Shakespeare’s Tempest in Baconian Light

A New Theory

by

Gustavus Holzer

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IN
BACONIAN LIGHT

A NEW THEORY

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GUSTAVUS HOLZER
Professor at the Heidelberg Oberrealschule

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SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST

IN

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A NEW THEORY

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Professor at the Heidelberg Oberrealschule

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Facsimile of the Frontispiece of Bacon's Instauratio Magna, 1620.
Preface.

When some years ago, I undertook to read Shakespeare's "Tempest" in one of the higher classes of our school, my pupils, I venture to say, greatly enjoyed the play as an unparalleled romantic drama. They were brought to admire, and in some degree, to appreciate the work.

I myself, however, while making use of the editions commented upon by Delius, and Hamann, and after consulting Gervinus, Clemens, Roden, etc., was more and more plunged into a chaos of doubts as to the purport and bearing of the play itself. "Why was the 'Tempest' placed at the head of the plays in the Great Folio? — How must we interpret: Sycorax was grown into a hoop? — For one thing she did? — How must we explain the part of Prospero? — How the Epilogue? etc. etc."

Beset by these, and a host of similar questions, I was induced to consult some other books, such as were at hand at the library of the Heidelberg University, e.g. Ignatius Donnelly: The Great Cryptogram; Vitzthum von Eckstaedt: Shakespeare and Shakspere; Edwin Bormann: das Shakespeare-Geheimnis; Kuno Fischer: Shakespeare und die Bacon-Mythen etc. Being, however, precipitated into an abyss of uncertainty, by the study of these books, I finally dropped the matter altogether, mainly because for some years succeeding I was suffering from ill health.
Having recovered from illness, and looking out for some other books at our library, during the last Christmas holidays, I came across some recent books about Shakespeare, especially the "New Variorum Edition of the Tempest", by Horace Edward Furness; Bacon and Shakespeare Parallelisms, by Edwin Reed, and others; and so powerful was the attraction of these books that I made up my mind for another attempt.

While reading again in class, and enjoying more than ever, the fascinating scenes of the "Tempest", owing to the new light being thrown on them from the new selection of reference-books, I could not, in spite of all these helps, come to a clear insight into the "main question", which was nowhere broached by Furness, viz. the much disputed problem about the personality of the poet. In vain struggling for light upon that mysterious question, which seemed to me paramount for a thorough and truly scientific interpretation of the play, I resolved to make a last effort, by consulting the works of Sir Francis Bacon themselves (collected and edited by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath; in fourteen volumes).

The result of this investigation, as set forth in this essay, which I now submit to the impartial criticism of the reader, was surprising indeed.

In calling the "Tempest" a dramatization of the "Instauratio Magna", I do not merely mean the work published, by Bacon in 1620 (a copy of the frontispiece of which is reproduced in this essay), but in that general title I include the whole of the prosework of Bacon, from the Partus Temporis Maximus (1585), to the New Atlantis and Sylva Sylvarum, both of them published after Sir Francis' death.

I frankly admit that the "Tempest", viewed in this Baconian light, no longer offers a suitable reading matter for all our
schools. I further humbly submit that this essay pretends to be no more than the first attempt at a broad inquiry into the identity of ideas, as laid down in the "Tempest", and positively found in the prosework of Bacon. A more profound investigation into that matter is sure to bring to light still many more relations and coincidences between the two, and will, I believe, point in the end to the conclusive and overwhelming evidence that Sir Francis Bacon, and the author of the plays of the Great Folio are one and the same person, **one genius**, radiating light on all sides.

As I was anxious to let Sir Francis Bacon speak for himself, and in order to avoid the too frequent use of quotation-marks, ordinary type is used in the text, wherever there are quotations from Sir Francis Bacon’s works, or quotations from other books concerning Bacon.

The quotations from Shakespeare are printed in Italics. Open or spaced out lines, in the text, indicate what is added, or suggested by myself.

For their kind assistance in revising the proof-sheets, I feel greatly indebted to my colleagues: Professor Dr. Julius Ruska, and Professor Karl Sieber. Most thankfully do I acknowledge my obligations to Mr. W. B. Ihne, who had the great kindness to read part of the manuscript, and the proof-sheets, and to suggest many suitable idiomatic expressions.

