fortune of Severus have induced an elegant historian (Herodian) to compare him with the first and greatest of the Cæsars, but Posterity, who experienced the fatal effects of his maxims and examples, justly considered him as the principal author of the decline of the Roman Empire."

These illustrations of Cæsar and Severus were added in 1625.

12. *Juventutem egit*, &c.—The quotation is from Spartianus, a Roman historian, who lived in the time of Diocletian and Constantine. He wrote the lives of several of the Roman Emperors.

15. *Reposed*.—Calm, quiet.

*Augustus Cæsar*.—The first Roman Emperor, grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar. He defeated Mark Antony when he was 19 years old, and became Consul at 20. But see note on line 11.

16. *Cosmus, Duke of Florence*.—Cosmo de Medici, at the age of 21 (1537) became head of the Florentine Republic which he ruled absolutely, and at first with cruelty, for 34 years. He restored the University of Pisa, founded the academy of Florence, and was a liberal patron of art and science. See IV. 28.

*Gaston de Foix*.—Duke of Nemours, and nephew of Louis XII of France. He was appointed at the age of 23 to the command of the forces in the war which followed the formation of the Holy League. In this campaign he distinguished himself by deeds of personal valour, and by the success of his military operations. He was killed at the battle of Ravenna, 1512, aged 24, having received no less than twenty wounds.

*And others*.—In later times William Pitt the younger is an instance. He entered Parliament when 21 years of age "with the learning of a ripe scholar." "He will be one of the first men in Parliament" said a member to the Whig leader, Charles Fox, after Pitt's first speech in the House of Com-

mons. "He is so already" replied Fox. He became Prime Minister at the age of 25. These illustrations, like those in 10—14 were added in 1625.

17. *Age*.—Is used throughout this Essay in the sense of old age.

*Is*.—"Heat and vivacity" are taken as implying one notion.

18. *Composition*.—Temperament. XXXI. 11.

19. *Invent, judge*.—See note on XXXIV. 83.

22. *Them*.—i. e., old men. For *Age...them* cf. XXVI. 45.

23. *Abuseth*.—Deceives. XXII. 128.

26. *Manage*.—Management.

*Embrace, &c.*—Take to themselves, undertake, more than they can do.

30. *Absurdly*.—Unreasonably, perversely. In the Latin this word is taken in connection with *pursue*. "They pursue absurdly" which would seem to render the meaning clearer. See note on VI. 70.

*Care not to*.—Are not careful about, do not scruple to.

33. *Unready*.—Restive.

34. *Object too much*.—Raise too many objections to any plan that is proposed.

35. *Adventure too little*.—Cf. XXIV. 13. "It is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit.....All this is true, if time stood still: which contrariwise moveth so round that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation."

36. *To the full period*.—To a successful termination or completion. *Period* comes from Gr. *periodos*, a going round, a complete circuit, hence end. Cf. XXV. 11.

38. *To compound employments*.—To employ both old and young men in the same business.

39. *For the present*.—For the present time.

40. *Succession*.—Future time.

42. *Extern*.—External.

45. *Rabbin*.—Or Rabbi, a Jewish title of respect, equivalent to master. The real meaning is Great one.

*A certain Rabbin*.—Isaac Abrabanel, a learned Jew who was councillor to Alphonso V. of Portugal, and Ferdinand of Spain

and died 1508. He wrote commentaries on the Old Testament, and it is to his commentary on Joel that Bacon refers. (*Joel* ii. 28.) So in *Adv. of Learning* l. 3. 3. 'And will you hearken to the Hebrew Rabbins? 'Your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams;' say they, youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams.' Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* may be compared, and Hood's pathetic lines:—

'It gives me little joy  
To feel I'm further off from heaven  
Than when I was a boy.'

50. *Age doth profit*.—A pathetic echo from his own life. Yet how untrue of good men! *profit* means advance.

52. *Affections*.—Emotional side of our nature.

*There be some*.—All from this point was added in 1625.

*Some have*.—Some who have. This omission of the relative pronoun when its antecedent is obvious is very common. Sh. Gr. § 244. Cf. VI. 40.

55. *Hermogenes*.—A rhetorician of the second century A. D. born at Tarsus in Cilicia. At the age of 15 he was a famous orator, at 17 he published a famous book on rhetoric, at 24 he lost his memory, and sank into a state of imbecility.

60. *Tully*.—The old way of referring to M. *Tullius* Cicero, the great orator.

*Hortensius*.—An orator, the rival of Cicero. At the age of 19 he spoke in the Forum with great success, and at once rose to eminence as an advocate. His eloquence was of the florid style, fitter for hearing than reading. His memory was so retentive that it is said that he could come out of a sale-room and repeat the auction-list backward, (B. C. 114—50).

61. *Idem manebat*.—From Cicero. *Brutus* 95.

64. *Magnanimous*.—Almost the same as *great* here. It properly means of a great mind.

*Tract*.—Length—properly space dragged out.

65. *Ultima primis cedebant*.—Bacon sums up what Livy says (XXXVIII. 53) in this phrase from Ovid. Livy's words are 'a noteworthy man; nevertheless owing to his ability being rather military than civil, his earlier life was more noteworthy than the later, because wars were waged incessantly while he was young; with his age the world too lost its activity and scope for his talents failed.' Bacon therefore, as

so constantly, distorts the point of his authority. Scipio Africanus was a famous general who fought most successfully against Hannibal and the Carthaginians. His latter years were spent in peace, so that his great abilities, which were all warlike, had not then the scope to display themselves. He was born 234, in the year 218 he saved the life of his father at the battle of Ticinus, 216 he fought at Cannae, and was chosen to take command of the remnant of the army. He was chosen a-dile in 212, though he not had reached the legal age, in 210 he was made commander of the troops in Spain, where he conducted a most successful campaign. In 206 he went to Africa, where he defeated the Carthaginians, in 202 gaining a decisive victory over Hannibal at Zama. It was in honour of this that he received the name Africanus. He was subsequently accused of receiving bribes, brought to trial, and left Rome. He died probably about 183.

#### XLIII. OF BEAUTY.

Published in 1612—Slightly enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Virtue, being best plain set, is rarely found in conjunction with great beauty, though there are exceptions. Beauty of complexion is inferior to that of features and this to that of graceful demeanour. "Excellent beauty" has generally some "strangeness of proportion." Youth cannot really be beautiful. Beauty is always fleeting, and more often injurious than helpful to virtue.

N. B.—With Bacon's belief that Beauty and Virtue are rarely found together, contrast Spenser's Hymn on Heavenly Love.

#### ANTITHETA ON BEAUTY.

##### *For.*

1. Deformed persons commonly take revenge on Nature.

2. Virtue is nothing but inward beauty; beauty nothing but outward virtue.

3. Deformed persons seek to rescue themselves from scorn, if all else fails, by their malice.

4. Beauty makes virtues shine and vices blush.

##### *Against.*

1. Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set.

2. What a fine robe is to a deformed figure, that beauty is to a base man.

3. Those whom beauty adorns and those whom beauty attracts are generally alike light.

1. *Virtue*.—Excellence of any kind. Cf. XL. 2. See below on 13.

*Stone*.—Jewel.

2. *Comely*.—Graceful, handsome.

3. *Dignity of presence*.—Dignity of mien, behaviour, deportment.

4. *Aspect*.—Face.

*Almost*.—Generally. *Almost* comes from the A. S. *eal-mæst*, quite the greatest part, nearly all. Sh. Gr. § 29.

5. *Of great virtue*.—Handsome people generally have not characters to correspond. Hence the old proverb 'Handsome is that handsome does.'

8. *Great spirit*.—Greatness of character, high and noble nature. Cf. II. 38.

9. *But this.....times*.—Like the illustrations in XLII. these were added in 1625.

*Augustus Cæsar*.—He was a very handsome man. It is said that on one occasion a Gaul who had been sent by his tribe to murder him, returned to them saying that "when he looked on Augustus' face he could not find it in his heart to injure him." Suetonius says 'He was possessed of an uncommon beauty, which retained its matchless charm through every stage of his life.'

10. *Titus Vespasianus*.—Usually known as Titus, a Roman Emperor, born A. D. 40. He served under his father Vespasian in the Jewish wars, and after Vespasian had returned to Rome and been proclaimed Emperor, Titus remained in Palestine to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem, which he took A. D. 70. He became Emperor in 79. The first year of his reign is remarkable for the great eruption of Vesuvius. He died A. D. 81 aged 41, and it was suspected that he was poisoned by his brother Domitian. He was a man of attractive personal appearance. The name of his father Vespasian was the same as his in full, but he was coarse-featured.

*Philip le Bel*.—Philip IV. of France (A. D. 1285-1314). He was surnamed le Bel, or the Fair, on account of his great beauty.

*Edward IV*.—Of England (A. D. 1461-1483) was generally admitted to be the most handsome man in England at that time.

11. *Alcibiades*.—Born at Athens B. C. 450. He possessed a beautiful person, transcendent abilities, and great wealth.

He was a great general and statesman, but untrustworthy. He was assassinated B. C. 404.

*Ismael.*—Ismael I. made himself ruler of Persia in 1503. "A certain priest of Armenia found so great hopes of his excellent graces and perfections, clearly appearing by the lineaments of his face and body, that he took all the pains and care he could to bring him up."

12. *Sophy.*—Or Sufi, the name of the Shi'ah dynasty, founded by Ismael, that ruled over Persia from 1503 to 1722 A. D.

The character of none of these men will bear thorough inspection. Augustus was heartless and desigining. Titus, certainly, in later life redeemed the evil promise of his youth, and "his government proved an agreeable surprise to those who had anticipated a return of the times of Nero," but he died before he could be really tested. Philip IV. by lying and dissimulation won Guienne from the English. Edward IV. was pitiless, indolent, voluptuous, and treacherous. Alcibiades was a most dissolute man, "and Socrates, who saw his vast capabilities, attempted to win him to the paths of virtue, but in vain." Ismael I. murdered his own mother. But all were undoubtedly able—had *virtus* in Bacon's sense, though not in ours.

14. *Favour.*—Features, countenance, face. Cf. 'hard-favoured.' *As You Like It*, III. 3. 28.

*Decent... motion.*—Becoming and graceful movement, or deportment. Decent, a Latinism, becoming.

16. *A picture ... life.*—A graceful motion or deportment cannot be expressed in a picture, nor is it appreciated at first on seeing a beautiful person.

17. *Excellent.*—i. e., excelling others, uncommon.

18. *Proportion.*—Symmetry of the parts.

19. *Apelles.*—Apelles was one of the most famous of Greek painters. He was a contemporary of Alexander the Great (B. C. 336—323) who thought so highly of him that he would allow no other painter to paint his portrait. His most celebrated pictures are a portrait of Alexander wielding a thunderbolt, and Venus Anadyomene, or Venus rising out of the sea. But Bacon has mistaken Apelles for Zeuxis, another celebrated Greek painter (B. C. 424—400) who, when painting a picture for the temple of Hera at Croton, was allowed to choose five of the most beautiful maidens of the country, as his models, so that he might paint the best features of each.

*Albert Durer.*—The greatest of the early German painters and engravers, born 1471. He was painter to the Emperors

Maximilian I. and Charles V., and was a friend of Raphael. Bacon refers to his treatise "De symmetria partium humani corporis," in which he asserts the geometrical proportions of the human form. He is partly wrong, as we know and the Greek artists knew that the human face and body are not accurately symmetrical. But he did good service in leading artists to a study of anatomy.

*Were*.—For *be*, to denote past time.

20. *The more*.—The greater, in its old use as an adjective. Sh. Gr. § 17.

*Would make*.—Wished to make. Dürer advocated measuring different parts and drawing the rest in certain proportions to these.

24. *Not but I think*.—Not but *that* I think.

25. *Kind of felicity*.—By inspiration, or by good fortune.

27. *A man shall see*.—Cf. II. 7. V. 21. Notice the change from a man to you.

*That.....a good*.—A confused construction. For the *that...them* cf. XXII. 89. But we expect *in them* after *good*. We should now say *in which* instead of *that* and insert *they* before *altogether*—which would make the construction simple.

28. *A good, &c.*—A good part, or good feature.

29. *Altogether do well*.—Though no single feature is good, yet the faces, considered as wholes, impress the beholder favourably.

31. *Many times*.—Often.

32. *Amiable*.—Lovely. Cf. *Psalm* LXXXIV. 1. 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts.'

*Pulchrorum, &c.*—A Latin version of a saying ascribed to Euripides. It is quoted by Plutarch in his 'Life of Alcibiades.' Bacon had jotted it down in his common-place book. But it properly ran 'even the autumn of the beautiful is beautiful' which is exactly opposed to Bacon's argument.

34. *By pardon*.—By favour, by an extension of the word's sense. Youth, during the period of growth, cannot always be graceful; true beauty can only be seen in what is fully developed.

*And considering*.—i. e., making allowance for the youth, reckoning on what it will be when developed.

37. *Out of countenance*.—Ashamed. Cf. XII. 44. LIII. 26.



38. *If it light well.*—If it alight on a worthy person. Beauty in a virtuous person will of course make virtue shine—will make it conspicuous and attractive. How it makes vices blush is not so clear. It would seem to mean that the vicious, seeing virtue in a beautiful person, recognise how beautiful virtue really is and blush for the ugliness which their own vices imply.

#### XLIV. OF DEFORMITY.

Published in 1612—Slightly altered in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Deformity of body is often accompanied by deformity in mind and character. Deformity tends to affect the character. Deformity by the scorn it evokes makes the deformed bold and watchful, and it lessens opposition and mistrust in others, so that deformed persons have often become the confidants of kings, though rather as spies than governors. All deformed people try to compensate for their disadvantage, some by malice, some by superior virtue.

FOR ANTITHETA SEE ESSAY XLIII.

INTRODUCTION.—It is rather strange that while Bacon refuses to recognise in beauty a sign of virtue, he readily takes deformity as a mark of evil. There can be no doubt that he had in mind his cousin Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, whom Elizabeth used to call her 'pigmy.' 'A head squarely set on rounded and disproportioned shoulders gave him the appearance of being deformed and the effect was exaggerated by the dress and fashion of the times.' (Brewer, *English Studies*). Bacon regarded him as the hindrance to his rise and hated him accordingly, though during his life he covered him with flattery in his anxiety to secure his patronage. In 1612 Salisbury died and Bacon was freed from the necessity of concealing his feelings. He reviled his cousin in letters to the king and was understood to be attacking him in this Essay.

A courtier named Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 17, 1612, soon after the publication of the second edition of the Essays, says, "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays where, in a chapter of Deformity, the world takes notice that he paints-out his little cousin to the life." It was to this same "little cousin" that Bacon had written during his life. 'I do esteem whatsoever I have, or may have, in the world but as trash in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well-accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot;' and much else constantly in the same strain.

Dr. Brewer has expressed his opinion that this Essay is a study of Shakspere's *Richard III.*

1. *Deformed.....natures, &c.*—A spiteful nature has always been attributed to those who are deformed. Cf. Tennyson's account of the Knights of the Round Table:—

“ For in those days  
No knight of Arthur's noblest dealt in scorn,  
But, if a man were halt or hunched, in him,  
By those whom God had made full limb'd and tall,  
Scorn was allowed as part of his defect,  
And he was answered softly by the King  
And all his Table.”

The poet Pope is an example. He was deformed, and so spiteful were his sayings and writings, that he was called “The crooked wasp of Twickenham.”

3. *As the Scripture saith.*—“Without natural affection,” *Romans* i. 31, and *2 Timothy* iii. 3. But the Scripture refers not to the deformed but to the heathen and false teachers. Bacon insinuates that Salisbury had not treated him as a cousin should.

7. *Ventureth.*—Runs risk.

8. *An election touching the frame.....mind, &c.*—Election = choice. A man has the power of choosing what he will be in regard to his mind and character; his bodily frame and appearance is beyond his control, he must of necessity endure that, having no choice in the matter.

10. *The .....inclination.*—Men's nature and character were supposed to be determined by the stars at their birth. But as the sun is superior to the stars, so discipline and virtue are superior to natural inclination.

13. *Deceivable.*—Deceptive. *Deceivable* should be *Passive*—able to be deceived—according to its formation. Cf. *Richard* II. 11. 3. 85 ‘deceivable and false.’

14. *Anything fixed.*—Any deformity which can never be removed, or got rid of.

15. *Induce.*—Bring upon him, a Latinism.

*Perpetual spur.*—Urging him on to do his utmost, as a spur is used to urge a horse to its highest speed. Cf. *Milton Lycidas*. ‘Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise.’

17. *Extreme.*—We should now use the adverb, *extremely*. See I. 20. V. 19.

22. *Some.....repay.*—Some means to repay. By exposing the weaknesses of others, they revenge themselves for their

own weakness which by necessity is exposed. Cf. IX. 43 and *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 32.

27. *Upon the matter*.—In fact.

*A great wit*.—A person of great intellect or mind. I. 6.

31. *Obnoxious*.—Under the influence of, dependent upon. A Latinism.

*Officious*.—Ready to serve, obliging, like the Latin *officiosus*, dutiful. Not in the sense we use it now, which is excessively forward in kindness, intermeddling. Cf. XLVIII. 38.

33. *Spies*.—Spies. Salisbury was noted for his power to obtain information. He knew all that went on at Rome and at the Spanish Court as well as being acquainted with the doings of all in England.

*Whisperers*.—Giving secret information.

34. *Much like*.—We should say either *very like* or *much the same*.

*Reason*.—Relation in which they stand.

35. *The ground*.—Well founded fact.

39. *Agésilas*.—King of Sparta. He was small, mean-looking and lame, on which last ground objection had been made to his accession. He was one of the best citizens and generals that Sparta ever had. He carried on a war with Persia with great success, was summoned home in the midst of his conquests to defend his country, met and overthrew the invaders, and gave back to Sparta much of her former supremacy. And in her later hour of defeat he proved himself a match for her conqueror, Epaminondas. He died at the age of 80 B. C. 360. Cf. IX. 50.

*Zanger*.—Was a son of Solyman the Magnificent, Sultan of Turkey. He stabbed himself in 1553, on discovering that his brother, Mustapha, had been executed by Solyman. See XIX. 90.

*Esop*.—See XXXVIII. 37. He has been represented as a perfect monster of ugliness and deformity, but there seems to be no authority for this statement. Bentley even said 'Tis certain he was no deformed person; and 'tis probable he was very handsome.'

40. *Gasca*.—Pedro de la Gasca, a Spanish ecclesiastic, who was sent out to put down the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in Peru in 1547. He was disproportioned. See Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, V. 4.

*Socrates*.—Was not actually deformed, though his great ugliness almost amounted to deformity. "He had a flat nose, thick lips and prominent eyes like a Satyr or Silenus."

#### XLV. OF BUILDING.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Houses are to live in—not to look at, therefore use should be the first thing regarded. Choose a good site, where the air is good, the approach to it easy, and neighbours pleasant. Consider the conveniences, such as wood, water, good soil, &c., so as to get as many as possible, though every convenience cannot be expected round one dwelling. The house, itself, in front must have two wings, one for banquets (one large room above, dressing-rooms below), the other wing for the household, (with hall, chapel, parlours, &c.) Between the two, a high tower, at the back a court, turfed, with buildings round three sides of it, lower than the front, stair-cases at each corner, with turrets, the building all to be two rooms deep, one side for galleries, the other for suites of private apartments. Beyond this there should be again an inner court enclosed by a garden, with cloisters all round and a fountain in the centre. These buildings should be for private apartments, infirmary, &c. In front also there should be three antecourts, (1) a green court enclosed by a plain wall. (2) a second enclosed by a wall with turrets, (3) a third with terraces and cloisters. The offices to stand at a distance, and be reached by low galleries.

INTRODUCTION.—Two great causes affected the architecture of Tudor times—the Renaissance and the cessation of Civil War. To the former was due the reversion to classic models from the Gothic which had hitherto prevailed; to the latter the building of houses not for defence but for convenience and beauty. The peace and prosperity of the age led to a great extension of building, especially as Henry VIII. encouraged it, and as, under the Italian influence which was so strong then, it was regarded as every gentleman's duty to make a family house worthy of his descent. Books on Italian (Renaissance) architecture were translated into English, and two foreign architects—John of Padua and Havenius of Clèves—were brought over. This important period in the history of English building therefore had the best guidance possible, with the result that in some departments its work has never been surpassed. The most famous residences of English nobility and gentry belong to this period—such as Knowle, Penshurst, Hardwick, Hatfield.

Longleat, Audley End, and Holland House—also some of the best buildings in the Universities, *e. g.*, Caius College and Neville's Court, Trinity College, at Cambridge. Nor was it only that a few great buildings were reared. Elsewhere, Bacon wrote years before 'She (Elizabeth) may say she received it (England) a realm of cottages and left it a realm of palaces.' Again 'There was never the like number of fair and stately houses as have been built and set up from the ground since her Majesty's reign; insomuch that there have been reckoned in one shire that is not great to the number of three and thirty, which have all been new built within that time; and whereof the meanest was never built for £2000.' And certainly James I.'s reign was no less prolific. The following are some of the most prominent features of the Elizabethan style. The material was mainly brick. The roof was marked by many chimneys and gables. The windows were large and boldly divided. The general effect was picturesque and romantic. The chief rooms were upstairs; halls were many. 'The great hall with its oriel or bay; the fine plastered ceiling supported by heavy beams of timber; the wide oak staircase, with its carved balusters, and ornamented newel post, and heavy-moulden hand-rail; the old wainscoted parlour with its old magnificent chimney piece reaching to the ceiling—these are all essentially English features and are full of vigour and life.' (Rogers Smith, *Renaissance Architecture*.) Characteristic of the style also were the long galleries often 100 ft. long, the arcades, and the use of figures (statuas) in the ornamentation. The principal English exponent of the transitional style was Inigo Jones (1572—1652)—whose life spans the distance between the Early Tudor which was almost Gothic and the developed Renaissance of Christopher Wren.

Three great buildings can hardly have been absent from Bacon's mind while writing this Essay—Whitehall, Audley End, and Hatfield. The old Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace had been burnt down in Elizabeth's reign. Inigo Jones rebuilt it for James I. who intended also to rebuild the whole Palace on his designs. The Earl of Suffolk, Lord Treasurer from 1612 to 1619, built in Essex Audley End, one of the most picturesque of English houses—out of money, it was said at the time, received as bribes from Spain, and Hatfield House with its great halls and its gallery 160 ft. long, its clock-tower, its quadrangles, its Chapel, and royal chambers, would almost seem to be the model on which Bacon bases his description of what a palace should be.

In 1607 James I. gave to Bacon's cousin, Salisbury, Hatfield Palace (built by Bishop Norton about 1480) in exchange for

Theobalds. Salisbury at once decided to build a more modern house on the estate. He acted as his own architect and spared no expense to make it a model of what a nobleman's home should be. The building was not completed at the time of his death, in 1612, and he never resided in it. It represents however the perfection of the Elizabethan style, which is the more remarkable as Salisbury and his servants who were responsible for it were of course not trained in the art. This serves to show the general interest taken at the time in building and points to the wide circle to which the Essay would appeal. [Cf. also Green. *Short History*, p. 389, &c.]

Bacon himself spent much time, care and money upon his mansion at Gorhambury.

2. *Uniformity*.—It is assumed that this is a mark of beauty.
5. *With small cost*.—Being in the imagination only.
6. *An ill seat*.—A bad site, or situation.
8. *Unequal*.—Variable.
9. *Knapp*.—A knoll, a rising ground. It is the same word as knop, or knob, a bump, or protuberance. *Knapp* also means a hill-top. From A. S. *cneap*.
11. *So as*.—Cf. VIII. 49.
14. *Ill ways*.—Bad approach, or bad roads.
- Ill markets*.—Poor convenience for marketing, or of obtaining supplies.
15. *Momus*.—The god of mockery and fault-finding. He found fault with the man made by Prometheus because a little door had not been left in his breast, so that one could look into his secret thoughts; and Athena having made a house, he found fault with that because it had no wheels, so that it could be removed from ill neighbours. Zeus made a bull, but this did not please Momus, who considered that its horns should have been placed below its eyes, so that it could see where to strike. (*Æsop's Fables*.)
17. *Mixture*.—Want of mixture. *Want of* to be inserted because he is speaking of the "wants" of the place. (See below line 21.)
20. *Hawking*.—A sport in which birds were caught by means of hawks trained on purpose. Falcons were the species generally used, and a well-trained falcon was very valuable. A falconer was attached to every large household, whose business it was to breed and train falcons and hawks for the sport.

21. *Commodity or discommodity.*—Advantage or disadvantage. As Bacon is speaking here of the inconveniences, it should be "having no commodity of navigable rivers;" in the Latin it is "nulla commoditas," "the no commodity." For *discommodity* cf. XXXIII. 85, XLI. 26. but *incommodity* XI. 22.

23. *Lurcheth.*—Carries off from another, snatches up, devours. The word in this sense is obsolete; it was derived from the Latin *lurcare*, to devour greedily.

25. *Hath a great living.*—This like line 21 is really a commodity occurring oddly in a list of discommodities. Bacon means that in choosing a site for a 'palace' one should consider whether he has round it or can obtain round it wide lands, or whether his site will be cramped.

26. *All which.....them.*—Cf. VIII. 10.

29. *Sort them so.*—Arrange in such a manner.

30. *Lucullus.*—A celebrated Roman soldier, who having conquered Mithridates but having been superseded in his command by Pompey returned to Rome and gave himself up to luxury and indolence, and lived in a style of extraordinary magnificence. Died B.C. 57 or 56. This story is taken from Plutarch and is told in Bacon's *Apophthegms* also.

32. *Lightsome.*—Light.

36. *Fowl.*—Birds.

38. *Cicero.*—Cf. XXIII. 44.

41. *The perfection.*—Practice, accomplishment—a carrying through of the precepts he laid down in the former book.

*Palace.*—Augustus' house was called the Palatium, being on the Palatine Hill at Rome. Hence all Imperial and royal houses have taken the name just as Cæsar became the regular word for Emperor in European languages. Augustus' house was not very splendid—but Nero rebuilt it most magnificently.

43 *The Vatican.*—The papal palace at Rome, said to have been founded by Symmachus, a Roman consul of the fourth century, who was remarkable for his zeal in upholding the ancient pagan religion of Rome. It stands on the right bank of the Tiber on the Mons Vaticanus. It is said to contain 4,422 rooms, and has a gallery of statues a mile long, more than 20 courts, 12 great halls, and 8 grand staircases. The Pauline and Sistine Chapels in it were painted by Michael Angelo.

44. *Escorial*.—A palace a few miles out of Madrid, begun by Philip II. of Spain in 1563, to commemorate the battle of St. Quentin and in honour of St. Lawrence, on whose day the battle was fought. It was built in the form of a gridiron, because St. Lawrence was martyred by being roasted to death on a gridiron. It consists of a palace, a monastery, a college, three chapter houses, and three libraries. It contains 35 great halls, 80 staircases, and has over 4,000 windows. It took twenty-two years in building. It is said that Bacon's criticism of the Vatican and Escorial is false.

*Severed*.—Separate.

47. *Banquet*.—Banqueting Hall.

48. *Book of Esther*.—One of the smaller books in the Bible, referring to the Jews at the Court of Xerxes or his son. "The King made a feast unto all that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace."—*Esther* 1. 5.

49. *Triumphs*.—Shows used in great festivities. (See Essay XXXVII.)

51. *Returns*.—Parts running towards the back of the house. If a house be built round a square court, with its front to the north, the buildings east and west of the court are *returns*.

59. *At the first*.—Beginning from the central tower, first the hall, then the chapel, then the parlours.

62. *Parlour*.—A sitting room, literally, a room for conversation. From French, *parler*, to speak. "In a religious house the parlour is the room where inmates are permitted to meet and converse with each other, or with visitors."

64. *Privy*.—Private.

*Butleries*.—A place for provisions, especially liquids. A corruption of Mid. E. *botelerie*, a butlery, properly a place for a butler. It has no connection with the word *butter*, though often confused with it.

65. *Pantries*.—Properly a pantry is a place where bread is made or kept. From Low Latin *paneta*, one who makes bread, now simply a place for storing provisions of any kind.

67. *Leads*.—A flat leaded roof to walk upon. Note that Bacon used the plural form in the singular. This is to be railed round as a protection, with statues at intervals to decorate and ornament it.

68. *Statues*.—Cf. XXVII. 160.



70. *Newel*.—A pillar of stone or wood round which the steps in a winding staircase wind.

71. *Cast into*.—Made in. Cf. 97.

73. *Point*.—Appoint. Sh. Gr. § 460. Cf. XVIII.

76. *Tunnel*.—Funnel, opening of a chimney. Bacon did not understand a tunnel in the sense we use it generally, the artificial passage through a hill, &c., for a road or railway or canal.

77. *Stairs*.—Staircase, a common use.

87. *Alleys*.—Literally "going ways." Fr. *aller*, go. Cf. Milton *Comus*, 311. "I know each lane and every alley green." The court is to be turfed, with a paved walk round it, and two others across it at right angles.

*Quarters to graze*.—The four quarters into which the cross will divide the court are to be laid down in grass. *Graze* here means 'grow grass.'

88. *Row of return*.—See note above, line 51.

90. *Cupola*.—A cup-shaped vault or dome on the top of an edifice. From the Latin *cupa*, a cup; through the Italian *cupola*, a dome.

92. *Several works*.—Different devices.

93. *Chambers of presence*.—Reception rooms where the host was present to receive his guests.

94. *Double house*—*i. e.*, two rows of rooms, one on each side, with a passage running between them.

95. *Thorough lights*.—Lights or windows on both sides. Cf. V 20.

96. *From*.—Away from.

97. *Cast*.—Contrive.

98. *You shall have*.—Cf. II. 7.

99. *Full of glass*.—A feature of the domestic architecture of the time.

100. *Become*.—To get to, to betake one's self to. Properly *become* is *by-come*, come at.

101. *Inbowed windows*.—Windows built out in the form of a bow. We now say bow-windows or bay-windows.

102. *In respect of*.—Cf. XXVII. 90.



104. *Conference*.—Talk, conversation.
109. *Same square*.—i. e., of the same superficial dimensions.
110. *Cloistered*.—Surrounded with cloisters. The word *cloisters* is rarely used now except as applying to an arched or roofed walk in connexion with some religious building. They were originally intended for places of recreation in monasteries or colleges, or other places of religious retirement. From Latin *claustrum*, enclosure.
111. *Decent*.—Cf. XLIII. 14.
112. *Grotta*.—The proper form. (Italian) a cavern in the earth, whether natural or artificial. It is the same word as *crypt*, softened in the Italian.
- Estivation*.—The word really means “the act of passing the summer.” From Latin *æstas*, summer, *æstiva*, to pass the summer. We should say ‘for use as a summer-house.’
115. *No whit*.—Not at all; whit is a bit, small portion.
116. *Dampishness*.—We should now say dampness.
117. *Work*.—Device.
118. *To be pared*.—That is, turfed with paved walks round and across at right angles.
- To be pared.....court was*.—That is turfed with paved walks round and across at right angles. For the loose Infinitive cf. XXVII. 196 n.
120. *Foresee*.—Provide.
122. *Anticamera and recamera*.—*Anticamera* should be *antecamera*, meaning an ante-chamber or front room. *Recamera* means back chamber or retiring room. Latin *camera*, a chamber.
124. *Upon the ground story*.—He suddenly remembers he has not described the *end* of the ground storey, so he drags it in here.
126. *Take the prospect*.—Have the view.
127. *Further side*.—End.
128. *Cabinets*.—Small rooms.
- Hanged*.—We now say hung, except in reference to executions.
129. *Crystalline*.—Translucent. Cf. *Cymbeline* V. 4. 113, ‘Mount, eagle, to my palace crystalline.’

133. *Avoidances*.—Outlets for the water. M. E. *avoiden*, to empty.

140. *Terraces leaved aloft*.—Evidently the cloisters are to be flat roofed and leaved, so as to form walking places or terraces. (Terrace from Latin, *terra*, earth, through Italian *terrazza*, a terrace, or long mound of earth.)

#### XLVI. OF GARDENS.

Published in 1625.

OUTLINE.—A garden yields the purest of human pleasures, and gardening is a higher art than building.

Gardens well ordered ought to be things of beauty all the year round, and contain flowers and plants that are fragrant, and perfume the air.

A prince-like garden should be divided thus—

*The green*.—With turf well kept, surrounded by a covered walk. It is not to be cut up into fanciful earth-beds. The hedge is to be raised on a bank set with flowers, in the centre a mound 30 feet high with fountains for throwing up and receiving water.

*The heath*.—As much like a natural wilderness as possible, no trees but plenty of thickets and shrubs with wild flowers and fruit growing in the shade, with little heaps like mole-hills, such as would be found in wild heaths.

*The side gardens*.—With sheltered walks, to shade from the sun, or to afford shelter in bad weather, to be well gravelled, to contain fruit trees of all descriptions, surrounded with a mound, not too high, but allowing of a view of the surrounding country.

*The main garden*.—To contain fruit trees, and arbours with seats, but the trees not to be too thick, as it should be open and airy. Aviaries should be rejected unless very large.

This is only an outline, but though many things might be added for magnificence, nothing more is needed for true pleasure.

INTRODUCTION.—Bacon's favourite amusement was gardening, and his gardens and grounds at Gorhambury were magnificent. In his 'Commentarius Solutus' he gives his plans for his new gardens, terraces, ponds and buildings at Gorhambury. He erected there at the cost of £10,000 a retreat to which he repaired when he wished to devote himself to study. Nothing would induce him to part with the woods there, even in his most straitened circumstances.

The formation of gardens along with great houses was one of the fashions of the time. Salisbury spent great pains upon the grounds at Hatfield. James I. also laid out the gardens of his palaces, importing trees, &c., at great cost for them. In the fashion and in the style it followed we may trace Italian influence.

1. *God Almighty first planted a garden.*—"And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden."—*Genesis* 11. 8. 9. 10.

4. *Handy-works.*—The Latin translation expands it thus:—"Mere works of the hand, without any savour of nature." Things done by skill of hand.

*Shall.*—Cf. II. 7.

5. *Civility.*—Civilisation, the Latin word for which is *civilitas*.

6. *Stately.*—Adverb. Cf. I. 20. n.

8. *Royal.*—Grand, magnificent.

14. *Pine-apple-trees.*—Pines, pine-apple being used for pine-cone.

*Rosemary, lavender, periwinkle.*—For their interesting etymology see Skeat.

16. *Stored.*—Heated with stoves, grown in a hot-house.

*Warm set.*—Grown in a hot-bed, or in a warm and sheltered position. The Latin translation has 'along a wall and toward the sun.'

17. *Mezereon trees.*—A shrub with purple or white flowers, called also German Olive Spurge.