Heidelberg, August 1904.

G. Holzer.
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Misprints

Page  2nd line from the top: Virquidam; read: Vir quidam.
43  3rd line from the top: wayd; read: way.
14th line from the top: itsself; read: itself.
**Motto:**
And the vision of all is become as the words of a book that is sealed. —

Shall the work say of him that made it: He made me not? — or shall the thing framed say of him that framed it: He had no understanding? —

Isaiah, Chapter XXIX.

**A.**

The Tempest a parabolical Poesy.

I.

**Prospero.**

I.

In his wisdom and humanity, aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness and love, **Prospero**, the right duke of Milan, may properly be compared to one of the Fathers of Solomon's House at Bensalem in New Atlantis, who looked as if he pitied men, while blessing the people; who like a spirit enclosed in a body of earth, was allured with appetite of **light** and **liberty of knowledge**, being acted by the word: "Love your enemies", in which we can commit no excess; and who with several fellows assigned to certain employments and functions, was opening (with caution) a fountain such as it was not easy to discern where the issues and streams thereof would take and fall (New Atlantis; vol. III, page 155 etc.).

In "New Atlantis", that rises from the sea like Prospero's isle, the travellers met with many things right worthy of observation, so that indeed if there be a mirror in the world, worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. The curious things they saw there, showed that the inhabitants, guided by the Fathers of Solomon's House,

Holzer, Shakespeare's Tempest.
had made marvellous progress in mechanical pursuits "in rebus mechanicis". For they had there:

**Perspective-houses** where they made demonstrations of all lights and radiations; multiplication of light which they carried to great distances; and of light yet unknown.

There were besides **engine-houses** where they made fireworks of all variety, for pleasure and for use; also wild fires burning under water. They imitated also flights of birds, motion of living creatures (*shapes*) by images of men, beasts, fishes, etc.

They had also **houses of deceit of senses** where they represented all manners of false apparitions, and illusions and fallacies.

Most interesting were the **sound-houses** where they used to practise all sounds, divers instruments of music, unknown to other people, some sweeter, together with bells and rings that were dainty and sweet. They represented small sounds extenuate and sharp; they made divers tremblings and warblings of sounds which in their original were entire. They represented and imitated all articulate sounds, and the voices of beasts and birds. They had certain helps which, set to the ear, furthered the hearing greatly; divers strange artificial echoes; some that gave back the voice louder than it came; some shriller, and some deeper. They had also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and directions.

If we add to this what is said about "**sound, especially musical sounds**", in Silva Silvarum II (vol. III, 101—293), we see how the magical exploits and feats of Prospero, in the Tempest, are as it were, anticipated by the Poet for future generations, when men would know **true Natural Magic**, i. e. have full **Mastery or command over Nature**.
In "Nova Atlantis" which, as is well known, is an attempt to show to what perfections of civilization developed mankind might attain (being, as it were, the concrete presentation of Bacon's philosophy), there is this ordinance: That every twelve years there should be sent forth two ships that sail into foreign countries (under the names of other nations, for their own they conceal), who bring back the "books", and abstracts and patterns of experiments of all other parts of the earth. They do not go for gold, silver, or jewels; nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature, which was Light: to have light of the growth of all parts of the earth. These they call Merchants of Light. They have besides three that collect the experiments which are in all books. They have besides the Mystery-men, the Pioneers or Miners; the Compilers, who draw the experiments of the former into titles and tables; the Benefactors etc., and finally the Interpreters of Nature, who raise the former discoveries into axioms etc.

We may suppose that Prospero, "all dedicated to the bettering of his mind, devoting himself to intellectual pursuits apart from the world", being rapt in secret studies, may have got possession of one or some of the "books" of the Fathers of the House of Solomon, by which he has obtained a superior knowledge of Nature. But as Nova Atlantis only existed in the poet's (i.e. Bacon's) imagination, in reality Prospero must be supposed to have acquired one or other of the books of Natural Magic, mentioned in Advancement of Learning II. (vol. III, page 361), containing certain credulous and superstitious conceits and some frivolous experiments, strange rather by disguise than in themselves. This Magic is as differing, in truth, from
such a knowledge as we require, as the story of King Arthur differs from Caesar’s commentaries, in truth of story.

As to Prospero’s being rapt in secret studies, we ought to compare what Bacon says in that most interesting letter, addressed to his old uncle Burghlev (1592), wherein Bacon speaking of himself says: “A contemplative planet carries me away wholly”; and in speaking of his contemplative ends, he mentions his blind experiments and auricular traditions (and impostures) by which he hopes he shall bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries. We are reminded also of what Bacon says (in Advancem. of Learn. II): Men eminent in virtue often abandon their fortunes willingly, that they may have leisure for higher pursuits; or (vol. III, page 421 etc.): Whilst divinity says: “Primum quaerite regnum Dei, et ista omnia adiicientur vobis”, Philosophy says: “Primum quaerite bona animi; cetera aut aderunt, aut non oberunt”. We may think also of what Bacon says in his Essay about “Studies”.

3.

The Father of Solomon’s House in Bensalem assures his interlocutor that, having so many “natural” things with them, which induce admiration and could deceive the senses, if they would disguise those things and labour to make them seem more miraculous — yet they do hate all imposture and lies.

So also Prospero, who is pursuing one certain end (the “match” or legitimate marriage between Ferdinand and Miranda), produces all his magic feats with the help of his books, his magic wand or staff, through Ariel and his spirits. But, as soon as he has worked his end that this airy charm is for, he abjures this rough (i. e. light, degene-
rate, deceiving) Magic. He breaks his staff, and buries it certain fathoms in the earth. And deeper than did ever plume net sound, he drowns his book. Like the Fathers of Solomon's House he hates imposture and lies, and this sort of magic cannot yet be true Natural Magic, which Bacon reports as "deficient". It cannot be that true Natural Magic (vol. V, page 94), which is the final outcome of Natural Philosophy, pure and unmixed, which if God wills, may in the end lead science to do the work, quod operatur Deus ab initio usque ad finem ("to come to the vertical point of the pyramid"). But with respect to that, appeal must be made to Time.

We easily guess what sort of magic it was, when Prospero says (Act IV, sc. i): No tongue, all eyes; be mute (silent), lest the charm be marred by (your) speaking loud. In introducing certain "Reapers", who are real persons, and who afterwards "heavily vanish", the poet, i.e. Prospero comes back to reality. Prospero himself says Act IV, sc. i, v. 18—20.

Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
Did worthily perform; and I must use you
In such another trick. Go bring the rabble.

And this same magician, who knows how far the humours and affects of the body work upon the minds of men (vol. IV, page 368), when being troubled himself, when overcome by fear lest this "birth of Time" may be an "abortus", lest in the very last moment it may come to a failure, he does in no wise make use of his magic to cure himself. According to his medical science, some natural means: "walking a turn or two will still his beating mind". Essay of "Studies" (1625): Like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises, gentle walking for the stomach etc.
Bacon, who was born with an exceedingly sanguine temper, and did not know the word “impossible” (De Augm. II. end; vol. IV, page 291), whose sole aim was the Reconstruction (New Birth) of Science, by going to the facts for everything, from immortality to the smallest atom, was an indefatigable pioneer in the mine of truth, which (as Anaxagoras says) lies so deep. He exhibits the work of which he is labouring to lay the foundations, in his Instauratio Magna, or rather in the first part of it: The Novum Organum; thinking that this great work which, after twice a thousand years (Nov. Org. LXXIV; Redargutio; vol. III, page 578), was to recover to Man the Mastery over Nature, is not beyond the power of man. He asks, and ever asks again, his “time”: not to despair. In more than twenty pages (vol. IV, pages 91—113), he gives innumerable grounds for putting away despair, which has been one of the most powerful causes of delay and hindrance to the progress of Knowledge, in fact the greatest obstacle to progress. He ever and ever again asks mankind to hope for better things, i. e. pro-sperare, speaking of himself: Prospero. For the business which is in hand, appears manifestly to proceed from God, who is the author of good, and the Father of Lights (Nov. Org. XCII). And even when your misfortunes are owing not to force of circumstances, but to your own “errors”, still you may hope that, by dismissing and correcting these errors, a great change may be made for the better, and it will be of great use, therefore, to find “what these errors are”. Novum Organum XCII, XCIII: I will proceed in my plan of preparing men’s minds, of which preparation to give hope is no unimportant part. And therefore it is fit that I set forth these conjectures
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And the access to this work (vol. III, page 223) is to be by that port or passage which the Divine Majesty (who is unchangeable in his ways) does infallibly continue and observe, that is the felicity wherewith he has blessed an humility of mind, such as rather laboureth to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volumes of his Creation etc. For it is no less true in the human kingdom of knowledge, than in God’s kingdom of Heaven, that no man shall enter into it except he become first a little child (sub persona infantis).