18. *Crocus vernus.*—Wright says: "By this Bacon apparently means something different from the plant now known by the name, which has a purple flower. According to Loudon's 'Hortus Britannicus' the common yellow crocus (*Luteus*) was not introduced till 1629. The *C. Susiana* which has a yellow flower, was introduced in 1605. Gerarde calls the *Crocus vernus* 'The early flowering wilde saffron,' and gives two kinds, *C. V. flore luteo*, yellow spring saffron, and *C. V. flore albo*, white spring saffron, which may be those to which Bacon alludes."

19. *Primrose*.—See Skeat.

20. *Chamaïris*.—Dwarf flag, or Iris.

*Frittellaria*.—Common frittillary, a genus of bulbous flowering plants of the lily kind, which grows in moist places and flowers in the spring.

23. *Cornelian trees*.—The cornel tree, or dog wood, a tree which bears a small fruit resembling cherries.

25. *Gilliflower*.—See Skeat.

26. *Flower-de-luces* (or *flower delices*).—The iris. The fleur-de-lis is the royal symbol of France. It was first adopted by Louis VII, on his shield during the Crusades; since the time of Charles VI. the symbol has consisted of three golden "fleurs-de-lis" on a blue ground.

27. *Daffodil*.—See Skeat.

28. *Damson*.—Or damascene, so called because it was introduced into Europe from Damascus.

32. *Bugloss*.—The ox-tongue.

33. *Flos Africanus*.—African marigold.

35. *Ribes*.—Currants.

*Rasps*.—Raspberries.

36. *Satyrion*.—This is probably the butterfly orchis.

37. *Herba muscaria*.—The grape hyacinth.

*Lilium convallium*.—Lily of the valley.

38. *Ginnitings*.—An early apple, still called jennitings or gennitins.

39. *Codlins*.—Codlings or codlins, another kind of apple, particularly adapted for cooking.

40. *Apricocks*.—The old spelling of apricots.

42. *Melocotones*.—A kind of quince.

*Cornelians*.—The fruit of the cornel or dog-wood tree.

43. *Wardens*.—Large pears.

44. *Services*.—Fruit like pears from a tree valuable for its timber, which is fine grained and durable.

*Bullaces*.—A kind of wild plum.

45. *Holly-oaks*.—Holly-oaks, a flowering plant of the mal-low order. See Skeat, under *Hale*.

*These particulars . . . . . place affords.*—Mr. Wright says that in two copies "the following sentence is substituted, 'thus if you will, you may have the Golden Age again, and a spring all the year long.'"

51. *That delight.*—In the perfume of flowers.

52. *What be.*—Apparently Indicative. Cf I. 2, but possibly Subjunctive in a dependent question.

53. *Fast flowers of their smell.*—Retentive of their scent. Similarly we speak of *fast* colours.

61. *Bartholomew-tide.*—The day sacred to the Apostle and Martyr St. Bartholomew is August 24th.

*Musk-rose.*—Moss-rose. Latin *Muscus*, moss.

62. *Which [yield].*—In 1625 *yield* was omitted. It seems better to supply it though *with* for *which* has also been suggested.

63. *Cordial.*—Healthful.

64. *Bent.*—A coarse kind of grass.

68. *Matted pink.*—"The smallest, both for leaf and flower of all other pinks that are nourished in gardens." (Parkinson, *Paradisus*.) "Miller describes a kind of *Dianthus*" as the small creeping or Maiden Pink commonly called the mated pink by seedsmen.—WRIGHT.

75. *Alleys.*—Paths, walks, from French *aller*, to go. Cf XLV, 87.

86. *Nothing is more pleasant.*—A lawn of the Thames Valley is perhaps the sight most restful to the eye in the whole world.

88. *Go in front upon.*—Find in front of you as you go forward.

89. *Hedge.*—Fence.

91. *By the shade, &c.*—When you wish to obtain the shade, have to pay for it by exposure to the sun first.

92. *Of either side.*—On each side. Sh. Gr. § 12.

104. *Entire.*—Continuous.

111. *Slope.*—Adj. sloping.

114. *To leave.*—For this Infinitive cf. XXVII. 196.

116. *Deliver you.*—Bring you, lead you.

119. *For.*—Because of, here for fear of.

*Letting*.—Hindering, preventing. From A. S. *lettan*, to hinder. A common phrase still is 'without let or hindrance.'

121. *For*.—Cf. VI. 41.

124. *Too busy*.—Too curious, too elaborate.

125. *Images*. . . . *juniper*.—It was the custom to trim and cut trees into all kinds of fantastic shapes, such as a peacock, a ship in full sail, and so on. In some-out-of-the-way places even now, trees may be seen trimmed in this fashion.

*Be*.—I. 2.

126. *Wells*.—Borders, generally used of the borders of gowns, or of boots and shoes.

133. *Perfect circles*.—He perhaps means that the paths are to wind round the mount in a spiral manner, without any "bulwarks" at the sides. Or the perfect circles may be the alleys only, to which the ascents lead—so that the alleys are horizontal circular walks, the ascents leading from one to another and, so to the summit.

*Bulwarks and embossments*.—A bulwark is a rampart, or fortification, or any means of defence or security, but generally only used in a military sense. Embossments are bosses, raised ornaments in architecture. So that the circles are to be quite smooth, without any thing of the nature of a defence at the sides.

135. *Chimneys*.—Not the chimney pots, but the fire places, or stoves. Through the Fr. *cheminee*, from Lat. *caminus*, a fire place. \*It is from this period, indeed, that we can first date the rise of a conception which seems to us now a peculiarly English one, the conception of comfort. The chimney corner, so closely associated with family life, came into existence with the general introduction of chimneys, a feature rare in ordinary houses at the beginning of this reign" (that of Elizabeth.)—GREEN, p. 388.

Before the introduction of chimneys the smoke had to make its way out through a hole in the roof.

136. *Cast*.—Contrived. XLV. 97.

*Without*. . . . *glass*.—"The prodigal use of glass became a marked feature in the domestic architecture of the time, and one whose influence on the general health of the people can hardly be over-estimated. Long lines of windows stretched over the fronts of the new manor halls. Every merchant's house had its oriel. "You shall have sometimes" Lord Bacon grumbled, "your houses so full of glass, that we

cannot tell where to come to be out of the sun or the cold." Green. See XLV. 99.

141. *Receipt*.—Receptacle.

145. *As it never stay*.—So that it never stay or stand. Cf. XXIII. 33.

151. *Curiosity*.—Curious work, varied devices.

155. *Fine rails*.—Cf. XLV. 67.

*Lustre*.—Brightness, splendour, (*lustrum*, a window, Low Lat.)

156. *Statuas*.—Statues. From the Latin *statua*, a standing image.

160. *Equality of bores*.—"Tubes of equal dimensions, so that the water may be drawn off as fast as it goes in." Latin translation.

161. *Archng water*.—Forcing water through a jet so that it falls in an arch.

164. *Nothing to*.—Contributing nothing to. Cf. 226.

167. *To be framed.....wildness*.—To be made or ordered as much as possible like a natural heath.

182. *Pricked*.—Planted or set. Cf. XVIII. 76.

184. *But here and there*.—Only here and there, at rare intervals.

187. *Out of course*.—Out of due course, out of bounds.

195. *Because of*.—Like *for* in 119.

195. *Going wet*.—Walking in the wet.

197. *Ranges*.—Rows.

*Would be*.—Cf. III. 153.

200. *Deceive the trees*.—Steal the nourishment from the trees, cheat them of the nourishment they ought to derive from the soil.

202. *Leaving the wall, &c.*—So that having ascended the mount (mound) at the end of the walk, you may find yourself able to look over the wall there, since in your elevated position it will reach only to your breast.

208. *So as*.—VIII. 49.

210. *Rest upon the alleys*.—Depend upon the alleys.



215. *Aviary*.—A place for keeping birds.
216. *That largeness as*.—Cf. XIV. 22.
218. *Nestling*.—Place for building nests.
219. *Platform*.—Plan, pattern. Cf. *Adv. of Learning* I. 6. 1. 'the archetype or first platform.'
- Princely*.—Cf. line 78. Bacon confines his attention to ornamental gardens. Market gardening scarcely existed in England in his day, though in the next generation under the influence of the Flemish immigrants and in imitation of the farmers of Holland it rapidly spread. Still even in 1650 Hartlib, Milton's friend, in his 'Legacy of Husbandry,' doubts whether it was known at all in the North and West of the country.
226. *Nothing to*.—Contributing nothing to. Cf. 164.

#### XLVII. OF NEGOTIATING.

1597. Enlarged in 1612—Again enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—It is better generally to deal by speech than by letter, and by mediation of a third person than by one's self, but there are cases in which a letter is good, as it ensures an answer, can be preserved, and does not allow interruption. To deal in person is also good sometimes, as one has respect, can judge how far to go, and can explain.

Straightforward, business-like, suitable and fortunate men should be chosen as mediators.

Do not come to the point too quickly, deal with men desirous of success, be careful as to the first step.

The objects of negotiation are to discover, to get men to disclose themselves, and to work upon or influence men.

In dealing with cunning people consider their objects, and say little yourself, do not expect success too soon.

*Adv. of Learning*, II. 23. 13—22, and Essay XXII. should be read along with this Essay.

2. *Third*.—A third person. A third person can often say more for a man than he can for himself. As Bacon says (XXVII. 238.) "How many things are there which a man cannot with any face or comeliness, say or do himself! A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes stoop to supplicate or beg, and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own."

But a man can often plead his own cause more forcibly than any one else can do it for him, and the intervention of a third person is ruin to his cause. For example see the *History of Miles Standish* by Longfellow.

5. *Where.....interrupted.*—Where there may be danger of being interrupted.

7. *Breedeth regard.*—Gains respect.

8. *Tender cases.*—Delicate, that require very careful handling. Cf. XXII. 50.

10. *May give him to go.*—He may know by watching the expression of the one to whom he is speaking, how the matter impresses him, and so judge whether to proceed in it or not. Cf. XXII. 20.

11. *Will.*—Wishes to.

12. *To disavow or to expound.*—To disclaim or to explain.

12. *Instruments.*—Go-betweens. Cf. XXXIV. 66.

13. *Like.*—Likely.

14. *Report back again.*—*Back* is unnecessary, as to report means to carry back, to bring back. From the Latin *reportare*, to carry back.

15. *The success.*—The result, whether good or bad. Here as in Latin a neutral word.

17. *Help the matter . . . . sake.*—Will exaggerate their report to gain more credit for themselves, and for the satisfaction of their employer.

*For satisfaction sake.*—See Sh. Gr. § 22.

18. *Affect.*—Like, have a liking for. I. 4.

19. *That quickeneth much.*—Having a liking for the business they will set about it with more zeal, and put life into it.

22. *Froward and absurd.*—Obstinate, and stupidly unreasonable men. Absurd from Latin *ab*, away, and *surdus*, deaf, indistinct, harsh in sound. VI. 70.

26. *Prescription.*—Means what was written first, so here what was written previously of them, the character they had acquired of being lucky.

27. *Afar off.*—Begin talking of something else at first that has no connexion with the real subject, then gradually work up to it, and introduce it in a casual manner, so as to throw the person off his guard. Cf. XXII. 107,

28. *Some short question.*—But sometimes the opposite course is best, and by a sharp, direct question, the person is

surprised and more easily thrown off his guard. See. XXII. 112.

30. *Men in appetite.*—Men who are hungry for success, desiring advancement.

*Those that are where they would be.*—Those that have attained to the degree of success they desired, or obtained the place they wished for.

31. *If a man deal with another . . . . . honest man.*—As an instance of the first case might be taken a master and servant. Of the second:—A contractor for a building may receive part pay when the building is incomplete. For the third take the case of a man negotiating with a thief for the restoration of some property. Then the man has a right as being of better reputation to demand that he shall not pay the thief until the thief restores his goods.

*Upon conditions*—Such as 'If you do this I'll do that.'

33. *Such which.*—Such that it, or such as. Cf. XVIII. 29.

36. *That.*—Standing for except. Cf. XV. 56.

37. *Practice.*—Negotiation, with the sense of trickery involved in it.

*To work.*—To work upon, make use of.

*Discover themselves.*—Disclose, show their real character and motives. Cf. XLI. 20. VI. 57.

38. *At unawares.*—*At* is unnecessary; the word *unawares* would now always stand by itself, being an adverb formed from the Possessive Case.

40. *If you would work.*—This sentence is characteristic alike of Bacon's political philosophy and of his practice.

41. *Fashions.*—Habits.

43. *Interest in him.*—Influence upon him.

#### XLVIII. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Published 1597—Scarcely altered 1612—Enlarged 1625.

OUTLINE.—Followers are to be discouraged who are expensive to maintain, or importunate in their suits; also factious, and boastful followers, and dangerous tale-bearing followers.

One should employ followers of the same profession as one's self; but when possible advance virtue and desert in all vocations.

Often, however, fitness and activity must be considered before virtue.

In government treat all alike, but in favour, use choice, as those who are preferred are thankful, while it stirs others up to greater diligence.

Do not make much of any man at first.

Do not be governed by one, still less by many.

Take advice of a few friends, though true friendship is rare and generally found between superior and inferior, not between equals.

INTRODUCTION.—The followers or servants of noblemen and gentlemen in James I's reign were very numerous. "The Earl of Dorset's household consisted of 220 servants: and the father of John Evelyn, when sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, 'had a hundred and sixteen servants in liveries of green satin doublets, besides gentlemen and persons of quality who waited on them in the same costume. The chief of these followers of nobles were still the younger sons of gentle or noble families who sought preferment in their patron's service.' Mr. Spedding in his *Life of Bacon*, gives the following list (from an imperfect roll) of Bacon's followers and servants:—Two chaplains, six gentlemen of the chamber, twenty-six gentlemen-waiters, four pages, two gentlemen ushers, three yeomen of the wardrobe, three yeomen of the pantry, and four butlers."

These servants seem to have been under no control, as Lady Bacon (his mother) writes of them "Surely I am utterly discouraged and make a conscience further to undo myself to maintain such wretches. Seeing manifestly that he is robbed and spoiled wittingly by his base-exalted men, which with wiles prey on him.....I did desire only to receive the money to discharge his debts indeed, and dare not trust such his riotous men with the dealing withal." Even after his fall Bacon still kept up a large establishment, and would not 'give up any part of the magnificence to which he had been accustomed in the time of his power and prosperity. No pressure of distress could induce him to part with the woods of Gorhambury, "I will not" he said "be stripped of my feathers." He travelled with so splendid an equipage and so large a retinue that Prince Charles, who once fell in with him on the road, exclaimed with surprise "Well; do what we can, this man scorns to go out in snuff."—MACAULAY.

A vivid picture of nobles with their followers is given in Scott's *Kenilworth* where Sussex and Leicester are represented as each having large troops of such attendants.

2. *Train*.—Used of a peacock's tail. While he increases his show, he diminishes his power to soar.

3. *Which*.—Who. VIII. 5.

*Charge*.—Burden.

4. *Importune*.—Importunate. IX. 165.

*Suits*.—Petitions, requests for some benefit or place for themselves. (See Essay XLIX.)

5. *Challenge no higher conditions*.—Ask no higher terms, expect nothing more than.

8. *Upon*.—As the result of. We should say from.

9. *Countenance*.—Favour, patronage, recognition. That is they could not expect more than a recognised position, to be recommended for another service, or to have the protection of their master.

10. *Ensueth*.—Follows.

*Ill-intelligence*.—Mis-understanding.

12. *Glorious*.—Vain-glorious, boastful. (See Essay LIV.)

15. *Export*.—A metaphor borrowed from commerce. They take to others a report of his honour and bring him their envy in return. Probably Bacon is thinking of the loss he thought a nation suffered when its bullion was exported and goods imported in exchange.

17. *Espials*.—Spies. (Latin *specio*, to look.) In XLIV. 33—the form *spials* is used.

18. *Inquire*.—Investigate, Transitive here.

20. *Officious*.—Exceeding polite, and exact in their performance of duty.

*Exchange tales*.—If they relate tales about you, they tell to you tales about other people, and so obtain favour from you because hearing of others pleases you.

21. *Following*.—Almost the same as service.

*Estates*.—Classes, professions.

*Answerable to*.—Answering to, corresponding to. For the termination *able* in an active sense cf. *deceivable* XLIV. 13.

24. *Civil*.—Consistent with good government, orderly. Cf. XVII. 18.

25. *So*.—Provided that. XVIII. 5.

*Without too much pomp, &c.*—This employment of military followers had not always proved to be a good thing, as they

had been used by the nobles in riots, violence and all kinds of disorder, and in the reign of Henry VII. many laws were passed forbidding the enlistment of retainers by the nobility. The vast number of retainers made some of the barons very formidable powers in the State, as *e. g.*, the Earl of Warwick, who was called the King Maker. No less than 30,000 people are said to have daily lived at his table in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England, and 600 liveried retainers followed him to Parliament. He could raise armies at his call from his own earldoms, and his transferring his aid from one side to the other in the Civil War known as the Wars of the Roses, was sufficient to carry victory with it.

*Popularity.*—Currying favour with the mob. Cf. *popular* XV. 255.

27. *Apprehendeth.*—Takes in hand.

28. *Eminent.....insufficiency.*—Outstanding differences in competence.

29. *Take with.*—Take up with, employ.

*Passable.*—What will pass muster, common-place.

34. *Discontent.*—Discontented. XV. 175.

35. *Because.....due.*—Because they have a right to (may) claim equal treatment as their due.

*In favour.*—When it is not a question of fairness in government but of bestowing favours in a private capacity.

36. *Election.*—In the sense of selection.

40. *Because.....proportion.*—Because the time may come when it will be necessary to treat others as well or better.

*Hold out.*—Maintain.

*Governed.*—Led, as James I. was by Buckingham. *Govern* properly means to steer.

41. *Softness.*—Weakness or indecision of character.

42. *Disreputation.*—This word is not used now; though *disrepute* is. But here it means defamation.

44. *That .....them.*—On such terms of familiarity or intimacy with them, their favourites.

45. *Distracted.*—Drawn this way and that. XV. 217.

47. *Of the last impression.*—Impressed and influenced by the last thing they have heard, or the last person they have come in contact with.

48. *For.....gamesters.*—Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 21. 7. We have a similar proverb still in use:—*Lookers on see the best of the game.* Gamester = a player of a game, not as now generally used in the sense of a gambler. Cf. XXVII. 192.

49. *Discovereth.*—Nearly in its modern sense, learns the truth about.

*Valle best.....hill.*—It is easier to take a correct view of a place, viewing it from a little distance, and a hill is best seen from the valley below; one cannot view a hill from the top of the hill itself. So out-siders can sometimes take a clearer and juster view of matters of business than those who are concerned and interested in it. So Chamberlain, ten years ago, compared Gladstone to some great mountain whose greatness cannot be properly judged by those in its neighbourhood, predicting that our descendants will think him greater than we do.

51. *Wont to be magnified.*—Pythagoras and Aristotle said Friendship is equality. Damon and Pythias, Jonathan and David, are famous instances in antiquity. Much of Essay XXVII. assumes the equality of the friends nevertheless.

53. *Comprehend.*—Include, so that the prosperity or well-being of the superior includes or involves that of the inferior. So in 1596 Bacon wrote to Essex 'your fortune comprehendeth mine.'

#### XLIX. OF SUITORS.

Published in 1597—Enlarged in 1612, and again 1625.

OUTLINE.—Many improper suits are taken up from interested motives, or without any real intention of promoting them.

Try to discover the justice of every petition. If inclination goes against justice try to compound the matter, and abstain from slandering or disparaging the other side. If the suit is not understood consult some one of judgment about it.

Do not unnecessarily delay a suit, but refrain from only pretending to promote it, from exaggerating the chance of success, and from expecting more thanks than are deserved.

Take suits on their merits, not on priority of presentation, and take no unfair information from petitioners.

Be secret, but choose your time well, and choose your advocate for his fitness for the particular suit, do not be discouraged by refusal, ask for more than you really want, so that you may get what you require.

General contrivers of suits should be avoided, as they are "but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings."

Notice that 1—40 deals with a person receiving a petition; 40—56 with the presentation of a petition.

Suits to James I. were usually presented through his favourites, otherwise they failed. Somerset practically controlled the appointment of all officials during his ascendancy, as Buckingham did later. Bacon's Advice to Villiers contains counsel of the same sort as is given here.

*Suitors.*—Petitioners. From the verb to sue, to beg, entreat. Bacon has in view mainly followers asking their patron's help.

1. *Ill.*—Bad.

*Undertaken.*—Taken up and advocated for the suitors by patrons.

2. *Private suits.....good.*—Suits are instituted by private people for their own good, which would be injurious to the good of the general public.

5. *Embrace.*—Undertake to support.

*Which.*—Who.

6. *Life.....mean.*—Chance of success, through the efforts of others.

7. *Mean.*—Is an old Noun, now obsolete except in the Plural *means*, and in technical phrases.

*A thank.*—We should say 'thanks' or 'a thank-you.'

8. *Second reward.*—That is a secondary or less valuable one. The first reward goes to the 'mean' whose interposition was really effectual.

10. *To cross some other.*—To thwart, place some obstacle in the way of another.

*Make.....pretext.*—Make public some information for their own benefit or perhaps to gain some information—like to make money.

14. *Entertainment.*—Introduction.

18. *A suit of controversy.*—A suit in which there are opposing parties.

19. *Suit of petition.*—A petition from one person for some thing or place for himself.

20. *Wrong side in justice.*—i. e., the side wrong in justice, wrong in point of law.

*Let.....carry it.*—If he have a leaning to the side which he knows to be in the wrong, let him do his best to have the matter compounded, rather than endeavour to carry through bodily the wrong cause he has taken up.



*Compound.*—Compromise.

23. *Depraving.*—Slandering. *Much Ado*. V. 1. 95. 'That lie and cog and flout, deprave and slander.'

*Disabling.*—Disparaging. *Merchant of Venice*, II. 7. 29 :—

And yet to be afeard of my deserving  
Were but a weak disabling of myself.

27. *Referendaries.*—Those to whom he refers the cases.

28. *Led by the nose.*—Deluded.

*Distasted.*—Disgusted. Cf. V. 31.

*Delays and abuses.*—Abuses, deceptions. Bacon had full experience of "delays and abuses." Backed by Essex in 1594, he sued for the Attorney-General's place, but this was given to his rival Coke. Then he pressed his suit with the greatest importunity for the Solicitor Generalship on the Queen, Burghley and Cecil, but in vain. "Then he lost patience, he was angry with Essex.....he was angry with the Queen; she held his long waiting cheap; she played with him and amused herself with delay.....He was very angry with Robert Cecil; affecting not to believe them, he tells him stories he has heard of his corrupt and underhand dealing. He writes almost a farewell letter of ceremonious but ambiguous thanks of Lord Burghley, hoping he would impute any offence that Bacon might have given to the "complexion of a suitor and a tired sea-sick suitor," and speaking despairingly of his future success in the law. The humiliations of what a suitor has to go through torment him: "It is my luck," he writes to Cecil, "still to be akin to such things as I neither like in nature nor would willingly meet with in my course, but yet cannot avoid without show of base timorousness or else of unkind or suspicious strangeness."—CHURCH.

Bacon was finally made Solicitor-General on the 25th June 1607.

29. *Denying.*—Refusing. A Latinism.

30. *Reporting the success barely.*—Not exaggerating the success that has attended the suit.

*Challenging.*—Claiming. XLVIII. 5.

32. *Gracious.*—Courteous. Cf. in Bacon's Advice to Villiers 'Believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the suit, a speedy and gentle denial (when the case will not bear it), is the most acceptable to suitors.' In comparison with the sickness of hope deferred which a suitor feels when a powerful patron who has promised to urge his suit neglects to do so, the suitor will welcome a blunt refusal as graciousness itself.

33. *The first ..... place.*—The priority in presenting one's petition ought not to count for much.

*So far forth.*—Thus far, to this extent. See *Corrigenda*.

34. *His.*—The one who presents the suit. The antecedent is implied in the preceding sentence. As "the one first coming," or the "first comer." For the change from Impersonal to Personal, cf. XXXI. 31.

36. *Note.*—Information, thing made known. Latin *notus*, known.

38. *Discovery.*—Disclosure. If a disclosure has been made to you by a petitioner, and you refuse his suit, you are not to take advantage of such information, but are bound to keep it secret; so that he may be able to use other means for obtaining his suit.

*Suit.*—What is asked for.

39. *As well as.*—We now say *as much as*.

41. *Voicing.*—Proclaiming, reporting.

*To be in forwardness.*—To be going on well.

42. *Quicken.*—Stimulate. XLVII. 19.

45. *Like.*—Likely.

46. *His mean.*—Medium through which he applies, the one to whom he entrusts his suit. Cf. XIX. 58.

47. *Fittest mean.*—Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II, 23. 38.

48. *Certain things.*—A few definite things, special things.

49. *Reparation of a denial.*—Showing favour later to compensate for denying the first request or suit.

*Equal to the first grant.*—i. e., as good as the granting of the first suit would have been.

51. *Iniquum petas, &c.*—A loose quotation from Quintilian.

53. *Strength of favour.*—Is sure of having sufficient influence to obtain what he wants or of being in favour with those from whom he sues.

*Were better.*—Cf. XXVI. 49. XXVII. 159.

54. *Rise in his suit.*—Ask a little at first, and then as he grows in favour, and his interest increases, ask for more.

57. *His letter.*—A letter of recommendation.

58. *It is..... reputation.*—If your cause be not a strong one, he is so much the less able to help you at another time.

60. *General..... suits.*—Indiscriminate plotters and schemers, who will forward any suit irrespective of its merits.

## L. OF STUDIES.

First published in 1597—Enlarged in 1612 and again in 1625.

OUTLINE:—Studies serve for delight in privacy and retirement, for ornament in conversation, for ability in business.

But one should not spend too much time in them, nor make a needless display of them, nor judge merely from the standpoint of a scholar.

They should be checked by experience. Read to weigh and consider, therefore discriminate between books that are to be merely skimmed over, those that are to be read but not studied, and those that are to be diligently read and studied. Read to obtain information, converse to obtain readiness, write to obtain accurateness. Thus studies affect the character; all defects of the mind find a special remedy in some special study.

INTRODUCTION.—The title as given in the Latin Translation is 'Of Studies and the Reading of Books' which corresponds more nearly with the real subject of the Essay. Practically this is 'Book-learning,' in its different uses of the act of learning, the subjects studied, and the results attained. In the first five chapters of *Adv. of Learning* Bacon discusses the advantages of this Learning and the reasons for its being attacked.

The Latin word *studium* meant originally desire, and so pursuit. In modern languages the word has been narrowed to educational pursuits.

Bacon's own practice may be illustrated from what his chaplain and biographer Dr. Rawley says of him:—

'He was no plodder upon books; though he read much, and that with great judgment and rejection of impertinences incident to many authors; for he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking or taking the air abroad in his coach, or riding, not fast but gently, bowling, or some other befitting recreation; and yet he would lose no time, inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.'

1. *Serve for.*—Conduce to.

*Ornament.*—Adding distinction to a person in company.

2. *Use.*—Employment.

*Retiring.*—Retirement, seclusion.

3. *Discourse*.—Conversation. XXII. 31.

4. *Judgment and disposition of business*.—Power of forming a correct opinion of affairs, and of controlling or ordering them properly.

*For expert men.....are learned*.—In 1597 and 1612 this ran: 'For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to judge or censure.'

*Expert men*.—Men who have had experience in the special branch. Latin *expertus*, one who has tried. The distinction is between practical men who in their own line can carry out orders, and the man of general knowledge who will suggest plans. *Expert* conveyed a slightly depreciatory meaning. It was applied to those who by experience could deal with business by a sort of knack or rule of thumb but could not always give a reason for their action.

6. *General counsels*.—Complete schemes as contrasted with the *particulars* of the details.

*Plots*.—Schemes, plans.

*Marshalling of affairs*.—Arrangement of the *particulars* into one well-proportioned and complete plan.

7. *Learned*.—In general principles, in all branches, in contradistinction to the "expert men" above.

8. *To spend... sloth*.—Study should be a means to an end, to fit a man for the practical duties of life, so that a man should not withdraw himself from all active duties to shut himself up to study, which would be sloth.

9. *Make judgment*.—Form one's opinions on practical issues.

10. *Humour*.—Eccentricity, peculiarity. Cf. Ben Jonson's two plays 'Every Man in his Humour' and 'Every Man out of his Humour.'

12. *Proyning*.—See *Corrigenda*. *Proyn* was the old form of *prune* or *preen*. It meant to cultivate or tend—a meaning which with the change of form has been altered somewhat in the modern words.

13. *Too much at large*.—Too vague, general.

14. *Except*.—We should say unless.

*Bounded in*.—Limited.

*Crafty men, &c.*—Since they trust to their own cunning.

15. *Admire*.—Wonder at.

16. *For they.....own use, &c.*—A man may be crammed with all kinds of learning, and yet be unable to put it to use. It requires another kind of wisdom to know how to apply what has been learned.

*That.*—Their own use, *i. e.*, the knowledge of how to use them. Cf. 'Knowledge comes but Wisdom lingers.'

17. *Without them.*—Outside book-learning.

18. *Contradict.*—The author.

19. *Find.....discourse.*—Obtain matter for conversation. It is said that much of the reading of Society is done with this object.

22. *Read only in parts.*—Skimmed.

23. *Curiously.*—Carefully, with attention. *Lat. curiosus*, attentive, from *cura*, care.

*Wholly.*—Through, opposed to *in parts*.

26. *Would be.*—Cf. III. 153.

*Arguments.*—Subjects.

27. *Meaner.*—Poorer.

*Else.*—Otherwise. For *elles*, Possessive form from a root meaning *other*, used adverbially.

28. *Flashy.*—Insidid, tasteless. "The tastes that most offend in fruit, herbs and roots are bitter, harsh, sour, waterish or flashy." Bacon's *Natural History*. *Flashy* as now used means showy but empty, dazzling for a moment, gaudy.

*Reading maketh.*—Wright quotes from a tract of 1596, the following as an instance of the plagiarism of which Bacon complains in the dedication of his first edition of the *Essays* in 1597. 'Reading much, conversing and writing much. He is a full man, a readie man, an exact man.'

29. *Full.*—Of knowledge.

*Conference.*—Conversation.

*Writing.*—Evidently taking down in writing what is read or observed or taking notes, since he goes on to say that if a man writes little he need have a great memory. The Latin Translation expressly inserts 'and collection of notes' after 'writing.' In *Adv. of Learning* II. 15. 1. Bacon defends the practice of keeping a Commonplace Book, as he gives examples of it in his *Promus*, *Apophthegms* and *Antitheta*.

*Confer.*—Converse.

31. *A great memory.*—Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 15. 2.

32. *Present wit.*—Ready mind.

33. *Seem to know.*—See Essay XXVI.

*That.*—For that which. Cf. VI. 40.

34. *Histories, poets, philosophy.*—Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 1. 1.

*Poets.*—Here used for their writings, as we still say *The poets*.

*Witty.*—Ingenious, full of happy thoughts.

*The Mathematics.*—We now usually omit the article.

35. *Natural Philosophy.*—This old term is giving way before *Natural Science*. Philosophy once included Science.

36. *Contend.*—To contend in argument.

*Abeunt studia, &c.*—Ovid. *Heroides* XV. 83. See also *Adv. of Learning*. "It is not without truth that is said, that "abeunt studia in mores," studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them."

37. *Stond.*—Stand, obstacle. See XL. 14. "There be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature."

38. *Wit.*—Understanding,

*But.*—i. e., which . . . . . not.

*Wrought out.*—Got rid of. *Wrought* was more widely used then than now.

40. *Bowling.*—The game of bowls, at that time very popular in England, bowling greens being provided for it. It was played with large wooden balls biassed with lead which were rolled along the ground. Cf. *Cymbeline*, Act-II. Sc. 1.

*Shooting.*—i. e., archery. To draw the bow expanded the breast and lungs.

*Reins.*—The kidneys. Practically obsolete now, but common in Bacon's time as the 1611 Version of the Bible shows.

42. *Wit be wandering.*—If his mind tend to wander from the subject before him; if he find concentration hard. Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II. 8. 2. and 19. 2.

43. *Demonstrations.*—Mathematical proofs. Cf. the phrase 'Quod erat demonstrandum.'

44. *Never so little.*—More correct than the modern 'ever so little.'

*Be called away.*—Diverted—not necessarily by somebody else.

45. *Apt.*—Quick.

*Distinguish.*—Trace distinctions.

46. *Schoolmen.*—Cf. XVII. 25 n.

*Cymini sectores.*—See *Corrigenda*. See *Adv. of Learning* I. 7. 7. "Antoninus Pius.....had the patient and subtil wit of a schoolman, inso much as in common speech (which leaves no virtue untaxed) he was called cymini sector, a carver or divider of cummin seeds, which is one of the least seeds, such patience he had and settled spirit to enter into the least and most exact differences of clauses." And again in *De Augmentis*. "We should avoid the error of Antoninus Pius, and not be splitters of cummin seeds in the sciences." We should use the term "Hair-splitters" to designate the same thing. As a matter of fact (as Reynolds points out) *Cymini sector* had nothing to do with logical acumen but meant niggardly. It was applied to Antoninus because of his strict economy. Cf. Christ's words to the Pharisees 'Ye pay tithes of cummin.'—*Matthew* XXIII. 23.

47. *Beat over.*—For its use in another sense cf. XXII. 110. The term is taken from hunting and shooting; the fields or preserves where the game is expected being 'beaten' over, for the shooters, by beaters-up who go up and down them with dogs to start the game. Cf. Dryden's Introduction to *Annus Mirabilis* 'Wit in the poet.....is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer which, like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory till it springs the quarry it hunted after; or, without metaphor, which searches over all the memory for the species or ideas of those things which it designs to represent.' In those of whom Bacon is thinking the search is for parallels and precedents. So it practically means 'recall to mind.'

50. *Every defect, &c.*—Cf. *Adv. of Learning*, II. 19. 2.

*Special.*—Adapted to its own kind, opposed to general.

*Receipt.*—Or recipe—Here, a prescription for a remedy.

## LI. OF FACTION.

Published in 1597—Enlarged in 1612, and again 1625.

OUTLINE.—Consideration of existing factions should not regulate the actions of rulers or great men, but it is not to be neglected, it is a help to be used moderately by a man who wishes to rise.

Parties may make up by firmness for inferiority of numbers.

The end of one faction often causes the sub-division of the remaining opposing faction, in war as in politics, and 'those that are seconds' become leaders if capable, or sink to nothing if only great in opposition.

Successful men often desert the faction by means of which they rose, hoping thereby to gain greater advantage, as they sometimes may. Strict neutrality is often a sign of selfishness.