[Here the Chapter in the Manuscript ends at the top of a new page; the rest of the page, we know not why, is left blank.]

Novum Organum LXVIII: The entrance into the kingdom of man, founded on the sciences, is not much other than the entrance into the kingdom of heaven, whereunto none may enter except as a little child. Certainly it is a thing that may touch a man with a religious wonder, to see how the footsteps of Providence are the very same in divine and human truth: for as in divine truth man must become as a child, so in human truth, attending the Inductions (whereof we speak), has to be operated, as it were, in a second infancy or childhood (vol. III, page 387), which we see in Ferdinand: "Thy nerves are in their infancy again".

Novum Organum XXXI: It is idle to expect any great advancement in science from the superinducing and engraffing
of new things upon old. We must begin anew from the very foundations, unless we would revolve for ever in a circle with mean and contemptible progress. Nova est ineunda ratio qua mentibus obductissimis illabi possimus (Partus Temp. Cap. I, vol. III, page 529 etc.).

II.

**Miranda, Ferdinand** (and Claribel).

I.

According to: De Augmentis IX (vol. V, page 119): Bacon has receded from the opinion of the ancients, from a desire of change for the better, being (however) no less willing that his own inventions should be surpassed by posterity. He knows well that his words require an age, a whole age to prove them, and many ages to perfect them; it will be enough for him to have sown a “seed” for posterity, i.e. The final success of his great work, the Reconstruction of Science cannot be wrought in one generation. **Thalamus Mentis Humanae et Universi** igitur, pronuba divina bonitate, parandus sive constituendus est. Ut “Scientia” ita tradita veluti planta vivax et vegeta quotidie serpat et adolescat, sanctum, castum et legitimum connubium cum rebus ipsis firmandum est, pronuba Misericordia Divina.

Epitalamii autem votum sit, ut ex, eo connubio auxilia humana, tanquam stirps heroum, quae necessitates et miserias hominum aliqua ex parte debellent et doment, suscipiatur et deducatur (Instaur. Pars II, vol. III, page 557). Or, as we find it in the Partus Temporis. Masculus (perhaps addressed to the Earl of Essex): "Ex qua consuetudine (supra omnia epithalamiorum yota) beatissimam prolem vere heroum (qui infinitas humanas necessitates omnibus gigantibus, monstris, tyrannis exitiosiores subacturi sunt et rebus vestris, placidam et
festam securitatem et copiam conciliaturi) suscipies. — Con-
fide, fili, et da te mihi, ut te tibi reddam.” — This happy
“match” between “the mind of man” and “the nature of
things” is mentioned in another early essay of Bacon’s (Praise
of Knowledge; vol. III, page 125; written 1592(?)) A. D.),
to which words is added: In place thereof they have mar-
rried the mind of man to vain notions and blind experi-
ments. And what the posterity and the issue of so honourable
a match may be, it is not hard to consider. The same idea

Up to Bacon’s time, the “encounters” of the time had
been nothing favourable to this “plant”, so that it is not only
the daintiness of the “seed” to take, and the ill mixture of
the ground to nourish or raise this ‘plant’, but the ill season
also of the weather by which it has been checked and blasted.
Especially in that the seasons have been proper to bring up and
set forward other more hasty and indifferent plants, whereby
this of ‘knowledge’ has been starved and overgrown (vol. III,
page 224/25). For in the descent of times there has always
been somewhat else in reign and reputation, which has gene-
 rally alienated and diverted wits and labours from that employ-
ment; rarely the wits and labours of men have been converted
to severe and “original” inquisition of ‘knowledge’. — Vol. III,
page 220/21). It was a plant of God’s own planting, whose
spreading, flourishing, bearing and fructifying by the Prov-
dence of God was appointed to this autumn of the world.
Act I, sc. 2: By Providence Divine! —

By accident most strange, beautiful Fortune —
Now my dear lady — hath mine enemies
Brought to this shore; and by my prescience etc.

To which compare: Temporis Partus masculus: Atque
ex altissima mentis meae providentia, et ex exploratissimo
rerum et animorum statu haec tibi traditurus sum modo omnium maxime legitimo (vol. III, page 529). Or (vol. III, page 584): Quare utendum est aetatis nostrae praerogativa, neque committendum est, ut cum haec tanta vobis adsint, vobis ipsi desitis. Itaque rem in longum ne differamus! —

In some things, no doubt, it is more hard to attempt, than to achieve (vol. III, page 224), when the difficulty is not so much in the matter, as it is in the crossness and indisposition of the mind of man to think of any such thing, to will or to resolve it. In this sort of things it is the manner of men, first to wonder that any such thing should be possible, and after it is found, to wonder again how the world should miss it so long. Of this nature Bacon takes to be the invention and discovery of knowledge, which cannot be but: Miranda (O, you “wonder” Act I, sc. 2).

The same thought is several times expressed by Bacon, e.g. Nov. Organ. CX: But such is the infelicity and unhappy disposition of the human mind in this course of invention that it first distrusts, and will not believe that any such thing can be found out; and when it is found out, cannot understand that the world should have missed it so long. Vol. III, page 266: For all knowledge and wonder (which is the seed of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in itself. Vol. III, page 291: So it seemeth men doubt lest time is become past children and generation; wherein we contrariwise see commonly the levity and inconstancy of men’s judgments, which till a matter be done, wonder that it can be done, and as soon as it is done, wonder again that it was no sooner done; as we see in the expedition of Alexander to Asia etc. For all things are admired because
they are new, or because they are great (page 314). Redarg. Philos. vol. III, page 573: ‘Virquidam’ says: Nam uti vos for-
tasse miramini, quando hoc nobis in mentem venire potuerit, quomodo idem aliis in mentem iam pridem non venerit . . .
cum res sit potius usu fructuosa quam inventione admirabilis etc. The same in: Cogitata et Visa; vol. III, p. 615.

Prospero calls her a Cherubim, and a ‘nonpareil’: Act III, sc. 2.
Caliban, speaking of Miranda, Act III, sc. 2, says:

And that most deeply to consider is
The beauty of his daughter; he himself
Calls her a nonpareil; I never saw a woman
But only Sycorax my dam and she;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax (== scholastic philosophy)
As greatest does least.

3.

About Knowledge we find in Praise of Knowledge:
No doubt the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge.
And in: De Interpretatione Naturae (vol. III, page 222):
Knowledge referred to some particular point of use is but Harmodius, which puttheth down one tyrant, and not like Her-
cules who did perambulate the world to suppress all tyrants
and giants, and monsters in every part. Knowledge that ten-
deth to profit, or profession, or glory, is but as the golden
ball before Atalanta, which while she goeth aside and stoopeth
to take it up, she hindereth the race. And knowledge that
tendeth but to satisfaction is but as a courtesan (harlot),
which is for pleasure, and not for fruit and generation (or is
degraded to the office of a servant, vol. IV, page 79). From
a natural philosophy pure and unmixed better things
are to be hoped.
The same thought is found in Advancement of Learning I (vol. III, page 204 etc.): But the greatest error is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge: sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their mind with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most time for lucre and profession; seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of man; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort, or a commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale, and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man’s estate. As both heaven and earth conspire and contribute to the use and benefit of man, so the end ought to be: to preserve and augment whatsoever is solid and fruitful in natural and moral philosophy; so that knowledge may not be as a courtesan for pleasure and vanity only, or as a bondwoman, to acquire and gain to her master’s use; but as a spouse for generation, fruit, and comfort.

Of this kind must be the union of Miranda with Ferdinand; she must become his true wife (vol. III, page 314). Their love must be true love, must be reciprocal. She must not be a little ‘idol’, a minion; their love must not be wanton love which corrupteth and embaseth, nor friendly love which perfecteth, but true nuptial love (vol. VI, page 397; vol. III, page 294); for the prosecution and advancement of
knowledge must not be diverted and interrupted. It must be, as Ovid says:

Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

It must be true love (vol. III, page 442), which is an imitation of divine love: Amor melior sophista laevo ad humanam vitam; for the sophist or preceptor, whom Menander calleth lefthanded, cannot with all his rules and preceptions form a man so dexterously, nor with that facility to prize and govern himself, as love and charity can do; for it doth work him suddenly into greater perfection than all the doctrine of morality can do, which is but a sophist in comparison of true love. (As above page 10: Confide, da te mihi, ut te tibi reddam).