Kings should, however, be neutral. Factions are often signs of the weakness of the prince. He should control them.

1. *Many have an opinion.*—The best way to rule is not to have too much regard to factions, but to try to introduce those things which are for the public (or general) advantage, as to which opposing factions are agreed, or to suit the natures of different individuals.

2. *Estate.*—State, Kingdom.

3. *According to the respect of factions.*—i. e., pleasing the strongest or playing off one against another. *The respect of means, considerations of.* Cf. XI. 97.

*Faction.*—Bacon uses it as equivalent to our modern party.

4. *Chiefest.*—As a rule *chief* is not compared.

5. *Ordering.*—Contriving, arranging.

*General.*—Of importance to all, not to one faction only.

*Several.*—Separate. Cf. VI. 12.

*Nevertheless.*—Though usually opposed.

7. *Correspondence.*—Dealing in such ways as to *correspond* to or suit the natures of different individuals.

9. *Mean men.*—Men of low birth or station.

*In their rising.*—Cf. XI. 114, &c.

10. *Adhere.*—To a party or faction.

11. *Were better.*—Cf. XXVI. 49 n. XXVII. 159.

*Indifferent.*—Impartial. Cf. VI. 66.

12. *Beginners.*—Men who are beginning to rise.

13. *As.*—That. Cf. III. 99.

14. *He.*—Notice change from Plural *beginners* to Sing. *he*. Cf. XXVI. 45.

*Most passable.*—Most acceptable. The Editions of 1597 and 1612 had *passablest*.



15. *Giveth best way*.—Opens out the easiest path, is the best means of ensuring success. We speak of a man 'making his way' when he is being successful, or fortunate.

*Firmer in conjunction*.—Holds more strongly to its opinions, and together. As is seen in the fact that in the English Parliament the Opposition is always more compact than the Government majority.

16. *Stiff*.—Firm, stubborn. The Irish party will at once occur to the reader's mind.

19. *Lucullus*.—The famous Roman general and consul. (B. C. 115—57). See XLV. 30. n. He was one of the oligarchy which ruled Rome after Sulla's abdication, until Pompey and Crassus and Cæsar with popular support broke up their power.

20. *Optimates*.—Literally the party of the Best.

21. *Pompey and Cæsar*.—Pompey, the great Roman general, (B. C. 106—48). Having conducted a successful campaign in Asia against Mithridates, Tigranes and others, returned to Rome, where the Senate refused to ratify his deeds, whereupon Pompey entered into a close alliance with Cæsar. To be more sure of carrying their plans into execution they took Crassus, who was a very wealthy man, into their counsels, thus forming the first triumvirate, and crushing for a time the aristocracy of Rome. To make the union still closer Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar. But when Cæsar had gone to Gaul, and was gaining glory there, Pompey was losing influence in Rome; and when Crassus died it became evident that a struggle would take place between them for the supremacy. The death of Julia broke the last link, that bound him to Cæsar, and his jealousy led Pompey to connect himself again with the aristocracy, becoming its acknowledged head. Civil War followed, and Cæsar gained a decisive victory at Pharsalia. Pompey sought refuge in Egypt, but was there murdered by order of the ministers of the young king Ptolemy.

23. *Brake*.—Broke off their friendship.

24. *Antonius..... Cassius*.—Antonius was the son of Antonius Creticus and Julia the sister of Julius Cæsar. He was one of the most active partisans of Cæsar, and was present at the battle of Pharsalia, where he commanded the left wing. He was consul with Cæsar (B. C. 44) when he offered him the kingly crown at the festival of the Lupercalia. After Cæsar's murder, Antonius endeavoured to succeed to his power, but found a rival in Octavius Cæsar the great-

nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar, who at first joined the Senate in order to crush Antonius. Afterwards they became reconciled, the Senate having become jealous of Octavius. With Lepidus they formed themselves into a Triumvirate and in 42 Antonius and Octavius crushed the Republican party at the battle of Philippi, where Brutus and Cassius fell. Antonius married Octavia, the sister of Octavius, but falling a victim to the charms of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, sent Octavia back to her brother, who made war on Antonius and defeated him at the naval battle of Actium, B. C. 31. Antonius fled with Cleopatra to Alexandria, where he put an end to his own life the following year, when Octavius appeared before the city.

*M. Junius Brutus* was one of Pompey's party, but after the battle of Pharsalia Cæsar not only pardoned him but bestowed upon him marks of favour and confidence, making him governor of Cisalpine Gaul and Prætor, and also promising him the government of Macedonia. Notwithstanding all this he was persuaded by Cassius (who had also belonged to Pompey's party, and been pardoned by Cæsar after Pharsalia) to murder his benefactor, under the idea of again establishing the republic. After the murder he took possession of the province of Macedonia, and was joined by Cassius. They were defeated at the battle of Philippi by Antonius and Octavius. Thereupon Cassius commanded his freedman to kill him, and Brutus put an end to his own life.

29. *Secunda*.—Inferiors. Cf. XIX. 137.

31. *Ciphers*.—Nonentities, things of no consequence or importance, O. Fr. *cifre*.

*Cashiered*.—Dismissed, deprived of office. From Fr. *caasser*, to break.

32. *Groweth out of use*.—A man, though showing vigour in opposition, may not have any ability to lead or take command when he obtains power.

33. *Placed*.—Having obtained office. *Place* was in regular use for a *post* under government.

34. *Take in*.—Join, take up with.

35. *Enter*.—The place, i. e., obtain it.

*Belike*.—In all probability, very likely.

36. *New purchase*.—Something more to be gained or acquired. Having gained all they can from the one side, they are ready to gain all they can from the other. 'Purchase' had

a wider meaning than now. As a verb it means to *acquire*—not merely by payment—as a noun similarly an *acquisition*.

*Lightly*.—Easily.

*Goeth away with it*.—For this indefinite *it* cf. XXVI. 25, and for the idea XXIII. 24.

37. *Stuck long in balancing*.—Remained long evenly balanced.

38. *Casteth them*.—Gives the preponderance to one side. Cf. our "casting-vote" which is the vote of the President, which turns the balance when the votes are equal. A man who deserts from one side for the other when the factions are evenly balanced is sure of thanks and glory, as his loss to the one side and gain to the other destroy the balance, and he gains the credit from the winning side for the victory his coming over gains for them. In the Edition of 1597 the Essay ended here.

39. *Even carriage*.—Bearing oneself with impartiality—neutrality. Cf. VI. 65.

40. *Proceedeth of*.—Arises from.

41. *Trueness to a man's self*.—Selfishness, the one object of the man being his own advancement, merely making use of both sides to that end.

42. *Suspect*.—For *suspected*, cf. XXIV. 37, where it is however a Noun, VIII. 37. and Sh. Gr. 342.

43. *Padre commune*.—A name many Popes applied to themselves.

45. *That meaneth . . . . . house*.—Whose policy it is to consider in all things the aggrandisement of his family. For the expression cf. XXIII. 10. In the Edition of 1612 the Essay ended here. The added sentences may not improbably have been suggested by what Bacon had seen of James I's rule in the interval.

46. *Side themselves*.—Take sides. For the word cf. XI. 116, and for the warning cf. XV. 48, &c. The conduct which Bacon here condemns may be illustrated by the action of George III. and his party 'The King's Friends.'

50. *Tanquam unus, &c.*—A quotation from *Genesis* III. 22, but in exactly the opposite sense to that of the original.

51. *League of France*.—The Holy League was formed in 1575 under the Leadership of the House of Guise in opposition to the Huguenot League to support Catholicism in France.

Henry III. (of France) placed himself at the head of it; but afterwards turned against it. He was driven from Paris in 1588 by it.

The League continued till 1590 when the battle of Ivry really dissolved it. Henry IV. (who was then a Protestant) the leader of the Huguenot party, there gained a complete victory over its forces. See XV. 53.

56. *Inferior orbs*.—The circles within the Primum Mobile.

57. *Proper*.—Own. Cf. XXVII. 244.

*Still*.—Always. Cf. IX. 9.

58. *Primum mobile*.—See note on I. 50.

### LII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

This Essay was contained in the original Edition of 1597. But it suffered considerable change both in 1612 and in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Good manners are in constant use, and are like perpetual letters of recommendation.

Good manners should be acquired by observation of them in others, not by study, as they should be natural and unaffected.

Disregard of them begets discourtesy in others, but too much ceremoniousness excites suspicion.

With equals a man should be on his dignity, with inferiors familiar, but should avoid making himself cheap. A man should avoid cringing, and in seconding another should assert his own independence.

Men should be careful to avoid the reputation of being mere courtiers yet should make opportunities of paying respect to the great. Their manner should sit easily upon them, like their dress.

*Respects*.—For the use of the word cf. XIV. 14.

### ANTITHETA ON CEREMONIES, PUNTOS, AFFECTATION.

#### *For.*

1. A becoming control of face and carriage is the true seasoning of virtue.

2. If even in words we obey public opinion, why not in bearing and carriage?

#### *Against.*

1. What is more repulsive than to turn life into a stage?

2. Grace comes from naturalness; hatefulness from artificiality.

3. The man that does not in the trifles of daily life maintain decorum may be great, but be sure he is wise only at fixed times.

4. Virtue and wisdom without forms are like foreign languages; for they are not understood by the common people.

5. He who does not know by fellow-feeling the sense of the common people, if he does not learn it by observation either, is the most foolish of men.

6. Forms are the translation of virtue into the vernacular.

2. *Stone, &c.*—Contrast Essay XLIII. 1. 1. 'Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set.'

3. *Foil*.—"A term used in jewellery to denote either the thin leaf of metal placed under precious stones to increase their brilliancy, or something of another colour near which the jewels were set so as to increase their brilliancy by contrast." From Latin *folium*, a leaf, through French *feuille*.

8. *In note*.—Under notice.

9. *Cometh but on festivals*.—Comes but very occasionally, as festivals or holidays come but rarely.

11. *Queen Isabella*.—The wife of Ferdinand of Arragon, and Queen of Castile (A. D. 1451—1504.) She is chiefly noted on account of the help she rendered to Christopher Columbus, who was enabled through her aid to obtain the small fleet with which he sailed when he discovered the New World. She really spoke of *good looks* not *good manners*.

12. *Letters commendatory*.—Letters of recommendation, an old ecclesiastical phrase, Cf. 2. *Corinthians* III. 1.

*Have good forms*.—Good manners. We speak now of an act being "good form" or "bad form," meaning that it is either an act of good or bad manners. We also speak of a cricketer, rider, &c., showing "good form," meaning that he plays or rides in a thoroughly good manner or style.

3. Painted cheeks and curled hair are more pleasing than painted and curled manners.

4. The man who applies his mind to such small observances is incapable of great thoughts.

5. Affectation is the shining putrefaction of naturalness.

To attain..... unaffected.—To acquire good manners, which must be natural and unaffected, it is best to observe them in others, not to try to behave well, as the effort will be perceptible, and all the grace of manner, which consists in its ease, will be lost.

16. *Their grace*.—That which makes them graceful.

17. *Verse*.—The old meaning was a *line* of poetry.

19. *Breaketh his mind*.—Trains, accustoms. We speak of “breaking in a horse” when it is trained to the use of the bridle, or harness.

21. *Again*.—In return, towards you. Cf. *Luke* vi. 34. 35.

*Himself*.—For this abrupt transition to the personal construction, cf. *LIII.* 18.

23. *Formal natures*.—Those of a formal nature, who attach great importance to forms and ceremonies.

24. *Above the moon*.—The modern slang is *sky-high*.

26. *There is a ..... upon it*.—Even in that age of flatterers, Bacon might justly be considered the leading authority on this art.

*Imprinting compliments*.—Compliments which impress themselves upon the minds of their recipients.

28. *Peers*.—Equals. From Latin *par*, equal. It is not generally used in this sense now, being more often applied to noblemen, or lords of Parliament. But we retain the original meaning of the word in such phrases as ‘a man must be tried by his Peers’ i. e., by his equals in rank.

29. *Shall be sure*.—Cf. *Othello* I. 1. 440. ‘You shall mark many a slave.’ *Sh. Gr.* § 315. *I. e.*, he may be sure.

32. *Too much in anything*.—Too much given to one particular line of conduct.

34. *Apply one’s self*.—Cf. the phrase ‘zealously affect’ in *Galatians* iv. 17. Cf. *Adv. of Learning* I. III. 7.

*So*.—Provided.

35. *Upon..... facility*.—From real respect and not through being impressionable. So in the next sentence he goes on to say that to make it clear that your conduct does not proceed from servility, always manifest your independence by qualifying your support.

40. *Allow*.—Approve. Lat. *ad* and *laudo*, I praise.

41. *Too perfect in compliments.*—So as to acquire the reputation of being mere flatterers.

43. *That attribute.*—The character of mere flatterers.

45. *Respects.*—As in the title of the Essay, demonstrations of regard, deference.

*Curious.*—Careful.

46. *Solomon saith.*—*Ecclesiastes*: xi. 4.

49. *Men's behaviour, &c.*—Added in 1625, incorporating here the substance of what he had written in 1605 in *Adv. of Learning* II. 23. 2. "There is no greater impediment of action than an over curious observance of decency (becoming or proper behaviour), and the guide of decency, which is time and season. For as Solomon sayeth (He that considereth the wind shall not sow and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap): A man must make his opportunity as oft as find it. To conclude: Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in the fashion, it ought not to be too curious, it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind, and hide any deformity; and above all, it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion."

50. *Strait.*—Narrow and so fitting too tightly, restraining freedom of movement, so that it would spoil the ease and naturalness, which is the chief charm of good manners.

*Point device.*—Very precise, fastidiously exact. There was a lace of a very fine pattern called point de vice, but it is uncertain whether the manner was called after the lace, or the reverse. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. 2. 401: 'You are.....point device in your accoutrements.'

#### LIII. OF PRAISE.

First published in 1612—Enlarged in 1625.

OUTLINE.—Praise is the reflexion of virtue, it varies according to the character of those who bestow it.

From common people it is worthless, as they are incapable of understanding what virtues to praise rightly; but from people of judgment it is sweet and enduring.

Praise should be a matter of suspicion, as it may arise from flattery, it may be given to stimulate to worthiness of it, it may be due to a wish to stir envy or jealousy in others.

Moderate praise may do good, immoderate is hurtful.

No man can decently praise himself, but may praise his office or profession with "good grace."

ANTITHETA ON PRAISE AND REPUTATION.

*For.*

1. Praise is the reflexion of virtue.
2. Praise is that honour which is reached by spontaneous votes.
3. Honours are conferred in diverse constitutions; but praise is everywhere the gift of liberty.
4. The voice of the people has something of the divine in it. Else how could so many agree on one point?
5. Do not marvel if the common people speak more truthfully than the great—for they speak more securely.

*Against.*

1. Fame is worse as a judge than as a messenger.
2. What has a good man to do with the slaver of the mob?
3. Fame like a river bears up what is light and lets what is solid sink.
4. For the lowest virtues the common people have praise; for the middle admiration; of the highest they have no perception.
5. Praise is won more by ostentation than by merit and is given rather to the windy than to the substantial.

1. *Reflection.*—In spelling such words scholars now use *a* instead of *ct*, following the Latin.

*Glass or body.*—As the appearance of anything that is reflected depends upon the character of the glass or mirror which reflects it, and which may distort it, so praise varies with the character of the one who praises. Thus Bacon goes on to say that praise coming from common people is distorted—"false and naught." *Body* is simply substance.

3. *Naught.*—Worthless.

4. *Vain.*—Empty.

7. *Admiration.*—Wonder.

8. *Perceiring.*—We should now use the word 'perception.'

*Shows.*—Appearances, or things which have a good outward appearance but no essential merit.

10. *Fame is like a river.*—Cf. *Norum Organum*, I. 71 where speaking of the lost systems of early Greek philosophers in contrast with Aristotle and Plato he says: 'Time like a river bears down to us that which is light and inflated and sinks that which is heavy and solid.'



12. *Of quality*.—Generally used as meaning of high and noble birth, here *distinguished*.

13. *Concur*.—*i. e.* In the praise.

*As the... bonum, &c.*—*Ecclesiastes* vii. 1. Where it reads in the Authorised Version, 'A good name is better than precious ointment.'

16. *Away*.—Go away. Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 3. 149. 'Will you along?' for the omission of the Verb of motion.

18. *Hold it a suspect*.—Hold it as a suspected thing. Cf. XXIV. 36 LI. 42. With us now the noun *suspect* refers to a *person* suspected, not a *thing*.

19. *If he be*.—If the person who praises. Notice the abrupt transition to the personal mode of expression. Cf. XXXI. 31, XLIX. 34.

20. *Common*.—Applicable to all, not individual.

*May serve*.—May serve for, or be suitable to.

22. *Arch flatterer*.—So also in Essay XXVII, "There is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer, for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self." Also Essay X, "It hath been well said, that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence is a man's self."

24. *An impudent flatterer*.—Reynolds appositely illustrates this by Bacon's praise of James I.'s manner of speech and Buckingham's reputation.

25. *Look*.—This use of *Look* is almost interjectional, but not quite.

26. *Most... countenance, &c.*—Ashamed of himself, aware of his shortcoming.

27. *Entitle... perforce*.—The flatterer will by his flattery make the man believe in spite of himself that he possesses the qualities he is really conscious he is wanting in.

28. *Some praises, &c.*—Apparently based on what the younger Pliny says of himself in his *Epistles* III. 18.