Ferdinand's love for Miranda is earnest, chaste, irresistible. It is that true genuine love of Platonists (of which Bacon says: Silva Silvaram 944), who go so far as to hold that the spirits of the lover do pass into the spirits of the person loved. And this is observed likewise that the aspects that procure love are not gazings, but sudden glances and dartings of the eye.

Let us just compare a few lines from the text: Act III, sc. 1.

Ferdinand: Admired Miranda,
Indeed the top of admiration; worth
What's dearest to the world! — O you
So perfect and so peerless — —
The very instant that I saw you, did
My heart fly to your service: there resides
To make me slave to it — — I
Beyond all limit of what else 'tis the world
Do love, prize, honour you.
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haps his son, Prince Henry, who died in 1612), his life's work is lost. Miranda (young Science) must be united in close, loving alliance with Ferdinand; this must be the denouement of the play. Then only is there a hope that in the generations to issue from this sacred union Bacon's great hope will be realized. It will be enough for him to have 'sown a seed' for posterity (vol. V, p. 118/119).

This union must not be the union spoken of already (page 10), or the union spoken of vol. IV (page 85); that union pompously solemnized of the Sense and Faith, of Philosophy and Theology, or Cabalistic Theosophy, disparaging things divine by mingling them with things human. (For this would be a union with Caliban; by which the island would be filled with young Calibans). Or as it is expressed in vol. III, page 596: Eodem spectat, quod hoc saeculo haud alias magis secundis ventis ferri reperies, quam eorum qui theologiae et philosophiae (id est fidei et sensus) coniugium veluti legitimum multa pompa et solemnitate celebrant, et grata rerum varietate animos hominum permutantes, interim divina et humana permiscant. This union would frustrate or foil for ever, for ages to come, the restitution and re-investing of mankind to its predestined Power (i. e. of Prospero to his dukedom). 'Vir quidam' (vol. III, page 683) says: Quare, missis istis falsis philosophiis, vos et ego, filii, rebus ipsis nos adiungamus! Humanitatis, utilitatis et amplitudinis humanae curam serio suscipiamus; atque inter mentem et naturam connubium castum et legitimum (pronuba Misericordia Divina) firmemus! Precati etiam Deum, cujus numine et nutu haec fiunt, ut ex illo connubio non phantasiae monstra, sed stirps heroum, quae monstra domet et extinguat, suscipiatur. (Hoc epitha-
lamii votum est: Sit philosophia, quae generare et procreare possit.)

5.

Bacon complains or is afraid lest knowledge may be perhaps a task only for one man’s life (in contradic-
tion to: ars longa, vita brevis est), thinking that perhaps God’s curse is peremptory and not to be removed; that by this curse vanity must be the end in all human effects (Genesis I, 4; 15—19), or that the power of knowledge cannot otherwise be exercised and administered but by endless and continuous, fruitless labours (vol. III, page 227).

What a terrible prospect, if Caliban were to suc-
cceed in his conspiracy! — when he himself should be killed, and Miranda were to be at the mercy of that monster! In Act IV, sc. i, we see Prospero being vexed by the mere thought of such a possibility.

Miranda says: Never till this day

Saw I him touched with anger so distempered.

When he earnestly thinks that really vanity must be the end in all human effects, by this thought his old brain is troubled, for a short time.

But his charms work, and gather to a head.

Bacon’s great work goeth forward. The partus Temporis will not be an abortus. Time goes upright with his carriage.

Non desperandum est:

From a true league (vol. IV, page 92—93) between Knowledge and Power such as is dedicated to goodness and love, between Wisdom and Power, between contemplation and action more nearly conjoined (ex connubio facultatum rationalium et vere empiricarum, quas bene commistas et copulatas adhuc videre non licuit), much may be hoped, and Science may be laid up in an understanding altered and digested. (Ex

Holzer, Shakespeare’s Tempest.
arctiore earum et sanctiore foedere omnia fausta et felicia portendi fas est.)