29. *Respects*.—Deference, esteem. The Plural is still used thus in such phrases as 'Give my best respects to your father.'

34. *Pessimus genus*.—Cf. what Tacitus says of Agricola (which it is probable Bacon was quoting). "The cause of

Agricola's peril lay not in any charge or complaint of having injured anybody, but in an emperor who was a foe to virtue, in his own renown, and in that worst class of enemies—the men that praise."

35. *Insomuch.....lie.*—Added in 1625.

37. *Push.*—A small gathering, a pimple. Bacon is apparently referring to Theocritus XII. 23, 24, but mistranslates the passage. The *push*, according to the Poet's almost certain meaning, comes upon the false flatterer's nose, not his victim's.

*Should have a push.*—The *should* represents *shall*, in Indirect Narration after a Past tense. (Sh. Gr. § 326.) Abbott however takes it as implying that the opinion quoted is not held by the writer. (Sh. Gr. § 328.)

40. *Solomon saith.*—*Proverbs* XXVII. 14.

43. *Irritate.*—Provoke, call forth.

45. *To.....office, &c.*—As regards praising. For this indefinite and pendent use of the Infinitive, cf. XXVII. 196; also *Winter's Tale*, I. 2. 356. 'To do this deed Promotion follows.' From this point to the end was added in the Edition of 1625.

47. *Magnanimity.*—Because one exalts one's profession at the cost of one's self—implying one's unworthiness for the post or office.

*The Cardinals of Rome.*—From Latin *cardo*, a hinge, *cardinalis*, most important, chief. Cardinals are dignitaries of the Romish Church, next in rank to the Pope; the Pope is chosen from among them. One of the signs of their office is a scarlet hat. In 1059 the election of Popes was entrusted to them and they were formed into a college of Cardinals for the purpose with definite rules. As applied to them *Cardinal* was properly an adjective. They were Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Deacons.

*Which.*—For *who*. Sh. Gr. § 265.

48. *Theologues.*—Theologians.

*Friars.*—See Note on II. 8.

*Schoolmen.*—See Note on XVII. 27.

50. *Embassages.*—Embassies.

51. *Sbirrerie.*—The Latin translation of this Essay which seems to have been made under Bacon's direction inserts be-

for this 'by the Spanish word.' This is a mistake, for it is derived from *sbirro*, the Italian for *constable*.

53. *Catchpoles*.—See Note, Essay LVI. 102.

*Though many times*.—In the Latin Translation which Bacon might hope to come under the eyes of the Cardinals, this sneer is softened down into 'though if the matter be well weighed, speculation is not ill-joined with civil business.'

55. *I speak.....fool*.—2. *Corinthians* XI. 23.

56. *Magnificabo, &c.*—*Romans* XI. 13.

#### LIV. OF VAIN-GLORY.

This Essay appears in 1612, is enlarged in 1625.

**OUTLINE.**—Illustration of Vain-glory. Those who are vain-glorious are necessarily factious, violent and babbling.

Yet vain-glory is useful in civil affairs by spreading rumours, in wars by stirring emulation, and in learning for gaining fame.

There is a better kind of glory which proceeds not from vanity but magnanimity, and in some is "comely and gracious."

Boasters are scorned of wise men, admired by fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

#### ANTITHETA ON VAIN-GLORY.

##### *For.*

1. He who seeks his own glory seeks the benefit of others along with it.

2. He who is so sober that he cares only for his own business counts, I fear, the business of the state to be none of his.

3. Minds that have in them some vanity more readily take up the care of the state.

1. *Devised of*.—Devised by. Sh. Gr. § 170.

*Æsop*.—A Greek fabulist, who lived about the middle of the 6th century B. C. He is said to have been deformed and a slave, but little is really known of him. His fables were never written, but handed down orally from one generation to another, and many that are attributed to him are doubtless of much later origin.

##### *Against.*

1. Vainglorious persons are ever factious, false, fickle and extreme.

2. The boaster is his neighbour's prey.

3. It is disgraceful for the lady's suitor to make love to her hand-maid; and praise is the hand-maid of virtue.

2. *What a dust.*—Readers of Carlyle will remember how in the opening of his Essay on Boswell's *Life of Johnson* he uses and develops this illustration.

3. *So are.....carry it.*—There are some vain persons who imagine, that whatever moves *by its own power*, or is caused by some power greater than theirs, owes its progress to them. Notice the redundancy that.....they. Cf. VIII. 38. XXII, 89. For *carry* cf. LV. 16. XXIII. 24. The *it* may refer to *whatsoever* or may be the indefinite *it* cf. XIX. 120.

6. *Glorious.*—Vain-glorious, boastful, absurdly proud of themselves. A Latinism.

7. *Bravery stands upon, &c.*—Boasting depends upon comparisons. It is impossible to boast without intending to imply that one is better than one's neighbours. Cf. the *Antitheta*.

9. *Neither can they be secret.....effectual.*—As they cannot work without boasting of their deeds, they cannot work effectually. An irregular construction.

11. *Bruit.*—Noise. A French word.

12. *Civil.*—Political, as opposed to military which is spoken of later.

13. *Opinion.*—Good opinion. Cf. our phrase 'To have no opinion of such a one.'

14. *Good trumpeters.*—Compare the phrase "to blow one's own trumpet," meaning to sound one's own praises.

15. *Antiochus and the Etolians.*—After the second Punic War Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, was visited by Hannibal at Ephesus B. C. 192, who tried to persuade him to wage war with Rome. At the same time the Etolians sent to him asking him to interfere in Greece, and their messenger Thoas persuaded him by a false report of their strength against the advice of Hannibal, to send an expedition to invade Greece, which ended in a disastrous defeat. *Livy*, Book XXXV. cc. XII. XVII, XVIII.

16. *Cross lies.*—Contradictory lies.

19. *Either.*—Equivalent to *each*. XXX. 13.

21. *Greater interest in.*—Greater influence upon.

24. *Opinion.....substances.*—Lies may influence a man's thought and his thoughts will express themselves in actions.

25. *In military.....another.*—Added in 1625.

28. *Charge and adventure*.—Involving expense and risk.

*Composition*.—A combination, *i. e.*, with others.

29. *Business*.—The undertaking.

31. *In fame*.....*ostentation*.—Added in 1625.

33. *Qui de contemnenda, &c.*—Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*. I. 15.

35. *Socrates*.—The famous Athenian philosopher and teacher. (B. C. 466—399.) Bacon unduly disparages Socrates. Elsewhere he accuses him of pretending to know what he did not, and denounces him for neglecting the researches of the older Greek philosophers who were chiefly concerned with physical theories.

*Aristotle*.—Bacon elsewhere censures Aristotle for his "professed contradiction to all the world." He looked on Plato and Aristotle as only 'more pompous' sophists, whose systems were of 'lighter and less solid material' than other ancient philosophies.

*Galen*.—(A. D. 131—200.) Born at Pergamum in Asia, was the most celebrated physician of ancient times. He practised medicine in Rome until driven away by the jealousy of rivals who accused him of curing his patients by magic arts. He was recalled by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Many of his works are still extant, and were regarded as an infallible authority for hundreds of years. But as he had to draw his inferences from the dissection of animals, there being little opportunity of dissecting human bodies, his conclusions as to human anatomy were sometimes erroneous. Bacon elsewhere classes Socrates, Aristotle and Galen together as "deserters of experience and empty babblers." This was perhaps natural in him under his reaction from the despotism of Aristotle upon the intellect of the Middle Ages, but the world has refused to follow him. They all, it is true, had a sufficiently great confidence in their own powers.

37. *Virtue was never so beholding, &c.*—Virtue was never indebted to human nature (or mankind) so far as she would have been had she received her due glory not from her own merits, (at first hand) but from mankind (or at second hand).

*Beholding*.—For beholden, bound, under obligation. Cf. X. 1.

38. *His*.—Its. Cf. X. 43. Queen Elizabeth always used the old form *hit* for the Neuter Pronoun. *His* therefore was a natural form for the Possessive Case.

39. *Plinius Secundus*.—Pliny the younger, nephew and adopted son of Pliny the elder, the naturalist. The only

works that are left of his are his Epistles, and a Panegyric upon Trajan. He was the foremost Advocate of his age, but is perhaps best known for his letters describing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A. D., and early Christianity in his province of Bithynia 110 A. D.

40. *Her.*—To agree with its antecedent *Fame*.

*Borne her age.*—Lasted so long.

41. *Seelings.*—See *Corrigenda*. The wainscottings, floors and ceilings of a room, which in those days were all made of wood. The varnish would preserve the wood. We call the roof or top of a room a ceiling but this word has no connection with "seelings" as it comes through the French *ciel*, heaven, from the Latin *cælum*. Seeling really meant closing up the eyes (XXXVI. 25,) so here would mean closing up all apertures against draughts. But many regard *ceiling* and *seeling* as the same word, treating the identification of ceiling with *ciel* as a case of false analogy.

44. *Omnium quæ, &c.*—Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 80.

*Mucianus.*—See VI. 8.

49. *Excusations.*—Making of excuses—not now used.

*Cessions.*—Concessions.

51. *Plinius Secundus.*—Pliny's *Letters* VI. 17. By taking the passage out of its context and translating it loosely, Bacon distorts particular reproof addressed to impoliteness in not applauding a reading into a general principle of self-exaltation.

54. *Wittily.*—Cleverly, ingeniously—refers to the mode of expression, not, as now, mainly to the thought expressed.

56. *In that you commend.*—In that which you commend. Sh. Gr. § 244.

60. *Parasite.*—A hanger-on, a sycophant, one who frequents the tables of the rich, and earns his welcome by flattery. Really a plant or animal which attaches itself to, and lives upon another. From the Greek *para*, beside, *sitos*, wheat, food. The Parasites were a distinct class in Ancient Greece and very numerous. The characteristics common to all parasites were importunity, love of sensual pleasures, and above all desire of getting a good dinner. They were divided into three classes :—(1) The jesters, (2) The flatterers, (3) The officious, who strove by a variety of services of the lowest and most degrading description to render themselves necessary to their patrons. During the time of the Roman Emperors, a parasite appears to have been a constant guest

at the tables of the wealthy. See Smith's *Greek & Roman Antiquities*.

61. *Shaves of their own vaunts*.—Bound by them. See the character of Parolles in 'All's Well That Ends Well.'

#### LV. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

This *Essay* was printed in 1597, omitted from the edition of 1612 perhaps by mistake as it occurs in the manuscript, and enlarged in that of 1625.

OUTLINE.—To win honour a man should neither too obviously seek it nor conceal his merit. Honour will be found by being the first to thoroughly achieve some great work or by contenting all parties. He who seeks it should avoid the risk of disgraceful failure, match himself with others of reputation, keep discreet servants, and avoid envy. The degrees of honour among sovereigns and among subjects.

A great though rare honour accrues to those who devote themselves to death for their country.

1. *The . . . honour, &c.*—The MS. has the *true* winning. So the Latin translation. This brings out Bacon's meaning better.

2. *Without disadvantage*.—*i. e.* without either exaggeration or disparagement.

3. *Affect*.—Aim at, seek after. I. 3.

5. *Darken*.—Obscure, hide. IX. 84.

6. *In the show of it*.—In its outward appearance, *i. e.* in the popular appreciation of it.

*So as*.—So that. Sh. Gr. § 109.

*Undervalued in opinion*.—*i. e.*, in the opinion of others.

9. *With . . . circumstances*.—With surroundings and accompaniments so favourable to fame.

10. *Purchase*.—Gain. Not in the sense of buying as we use it now. IV. 12.

11. *But a follower*.—Of those who have done the deed before, an imitator, not the first to do it.

12. *So temper*.—Mix, blend. If a man will vary his actions, so that by some he will please one class of persons, and by others another class, and so in turn please all, then, &c.

13. *Music*.—The sound of his praises.

14. *Ill*—Poor, unskilful, so *ill husband* means bad economist or manager.

*Husband*.—From house-band, (*band* being connected with the German *bauen* and derived from *ban*, to inhabit). House-dweller, or House-manager, then one who manages anything with care and economy. Cf., to husband = to manage with frugality.

16. *Gained.....another*.—Won at another's expense, by surpassing his deeds. Apparently an allusion to "breaking a spear" in the lists. The victor in a tournament gained honour according to the reputation of those whom he smote down. Bacon carefully studied the weaknesses of his rivals, and used them as a foil for his own advantages. So in his *Commentarius Solutus* he reminds himself 'to win credit compare to the Attorney (Hobart) by being more short, round and resolute.'

18. *Hath.....reflection*.—The easiest way to win honour is to surpass one of established reputation. His fame is thus reflected on you. Cf. the speech of Prince Henry about Hotspur in 1 *Henry IV*. Act III. Sc. 2.

19. *Contend*.—Endeavour, strive.

20. *Outshooting.....with*—Outdoing them in what they particularly excel in. Beating a man with his own weapons. Perhaps an allusion to the famous bow of Ulysses which nobody but himself could bend.

22. *Omnis fama, &c.*—Written by the brother of Cicero. We have now a proverb to the direct contrary. "No man is a hero to his own valet."

24. *By declaring, &c.*—*Declaro* in Latin is not to say, but to make plain, set in a clear light. So here the phrase means—by making himself known to all so far as his objects are concerned and showing that he seeks, &c.

26. *Felicity*.—Good luck or fortune, XL. 42.

*Policy*. Politic action, as in 'Honesty is the best policy.'

27. *Marshalling*.—Order, arrangement. "Are these" is a common Elizabethan construction, but wrong grammatically, since the Singular subject *marshalling* has a Plural verb, owing partly no doubt to the intervention of *Degrees*. Sh. Gr. § 412. Cf. 'the peril of our courses light on thee.'—*King John*, III. 1. 295.

28. *Sovereign honours*.—Honour among Sovereigns.

29. *Conditores imperiorum*.—Elsewhere Bacon attributes this honour to James I. for his plantation of Ulster.



30. *Romulus*.—The founder (B. C. 753) and first king of Rome.

*Cyrus*.—Founder of the Persian Empire 559 B. C.

*Ottoman*.—Othman or Osman I. founder of the Turkish Empire. Born 1259—Died 1326. From him the Turks took the name *Osmanli*. *Ismael*, founder of the second Persian Empire in 1502. The name of *Sophy* (from Arabic *sufi*, wise, pious) was a title originated by him. XLIII. 11.

35. *Lycurgus, &c.*—The Spartan law-giver.

*Solon*, the Athenian law-giver, and one of the seven sages of Greece. Lived in the 6th century B. C.

*Justinian*, the Great, A. D. 483—565. He rose from an obscure position and became emperor A. D. 527. He reformed the Roman Law. See *Gibbon* c. XLIV.

*Edgar*, the Peaceful, king of England, reigned from 973 to 975. "After times looked back fondly to "Eadgar's Law" as it was called."—GREEN.

*Alphonsus of Castile*.—*Alfonso* IX. the Wise A. D. 1221—1284. He was King of Castile and Leon, and published a famous collection of laws called 'Las Siete Partidas' (The Seven Parts) from its seven divisions.

38. *Compound*.—Settle. Cf. LVIII. 96. XLIX. 20, and the phrases 'compound differences' and 'compound the matter' which are still used.

40. *Augustus Cesar, &c.*—*Augustus* closed the Civil Wars by his victory over Antony.

*Vespasian*.—Delivered Rome from the Civil Wars that followed the death of Nero.

*Aurelianus*.—The Roman Emperor who conquered Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, repelled the Suevi, and regained the obedience of Spain, Gaul and Britain, (A. D. 270.)

41. *Theodoricus*.—King of the Ostrogoths, freed Italy from the dominion of Odoacer 493 A. D. and founded the Gothic kingdom of Italy.

*Henry VII. of England*.—Brought to an end the Civil Wars known as the 'Wars of the Roses.'

43. *Henry IV. of France*.—Ended the long wars between the Catholics and Huguenots in France, known as the 'Wars of the League.' These illustrations were added in 1625.

43. *Propagatores*.—Extenders.

53. *Duces belli*.—Leaders of war.

55. *Favourites.*—Contrast the meaning given to this word here with that it bears in XXXVI. 34, and still more in XXVII. 48. Here it simply denotes the king's private friends. These ministers invested with special authority. Buckingham is usually spoken of as a favourite of James. But he would seem to Bacon rather a *particeps curarum* than a favourite. He was an all-powerful minister.

56. *Scantling.*—small measure, limit—that mentioned directly afterwards, to be solace to the Sovereign, &c. Perhaps this clause was introduced expressly to exclude Buckingham.

59. *Execute their places.*—Discharge the duties of their positions.

*With sufficiency.*—Competently, satisfactorily.

63. *Marcus Regulus.*—A Roman general who commanded in the first war against Carthage. The story runs that being made prisoner by the Carthaginians, he was sent by them to Rome with terms of peace, being made first to swear that if they were not accepted he would return. Knowing that torture and death awaited him, he yet strongly urged the Romans not to accept the terms, and went back to Carthage where he is said to have been tortured to death, B. C. 257.

*Decii.*—Publius Decius Mus, a Roman consul, devoted himself to the infernal gods (that is to death) in a doubtful battle in the Latin war, and by this sacrifice insured the victory for his country, B. C. 340. His son, bearing the same name, and also a consul, followed his example, and in a battle with the Samnites, sacrificed his life, on which the Romans won the day, B. C. 295.

#### LVI. OF JUDICATURE.

This Essay first appeared in the Edition of 1612.

In that of 1625 it was enlarged.

The Latin title gives a better idea of it:—'Of the Duty of a Judge.'

OUTLINE.—Judges are the interpreters of the law, therefore they should be learned, reverend, cautious, but above all just. Towards *suitors* a Judge should be prompt. He should suppress force, fraud and contentions. He must be impartial. He should beware of straining the law, especially in the direction of rigour and so far as is consistent with justice should be merciful. Towards *advocates* a Judge should show patience and gravity, his office being to direct the evidence,

moderate the speeches, sum up the case, and pronounce the sentence. But he should not be led by the advocates and should have no favourites. He should compliment them when it can be done and reprove them when necessary.

He should drive away scandal and corruption, and control all *hangers-on of the court*, but should respect old and well-tried servants.

A Judge should often consult with *the Sovereign*, for private cases may often be of public interest. Judges should be like lions supporting the throne, and should have a high sense of their own dignity in the lawful use of the law.

With this Essay may be read Bacon's speech on taking his seat in Chancery, and his 'Speech to Justice Hutton.'

#### ANTITHETA ON THE WORDS OF THE LAW.

##### *For.*

1. Interpretation which departs from the letter is not interpretation but divination.

2. When he departs from the letter, the Judge becomes the law-giver.

1. *Jus ..... dare.*—To expound the law; and not to make the law. A Judge sits to administer the law of the land as it is, not to make laws, which is the work of the Legislature. But practically it is impossible to distinguish the two—and English Law as a matter of fact is based almost as much upon precedents as upon legislation.

5. *Doth not stick to, &c.*—Does not stick at adding and altering. "Stick at" would not be used now, as it would be considered an inelegant expression. "Does not hesitate to" or "does not scruple to" would be more likely forms of expressing this meaning.

*Pronounce.*—Here to speak solemnly or officially. The verb is distinguished from *say* or *speak* as it always implies reference to authority. Thus, any one can *say* that one charged with a crime, is guilty, and deserves punishment, but only the Judge can pronounce this. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. 2. 67, 'Pronounce his present death.'

6. *By show of.*—Under the appearance of.

8. *Witty.*—Ingenious.

*Plausible.*—Anxious to gain applause. In IX. 145, and XV. 27, it has its ordinary Elizabethan meaning of 'praiseworthy.'

##### *Against.*

1. The sense of single words must be gathered from the whole passage.

2. The worst tyranny is the distorting of the law.

*Advised*.—Deliberate. The Adverb 'advisedly' is still in use in this sense.

10. *Proper*.—Peculiarly appropriate.

"*Cursed*".....*the law, &c.*—*Deuteronomy*, xxvii. 17.

12. *Mere-stone*.—See *Corrigenda*. Boundary-stone. Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* uses, 'mere' for boundary, as Spenser had done before him. (*F. Q.* III. 9. 46) Quite distinct from mere, a lake.

12. *Capital*.—Principal, chief. Cf. the phrase 'capital city of a country.' From Lat. *caput*, head.

13. *Defineth of*.—Abbott Sh. Gr. § 174.

14. *Foul*.—Here used in the sense of wrongful, bad, corrupt.

16. *So saith Solomon, &c.*—*Proverbs*, xxv. 26.

21. *Advocate*.—One who pleads the cause of another before a Judge in a court of law. Latin *ad-vo-care*, to call in one for help. Barrister or counsel is the term now used in England.

22. *Ministers of justice*.—Officials of the court. A minister is a servant, originally one who served with his hands.

24. *The Scripture*.—*Amos*, v. 7.

25. *Wormwood*.—A plant of a bitter nauseous taste, a source of bitterness.

30. *Close*.—Secret.

31. *Spewed out*.—Ejected, cast out with abhorrence, vomited. Latin *spuo*, I spit.

*Surfeit*.—This really means a fulness and oppression of the system, and as the system relieves itself by sickness, so these contentious suits should be ejected.

33. *As God useth*.—As God is accustomed. The reference is to *Isaiah* xl. 3. *St. Matt.* iii. 3.

35. *Prosecution*.—i. e., Prosecution of the suit, procedure.

37. *To make*.—In making. Sh. Gr. § 356.

38. *Qui fortiter, &c.*—See *Proverbs* xxx. 33.

44. *Laws penal, &c.*—Laws which inflict punishment, therefore supposed to act as a deterrent from crime.

47. *Shower*.....*Scripture, &c.*—"He shall rain snares upon them." See *Psalm* xl. 6.

49. *Pressed*.—Strained, forced.

50. *Sleepers of long.*—For a long time never put in force. Cf. *Acts* VIII. 11. 'Of long time he had bewitched them.'

52. *Execution.*—Carrying out, application.

53. *Judicis officium, &c.*—Ovid *Tristia* I. 1. 37.

62. *Over-speaking.*—A talkative Judge, one who interferes with his talk. He speaks loudly, but not appropriately, like a loud sounding cymbal, but like an ill-tuned one, which clashes and jars with the other instruments. Cymbals are hollow basin-like musical instruments of brass, beaten together in pairs, and producing a sharp clashing sound. From the Gr. *cymbe*, a hollow. The reference here is to *Psalms* CL. 5, the real rendering of which is "Praise Him upon the well-tuned cymbals, Praise Him upon the loud cymbals." Coke, Bacon's rival, was popularly accused of the fault.

64. *From the bar.*—So in his *Speech on taking his seat in Chancery*, he condemns the practice 'of taking the tale out of the councillor at the bar his mouth.'

65. *Conceit.*—Comprehension.

66. *Prevent.*—Anticipate.

68. *Direct the evidence.*—This is a vague phrase, and capable of a sinister construction, especially when read by the light of the judicial records of the seventeenth century.—*Asquith*. In the trial of Somerset it needed the most skilful direction of the evidence to prevent James I.'s name being brought into the question.

69. *Impertinency.*—Irrelevance, wandering from the matter in hand.

*Collate.*—To bring together, in order to ascertain by comparison the points of argument or difference. This word is generally used of old books and manuscripts.

72. *Glory.*—Vanity. The Biblical 'vain-glory,' cf. the Title of *Essay* LIV.

*Willingness.*—Desire, wishfulness.

73. *Impatience to hear.*—Impatience of hearing or of listening. Sh. Gr. § 356.

74. *Equal.*—Steady.

76. *They should imitate God.*—"God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."—*James* IV. 6.

79. *Noted*.—Known openly, notorious.

*Whick*.—The antecedent is the whole clause.

80. *By-ways*.—Secret proceedings, crooked courses. 'All my lawyers' said James I. 'are so bred and nursed in corruption that they cannot leave it.' See note on 68 above.

82. *Gracing*.—Complimenting (not so used now.)

83. *Obtaineth*.—Wins, succeeds. Cf. VI. 19, where it means, "attain."

85. *Conceit of his cause*.—The opinion that his cause was right and therefore ought to have been successful.

86. *Cunning*.—Here in its modern sense.

89. *Chop*.—Bandy words. Cf. XXXIV. 66, where it simply means *change*. Cf. the term *chop-logic*.

97. *Footpace*.—Apparently a raised platform for a chair of state, the platform upon which the Judge's seat was placed. Nares renders it *mat* or *carpet*. Whately *lobby*. Latham, *landing on a stair-case*. The Latin translation give the meaning *seats*.

98. *Purprise*.—Much the same as precincts, the whole enclosure of the court. A French word.

99. *Grapes will not, &c.*—See *St. Matthew* VII. 16.

*Catching*.—The general meaning is clear, grasping and rapacious.

102. *Polling*.—Polling means stripping or plundering; originally it meant cutting the hair from the head or poll, as Absalom "polled his head, for it was at every year's end that he polled it." 2 *Samuel* xiv. 26. A tree that is cut off at the top is said to be polled and therefore called a pollard. *Catching* is equivalent to *clutching*. The two words together have perhaps produced the compound *catch-poll* a bailiff, though other derivations have been given.

106. *Quarrels of jurisdiction*.—Disputes as to the rights of a court to exercise authority in certain cases. It was through a dispute about jurisdiction that Bacon triumphed over his life-long rival, Sir Edward Coke, who threatened the Chancery with *Præmunire*. Bacon drew up a decree over-ruling this, and Coke was suspended from his office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Coke had throughout been jealous for the jurisdiction of his court and resisted the increasing encroachments of Chancery.

109. *Scraps*.—The perquisites they may pick up.
111. *Nimble*.—Literally "ready to catch." From A. S. *winnan*, to catch, take, seize.
114. *Poller*.—See note on *polling*, line 102.
117. *Weather*.—Severe or stormy weather.
118. *Ancient*.—Of long standing, not now used in this sense.
119. *Understanding*.—Knowing, wise.
123. *Estate*.—The State.
124. *Roman Twelve Tables, &c.*—The Twelve Tables were a code of laws drawn up by the Decemvirs B. C. 451. At first the code consisted of Ten Tables, but two more were added. They were publicly placed in the Forum, so that all might become acquainted with them. There are only fragments now remaining and it is not known that the above quotation is really contained in the Twelve Tables. It occurs in Cicero *de Legibus* III. 3. 8.
128. *States*.—Seems here to include Parliament and the Council. Cf. the French States-general.
- Kings.....consult*.—James I. too often consulted with the Judges, bending them to his own will. See *Hallam* on this point.
130. *Consult.....King*.—"Do as the planets do, move always and be carried with the motion of your first mover, which is your Sovereign."—*Bacon to the Judges*.
- So James I. in his speech in Star-Chamber 1616 said: "If there fall out a question that concerns my prerogative, deal not with it till you consult with the King or his Council or both."
131. *Intervient in*.—Intermingled, involved with. An obsolete word, though we use *intervene* and *intervention*.
134. *Deduced to judgment*.—Brought to trial.
- Menum and tuum*.—Mere questions of property. *Menum* and *tuum* are Latin for *mine* and *thine*.
- Reason*.—Principle involved.
135. *May trench to*.—May trench upon. So in James I.'s speech, quoted above, he bids the Judges beware lest they 'wound the King through the sides of some private person.'
136. *Parts of sovereignty*.—Those things which make up the royal prerogative.
141. *Spirits*.—See IX. 15. Following modern Physiology we should use instead of *spirits* here, the brain and nervous system.

*Sineus*.—The muscles.

*Spirits and sineus*.—Elsewhere Bacon works out this metaphor, comparing law to the *sineus* and sovereignty to the *spirits*. *Works* VII. 246.

*That*.—So that.

142. *Solomon's throne, &c.*—1 *Kings* x. 19. 20. Bacon says in his *Speech to Justice Hutton*: 'Weigh and remember with yourself that the twelve Judges of the realm are as the twelve lions under Solomon's throne; they must show their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the throne.' This reference to "Solomon" is apt flattery on the part of Bacon to the King, James I., who was called "the British Solomon."

149. *The Apostle*.—Paul in the First Epistle to *Timothy*, I. 8.

#### LVII. OF ANGER.

This Essay first appears in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—See lines 4—9.

1. *To extinguish anger utterly*.—This is the teaching of Seneca 'on Anger.'

*Bravery*.—Cf. XI. 54.

*Stoics*.—See note on I. 48.

2. *Oracles*.—Authoritative teaching.

*Be angry, &c.*—Paul's Epistle to the *Ephesians* iv. 26. The context shows that Paul is referring to just resentment. It is perhaps characteristic of Bacon that he applies this to the 'anger' spoken of by the Stoics, the outburst of passion. Of this Paul says, in the same chapter, 'Let all bitterness and wrath and anger... be put away from you.' Christianity no less than Stoicism seeks to extinguish utterly the anger which is 'a short madness,' self-centred passion, though it recognises and even approves righteous indignation.

4. *In race and time*.—Extent and duration. *Race* being used like *course*, the Latin *cursus*, race.

6. *Attempered*.—Moderated, curbed, restrained.

7. *Particular*.—i. e., in any particular code.

8. *Refrained*.—Now Intrans. though properly it is Trans. as here. (Latin *re-* back and *frenum*, a bridle.)

*To raise anger*.—Note the view taken of men merely as instruments, to be played upon, or used to forward the schemes, or designs of a master mind.



11. *Ruminare*.—To meditate. It really means to turn over and over in one's mind, as the cow chews the cud.

13. *Seneca*.—I. 29. In his work 'On Anger,' I. 1.

14. *Ruin*.—As in Latin, here means a falling building.

*Upon that it falls*.—Upon that upon which it falls. For the omission of the Prep. and Relative cf:—

'Off with his head

And rear it in the place (*in which*) your father stands.'—

3. *Henry VI.* II. 6. 86.

Or 'falls' may be trans. Cf. 'Think on me and fall thy edgeless sword.'—Richard III. V. 3. 166.

15. *Possess our souls in patience*.—*St. Luke*, xxi. 19.

18. *Animusque in vulnere ponunt*.—Virgil, *Georgics* IV. 238.

20. *Baseness*.—An unworthy or unmanly emotion.

*Only men*.—In contradistinction to women as above, *i. e.*, only, though a man should regard anger as childish or base, let him beware lest his self-restraint under an injury should be attributed to fear. Let him restrain his anger indeed but in such a way as to show that he despises rather than fears his wronger. For the use of *carry* cf. XXII, 98.

28. *Sensible of hurt*.—Too sensitive, too easily hurt.

29. *Feels himself hurt*.—The *himself* shows the limitation Bacon gives to the meaning of anger.

32. *Sense*.—Feeling.

*Apprehension*.—Recognition.

33. *Construction*.—Interpretation. The meaning is:—one of the causes of anger is a suspicion on the part of the injured individual that the wrong would not have been done him unless his wronger had despised him.

38. *Opinion of the touch, &c.*—The feeling that one's reputation has suffered injury. Cf. 'speech of touch,' XXXII. 45.

40. *Gonsalvo*.—Gonsalvo was a famous Spaniard, surnamed the Great Captain, born 1453, died 1515. He was the most famous soldier of his age, making his reputation by the capture of Granada from the Moors in 1492 and enhancing it by his expulsion of the French from Naples in 1497. So in his *Charge touching Duels* Bacon says "it were good that men did hearken unto the saying of Consalvo, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, a gentleman's

*honour should be de tela crassiore*, of a good strong warp or web, that every little thing should not catch in it." He also quotes this saying elsewhere. Duelling in England was perhaps at its height in the reign of James I.

42. *Refrainings*.—Bridlings, cf. line 8.

47. *Contain*.—Restrain, hold back.

50. *Aculeate*.—Pointed and stinging. This is a botanical and zoological word, anything having prickles or a sting coming under this head. Lat. *aculeus*, sting.

*Proper*.—Personal.

*Communia maledicta*.—Insults that are common to many.

55. *Act*.—Do, carry so far as action.

63. *An angry business*.—What might cause anger in him.

64. *Sever the construction*, &c.—Keep him from attributing your injury of him to contempt.

#### LVIII. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

This Essay first appeared in the Edition of 1625.

OUTLINE.—What seems new is but an old thing forgotten. *Matter* is in a perpetual flux—the chief instruments of change being earthquakes and deluges. By these only ignorant mountaineers, if any, are spared, who cannot record what existed before. Hence, e. g., the West Indies are new. Fire, drought and sectarian zeal are much less destructive.

Vicissitude in the *heavens*:—Plato's great year may bring about a general reproduction of an earlier condition of things. Comets have some effect. And a kind of cycle of thirty-five years in climate may be traced.

Vicissitude in *human affairs*:—Chiefly seen (1) in Religion. Conditions under which a new sect may arise. Modes of prevention. (2) In War, especially in the seats of War, the weapons and the conduct. Conditions under which Wars may be expected.

States have their ages of life, and so has Learning.

*Vicissitudes*.—From the Latin stem *vic-*, turn or change. It now usually implies a great change. But Bacon evidently bears in mind its original meaning, for through a great part of this Essay he uses it as equivalent to 'return to one's original position.'

1. *There . . . thing*, &c.—*Ecclesiastes* 1. 9. 10, in the Bible. The writer of the Book of *Ecclesiastes* by a common literary

device puts his own opinions into the mouth of the famous sage, King Solomon.

2. *As Plato*.—In his *Phædo*.

3. *His sentence*.—His firm opinion. Latin *sententia*, judicial opinion.

4. *All . . . . . oblivion*.—Everything that is supposed to be new seems so merely through our having forgotten the old.

5. *Læthe*.—The fabled river in Hades, from which the spirits of the departed drank to obtain forgetfulness. Bacon means here that there is as great a power of forgetfulness here on earth as in the fabled Hades.

6. *Abstruse*.—The Latin translation added 'and too little known.'

*Astrologer*.—The astrologer referred to has not been identified unless, as Reynolds suggests, Bacon is very loosely quoting from *Telesius* a passage to which he refers again—and differently—in his *De Principiis atque Originibus*.

10. *Diurnal motion*.—The daily movement of the earth on its own axis.

11. *The matter*.—Cf. I. 43. Apparently *matter* here is confined to this world.

12. *Flux*.—Movement. Lat. *fluere*, to flow. Cf. the catch-word of the theory of Heraclitus, 'All things are in a state of flux.'

13. *Wrinding sheet*.—Sheet in which a corpse is wrapped. "What a picture of level desolation do these words present!"—REYNOLDS.

14. *Deluges*.—Machiavelli, whose *Discourses on Livy*, Bk. II. c. 5 was obviously before Bacon when he wrote this Essay, gives the chief place in destruction to deluges, but the second to pestilence or famine.

15. *Merely*.—Completely, utterly. Lat. *merus*, unmixed thence all of one sort. In Modern English it means purely, or solely.

16. *Phæton's car*.—Phæton was the son of Apollo, the Sun-God. He begged to be allowed to drive his father's chariot for one day and perished in the attempt.