Miranda, being the "suckling philosophy" (vol. IV, page 29), supplied with its first food, is to become, if things go well, the mother and great-grandmother of a line and race of inventions that may in some degree subdue and overcome the necessities and miseries of humanity.

Nos vero, licet statuam Philosophiae efformare et erigere non possimus, saltem basin ei paremus (vol. III, page 188). This being the scope: that our patrimony of Knowledge may come down improved, increasing and ever augmented to future generations as a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and relief of man's estate.

Or as we find it in the epithalamium of the Tempest:

Honour, riches, marriage-blessing  
Long continuance, and increasing  
Hourly joys be still upon you!

6.

The question rushes on us: what other obstacles, besides the conspiracy of Caliban, there may be in the way of the happy 'match', for which the stars are now so auspicious.

The greatest obstacle to "progress", as mentioned page 6, has ever been: despair and diffidence. This obstacle seems to be directly refuted by Prospero's brilliant magic exploits (though he modestly says that it is only: rough magic). Another obstacle (impediment or hindrance) may perhaps be found in Ferdinand, in his mind and character. We may ask after all: Is he, or will he be qualified for the great task as a propagator of Prospero's (Bacon's) great work?
Bacon gives ample information, in his Novum Organum and elsewhere, as to the qualities required for such a great task. Such a man must be thoroughly free and cleansed of the idola specus, fori (palatii), theatri "and their equipage": all of which must be renounced and put away with a fixed and solemn determination; he must be inwardly replenished with excellent virtues, "as a vessel not of an ill or corrupt tincture", i.e.: with a mind washed clean from opinions, to study in purity and integrity. His affections must be purified. Though not being credulous or superstitious, he must show a temporary belief (oportet eum discerter credere, edoctum judicare). He ought to be what Bacon says about himself (in the Proemium de Interpretatione Natura; vol. III, page 518 etc.) qui se ad veritatis contemplationem, quam ad alia magis fabrefactum deprehendit, ut qui mentem et ad rerum similitudinem (quod maximum est) agnoscendam satis mobilem, et ad differentiarum subtilitates observandas satis fixam et intentam haberet; qui et quaerendi desiderium, et dubitandi patientiam, et meditandi voluptatem, et asserendi cunctationem, et resipiscendi facilitatem et disponendi sollicitudinem haberet; quiue nec novitatem affectaret neque antiquitatem admiraretur et omnem imposturam odisset.

In advancement of Learning II (vol. III, page 444 etc.) Bacon says: As we divide the good of the body into: health, beauty, strength, and pleasure, so the good of the mind, in rational and moral knowledges, tendeth to this: to make the mind sound and without perturbation; beautiful and graced with decency; and strong and agile for duties of life. These three, as in the body so in the mind seldom meet, and commonly sever. Or (page 452): Qui sapit innumeris moribus aptus erit. Nam pol sapiens fin-
git fortunam sibi. — And: The sinews of wisdom are slowness of belief and distrust.


We find all these qualities in Ferdinand: He is free of anticipations (non mente captus: vorurteilsfrei, küh, mitreiner Empfänglichkeit, as Kuno Fischer says). By his endurance and perseverance Ferdinand is exactly the man fit for the task. "He strangely stands the test of the vexations and trials imposed on him" by Prospero. He is ready to make any sacrifice, to suffer imprisonment, and to undergo any "labour" which is necessary "for earnest study", in order to win Miranda. For this end, says Bacon, cannot otherwise be reached but with labour, chiefly that labour and travel which is described by the sweat of the brows more than of the body; that is such travel as is joined with the working and discussion of the spirits in the brain. — The part operative of Natural Philosophy must be a laborious and sober inquiry of truth (vol. III, page 361, 362). — We must spare no pains to search and unravel the interpretation thereof, and pursue it strenuously and persevere even unto death. For the duties of life are preferable to life itself. And I warn men to give up trifling, and to consider that a work of this kind must necessarily be very laborious. For God has ordained that whatever is excellent shall be won only by labours, both in inquiry and by working. And Creation (vol. IV, page 248) was made a rebel by that charter: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread", which is now by various labours, not certainly by disputations or idle magical ceremonies. Neque enim (vol. III, page 562) philosophia praesto est, nec in transitu capacit, nec ad vulgi
captum (of Trinculo, or Stephano) nisi per utilitatem et opera descendit — — praeertim cum huiusmodi res ad inquirendum laboriosae, ad meditandum ignobiles, ad discendum asperae, ad practicam illiberales, subtilitate pusillae, numero infinitae sint.