*Three years' drought*.—1 Kings xvii & xviii. in the Bible.

17. *Elias*.—The Greek form of *Elijah*, the great Hebrew prophet.

*Particular.—Partial.*

18. *Burnings.*—In his 'New Atlantis' Bacon refers to these, but nothing more seems known of them.

19. *West Indies.*—Used by Bacon and contemporary writers as equivalent to the whole of America.

20. *But narrow.*—Confined to a narrow or small district.

22. *Hap.*—Happen.

*Reserved.*—Preserved, kept back from death.

23. *Mountainous people.*—Mountaineers. In the 'New Atlantis' he repeats this view with especial reference to America. 'You must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger by a thousand years at least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant, of human seed which remained in the mountains peopled the country slowly by little and little, &c.'

30. *Solon, &c.*—"Atlantis, an island situated in front of the straits which the Greeks called the Columns of Heracles. was larger than Libya and Asia together, and was the way to other islands, from which islands you might pass to the whole of the opposite continent. In this island of Atlantis there was a great and wonderful empire, ruling over the whole island, and several others, parts of the continent, and subjected parts of Libya within the Columns of Heracles as far as Egypt and of Europe as far as Tyrrhenia. This vast power endeavoured to subdue at one blow both Egypt and Greece, and then the Greeks shone forth for they were first in courage and skill; when the rest fell off they stood alone, and after great danger defeated the invaders, and preserved from slavery those who were not subject and liberated all who dwelt within the limits of Heracles. But afterwards there occurred violent earthquakes and floods, and in a single day and night of rain all the Greek warlike men in a body sank into the earth, and the island of Atlantis in like manner disappeared and sunk beneath the sea. And that is the reason why the sea in those parts is impassable, and impenetrable, because there is such a quantity of shallow mud in the way and this was caused by the subsidence of the island. This is the tradition which the aged Critias heard from Solon told to Solon by a priest of the Egyptian goddess Neith." PLATO'S *Timæus*. (Jowett). This passage has perhaps created more discussion than any other in Greek literature. Some have seen in it a tradition of the time when in ages long past Europe and America were

united by hand, others a statement of the existence of America. It was probably a picture of Plato's fancy. In the 'New Atlantis' Bacon uses the story in order to promulgate his idea of an ideal State.

32. *Particular*.—Partial as in line 17.

33. *Seldom*.—Here used as an Adjective. Properly it is an Adverb.

*On the other side*.—i. e., of the account. On the other hand

34. *Such.....as are*.—Omission of *that* after *as*. Cf. LIX. 28. Abbott Sh. Gr. § 109.

35. *Mountains*.—Translation of *Andes*.

36. *Whereby*.—By which mountains, or by which height of the mountains.

39. *Machiavel*.—In his *Discourses* II. 5, as above.

40. *Trabucing*.—Machiavelli's statement though doubted by Bacon and Gibbon has some support in Gregory's own writings, though he was not consistent in his policy.

40. *Gregory the Great*.—Bishop of Rome 590—604.

42. *Zeal*.—Instances of zeal.

*Do*.—Produce.

44. *Sabinian*.—Sabinian of Volaterræ succeeded Gregory the Great as Bishop of Rome, A. D. 604.

46. *Superior globe*.—The sphere in which the heavenly bodies move, the earth being the centre according to the old theory.

48. *Great Year*.—A favourite notion with early philosophers. Heraclitus, Plato in his *Timæus*, Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch and many others speak of it. It does not mean any one year but a cycle, to which different lengths were assigned by different writers, e.g., 80,000, 12,000 or 7,777 Solar Years. Mr. Wright quotes from a contemporary of Bacon this clear account of it:—'The Great Year is a space of time in the which not only all the Planets, but also all the fixed stars that are in the firmament, having ended all their revolutions do return again to the self-same places in the heavens, which they had at the first beginning of the world.'—*Blunderbore*, Ed. 1594.

49. *Not.....individuals*.—It would not bring back the same individual things as were in existence a cycle before or even *individuals* like them. It would be a general not a detailed reproduction of the past.

50. *Fume*.—Fancy. Lat. *funus*, smoke.

51. *Accurate*.—Detailed.

*Influences*.—A technical word of astrology. Cf. Milton *L'Allegro*, 'Ladies whose bright eyes rain influence.' As may be seen in all the writings of this period, the stars were supposed to exercise a great influence over the earth, and over each man's life. Astrology was considered one of the sciences, and it was a common practice to cast the horoscope of a child, by which its fortune was foretold, according to the position of the stars at the time of its birth. It is now almost obsolete in Europe.

52. *In gross*.—In general; lit. in the great.

55. *Waited upon*.—Attended to.

56. *Respective, &c.*—Having regard to the characteristics of the different comets.

57. *For magnitude*.—In respect to magnitude—a use of *for* still found in colloquial English.

*Version of the beams*.—The direction of the beams. Version from Lat. *versio*, a turning, a change, a change of direction.

60. *Toy*.—A trifle.

61. *Given over*.—Disregarded.

*Waited upon*.—As above, attended to.

62. *Low countries*.—The Netherlands—Holland and Belgium. The low-lying lands about the mouths of the Rhine.

64. *Suit*.—Sequence. It strictly means *following*, as in *pursuit*.

66. *The prime*.—Perhaps because like the prime numbers it was indivisible into any parts like itself.

68. *Concurrence*.—Agreement with this theory or coincidence with the cycle.

71. *Orbs*.—Motives. For the metaphor see Essay XV. 59. XVII. 20. Orbs as in XVII. 29 are the primum mobile and other spheres whose turning moved the universe, according to the old theories.

72. *Built.....rock*.—A metaphor borrowed partly from *Matthew* vii. 24 and partly from *Matthew* xvi. 18.

76. *Give stay to*.—Check. *Give* was idiomatically used in other phrases of the same kind,—e. g., give pause to.

79. *Withal*.—Also.

80. *Doubt*.—Suspect.

82. *Extravaгант.*—Intemperate. Literally it is 'wandering outside bounds.'

84. *Properties.*—Characteristics, or qualities.

86. *Authority established.*—Civil power. This is probably a reference to the Puritans.

87. *The other..... life.*—This might justly be urged against the Anabaptists and Antinomians of the 16th century, who taught that believers in Christ were free from law. It has also been urged against Islam.

89. *The Arians.*—The followers of Arius, who lived at the end of the third century. He maintained that the Son of God though the Creator of the world, and invested with divine power in high measure, was not truly divine but was a creature of God, the first created of all beings and a perfect type of created excellence. His doctrine was denounced by Athanasius, and pronounced heretical at the Council of Nicæa in the year 325.

90. *The Arminians.*—So called from James Arminius (1560—1609) the professor of Divinity at Leyden. His views, which were directly opposed to those of Calvin, were summed up in the famous five points, which were as follows:—

1. That God had resolved from eternity on the salvation and damnation of men, but with the condition that those who believed should be saved, while unbelievers should be damned.

2. That Christ died for all men, but only those who believe partake of His salvation.

3. No one can have saving faith from himself, but must be born again of God in Christ, through the Holy Ghost.

4. That nobody can, without the grace of God, think, will or do anything good.

5. That the faithful can struggle against Satan, the flesh and the world, and conquer them by the help of the Holy Ghost.

These points were all censured at the Synod of Dort held 1618. James I. wrote against them. Lord Macaulay says of Bacon, 'We do not remember a line in his works from which it can be inferred that he was either a Calvinist or an Arminian, though the world was resounding with the noise of a disputatious philosophy, and a disputatious theology.' Apparently he had overlooked this passage. England at the time was overwhelmingly Calvinistic, Laud being the first prominent English Arminian.

92. *Civil occasions*.—Political causes. Yet the history of Arianism in the Roman Empire, Italy and Spain might have shown Bacon he was wrong.

93. *Plantations*.—Here means founding, as of Colonies.

100. *Schisms*.—Divisions or separations, especially in a Christian church.

101. *Proceed*.—To use procedure, a technical use.

112. *Gallo-Grecia*.—i. e., the Greece of the Gauls, Galatia in Asia Minor. A band of Gauls poured into Macedonia, was repulsed from Delphi B. C. 279, crossed the Hellespont the next year, and gave its name to the district in which they finally settled.

*Rome*.—B. C. 390—the famous invasion of Brennus.

113. *But East and West*.....&c.—East and west are not definite fixed points, as what might be eastward to one nation might be westward to another. e. g., to us the continent Europe lies to the west, but to the Americans it would be to the east. This idea of Bacon's has been embodied in the line "Westward the star of Empire takes its way."

115. *Certainty of observation*.—"Any definite observable law."—ABBOTT.

118. *The Northern tract, &c.*—"The people which live northward beyond the Rhine and Danube, being born in a healthful and prolific clime, do many times increase to such insupportable numbers that part of them are constrained to abandon their native, in quest of new countries to inhabit."—MACHIAVELLI.

120. *Be it.....the stars*.—"This suggestion is perhaps the highest tribute paid by Bacon to the powers exercised by astrology over the minds of men in his time."—ABBOTT.

121. *Whereas.....known*.—To this day much less is known of the Antarctic than the Arctic regions, many voyages of discovery having been made to the North Pole, but few to the South.

126. *Shivering*.—A shiver is a small piece, a splinter, hence to *shiver* is to break into pieces. A distinct word from *shiver*, to tremble.

133. *Empire of Almaine*.—Not a very good instance, as the Empire did not fall a prey to outsiders. The French call Germany *Allemagne* from the tribe of the *Allemanni*. Under French influence the same word is used occasionally by English authors, as in Macaulay's 'Ivry.'



*Every bird taking a feather.*—A vivid metaphor to describe the partition among his sons.

134. *Were not unlike .....Spain.*—Is not unlikely to happen to Spain. Notice the omission of the subject. In Bacon's *Notes of a Speech Concerning a War with Spain* he points out how many Spanish territories were coveted by other nations, adding 'So that if every one had his feather, Spain would be left wonderful naked.'

135. *Accessions.*—Here increases.

137. *Over-power.*—Excessive power, or greatness.

139. *Look .....there is.*—An instance of Parataxis. Cf. LIX. 3.

144. *Shoals.*—This word is used here referring to *inundation* above. It means a multitude of fishes, a troop, crowd. It comes from Mid. Eng. *scole*, a school, hence a troop, throng, crowd. The sailors' phrase a "school of fish" exhibits the same word.

145. *Foreseeing.*—An English version of *providing*.

*Sustentation.*—Usually *sustenance* is used now.

148. *Casting lots, &c.*—'When any of those provinces are over-charged, and disposed to disgorge, the order they observe is, to divide into three parts so equally, that each of the three consists of a just proportion of noble and ignoble, rich and poor. After which they cast lots, and that part to whose fortune it falls marches off to new quarters, where they can be found.'—MACHIAVELL.

150. *State .....they.*—Notice the change of Number—a construction according to the sense.

154. *Observation.*—Cf. line III.

157. *Ordnance.*—Cannon, artillery, formerly ordinance. Because the bore or size of the cannon were fixed by ordinance.

158. *Oxydrakes.*—Reynolds has collected the authorities for this statement which seem to have escaped other annotators. The story is first found in the fabulous life of Apollonius of Tyana to whom an Indian King is represented as saying that the Oxydracæ had always been free, having even repelled Heracles and Bacchus by flames and thunder. Raleigh in his *History of the World* (IV. 2. 21), quotes this account, and Bacon would seem to have borrowed it from him.

161. *China*.—Montaigne (III. 6) similarly speaks of China. Gunpowder seems to have been long known in both India and China, and perhaps artillery in the latter.

*Conditions*.—We should say *requisites*.

162. *Improvements*.—Points in which from time to time they have been improved.

*Fetching*.—We now say *carrying*. Cf. however the phrase 'to fetch him a blow.'

163. *That outruns the danger*.—Enables the holder of the weapon to strike his foe before he comes within danger from his foe's blow.

164. *Percussion*.—Stroke—nothing to do with the percussion caps.

165. *Arietations*.—Assaults by battering rams. The word is derived from *aries*, a ram. They were so called because the head was shaped like that of a ram.

167. *As that*.—The *as* is equivalent to *for example* or *namely*. Abbott Sh. Gram. § 113.

171. *On number*.—Relied on the size of their armies. The ancient armies were frequently almost numberless, as for instance, that of Xerxes when invading Greece.

*Did put*. Abbott suggests that this use of "did"—not very common with Bacon—is used on account of the uninflection of the verb "to put."

*Put.....on*.—Staked upon.

172. *Pointing*.—Appointing. Cf. XLV. 69.

174. *Ranging*.—Arranging.

*Battails*.—Battalions, bodies of troops.

175. *After*.—Afterwards.

176. *Cunning*.—Skilful.

177. *Diversions*.—Manœuvres, lit. turnings aside.

179. *In a youth of a State, &c.*—At first a State will always have to fight for its existence, but when that has been assured, it has time and leisure to turn its attention to learning, commerce, the acquiring of wealth, but when luxury gains the ascendant, then, as Bacon stated above, the State begins to decline and falls an easy prey to any more warlike nation. Cf. *Adv. of Learning* II, 1011.

182. *His*.—In Bacon's time *his* was the genitive of *it*—*its* was still rare.

165. *Reduced*.—Deprived of youthful luxuriance.  
 186. *Exhaust*.—Cf. VIII. 36.  
 188. *Philology*.—Here seems to mean the stories on the subject. Folklore or mythology.

## OF FAME.

This fragment was first printed in 1657.

OUTLINE.—Poetical descriptions of Fame, some simply fanciful, some parables conveying important truth, as in the story that Fame was sister to the rebellious giants. The art of dealing with fames, though neglected, is of great importance: Points to be considered. Many instances show how great a part fames play in war. They must be no less attended to than real acts.

1. *Fame*.—Is throughout used in its old sense of Rumour.
  2. *Finely*.—i. e., with more attention to style than to matter.  
*Gravely*.—Seriously, with full attention to matter.  
*Sententiously*.—In phrases full of meaning.
  3. *They say*, &c.—Reference to Virgil—*Eneid* IV. 175-190.  
*Look how many...so many*.—A good instance of Parataxis. We should now make the first a subordinate clause and say As many.....so many.
  6. *This is a flourish*.—This is an embellishment, or flowery language. Cf. *Hamlet* II. 2. 91.  
*Follow*.—Are in addition.
- Parables*.—Originally meant a comparison. (Gr. *parabole*, a setting side by side) in which sense it is used here. It is now generally applied to the Parables of the New Testament.
12. *Passeth all the rest*.—Surpasses all the rest as a parable. Cf. our use of *passing* in such phrases as 'passing well.'
  13. *Giants*.—The Greek name for them means 'Earth-born.' For the allusion see XV. 51.
- Jupiter*.—The chief god among the Romans, treated by Bacon as the same as the Greek Zeus.
14. *Anger*.—A fit of anger.
  15. *Fame*.—Sec XV. 20.
  18. *Feed at the hand*.—Like a tamed falcon.

19. *Fly, &c.*—Transitive, start. Cf. *Hamlet* II. 2. 450. The use of the word in 'fly a kite' is somewhat similar.

20. *We.....poets.*—I am writing in too fanciful and figurative a style.

21. *Sad.*—Sober.

22. *The politics.*—The article 'the' would now be left out.

*Place.*—Topic, as in 'common-place book.'

29. *That force, as.*—Would now be 'of such force, that....' 'That' is still used in dialect in this way. For *As* denoting consequence (? *that* omitted) cf. III. 95. So.....as. Cf. Abbott. Sh. Gram. § 109 § 230, though no exact parallel occurs.

31. *Mucianus.*—A. D. 68. He was Proconsul of Syria, and nominally supported Vitellius, but was really advancing the claims of Vespasian, to which end he spread false reports.

32. *Had in purpose.*—An inaccurate Latinism, combining the Latin idiom 'had for purpose' with our 'had it in his mind.'

34. *Julius Cæsar, &c.*—That Pompey believed this is certain, but there is no proof that Cæsar spread abroad the report.

*Unprovided.*—Unprepared.

38. *Wearied with the wars.*—At the time of the outbreak of the Civil War Cæsar's soldiers had been nearly 10 years in Gaul, nevertheless they followed him for about four years longer.

39. *Livia.*—Wife of Augustus Cæsar, formerly the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero. It was for Tiberius, her son by the latter, that she schemed, to place him upon the throne. Tiberius always acknowledged his deep obligations to her, and allowed her almost to share his throne. Public letters were addressed to her, and she signed public documents. She received the title of Augusta by the will of her husband. She died at the age of 82, A. D. 29.

41. *Giving out.*—A Noun, as the Adjective 'continual' shows.

42. *Was upon recovery, &c.*—We should now say 'was recovering.'

43. *The bashaws.*—The title given to the Prime Vizier and Viceroy of provinces in the Turkish dominions. Usually written now Pashas. The same word as Badshah, Padishah, a Persian word meaning 'protector of the king.'

*Great Turk.*—The Ottoman Sultan.

44. *Janizaries*.—See XIX. 150.

*Sacking*.—Plundering, probably from the use of a sack in removing plunder.

46. *Post*.—Travel as fast as a courier.

49. *Such like*.—Properly a pleonasm, *such* being compounded of *so* and *like*. Cf. *Tempest* III. 3. 59. It is now common.

51. *Wise governors*.—Cf. Essay XXXV. 88.

53. *The actions*.—The actions which the fames reported as true. False reports of designs and actions are almost as formidable as the designs and actions themselves.

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[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.]

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