It is that work of which Ferdinand speaks, Act III, sc. i:

There be some sports are painful, and their labour
Delight in them sets off; some kinds of baseness
Are nobly undergone, and most poor matters
Point to rich ends etc. — I must remove

Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up

as the ‘Compilers’ in Solomon’s house.

7.

To appreciate thoroughly the excellent moral character, the abstemiousness of Ferdinand, we ought to read all that Bacon writes in Advancement of Learning II (vol. III, page 418—445), of which the pith is: That health of mind is most proper which can go through the greatest temptations and the greatest perturbations. Or.: Generous minds are won by doctrines and persuasions, and the vulgar sort by reward and punishment (compare: Caliban); or: moral virtues are in the mind by habit, and not by nature etc.

The warning given to Ferdinand “to take the betrothal as a contract of pure and true love”, Venus and her son Cupid not being admitted, answers in every respect the wise and excellent laws that are observed in Nova Atlantis (vol. III, page 152—154): There is nothing amongst men more fair and admirable than the chaste mind of this people, where marriage is not ordained as a remedy for unlawful concupiscence. Their usual saying is: That whoever is unchaste, cannot reverence himself, and that reverence of a
man's self is the chiefest bridle of all vices. — They have ordained that none do intermarry or contract, until a month be passed from their first interview. So we may better understand Prospero's injunctions: No bed-right shall be paid, till Hymen's torch be lighted (Act II, sc. 1); or: Do not give dalliance too much reign; the strongest oaths are straw to the fire of blood; be more abstemious, or else good night your vows etc.

But Ferdinand is more desirous of the blessing of the "Tirsan", which promises to make the days of his pilgrimage good and "many"; and far from unlawful lust of concupiscence, he feels himself attracted to Miranda by pure, unmixed love. — As I hope for quiet days (he says), for issue and long life, no opportunity shall ever melt mine honour into lust; or:

"I warrant you, Sir,
The white cold Virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my Liver*. Act IV, sc. 1.

So the twain are blessed by bounteous (pro-nuba) Juno:

"That they may prosperous be, and honoured in their issue".

We know (vol. III, page 319) that the understanding and the affections being purified, not only the spirit but the body changed, shall be advanced to immortality. So will continue that whereupon Learning has ever relied, and which faileth not: Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis (Wisdom is justified of her children).

8.

Not much is said in the play, nor is to be said here, about Claribel. She seems to be the personification of θηλος μηρος, i.e. (the share or) the clergy of θηλος, the heathens' god. If we take Ferdinand to be

* About 'Liver' Bacon says (Advancem. of Learning): Plato's opinion, who located sensuality in the liver, is not to be despised.
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philosophy by superstition and an admixture of theology does the greatest harm to true Philosophy. Schola illa academica, quae acatelepsiam ex professo tenuit et homines ad sempiternas tenebras damnavit (vol. III, page 580).


Caliban is the son of Sycorax and her god Setebos. He is the personification of false school-erudition, the Pedantes, the schoolman or: philologue in a bad sense, the clumsy preceptor, or sophist, or in his first conception perhaps: the priest, or the monk, with his “gabardine” or frock, or the Papist, as mentioned in: Observations on a Libel, of the year 1592 (vol. VIII, p. 146 etc.). Caliban (der Vertreter des Pedantentums, der Kunstgelehrte, der Sellengelehrte oder Klosterschüler, mit seiner Wortgelehrsamkeit und dunkelhaften Einbildung, daß er wunder wie reich an Wissenschaft sei; Kuno Fischer) claims the island as his own, when he says:

This island is mine by Sycorax my mother;
and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest of the island.

He forms a direct contrast to Miranda, the former representing the offspring of old or ancient knowledge, while Miranda is the personification of modern or new knowledge, as Bacon says in: De Interpretatione Naturae (vol. III, page 223). The ancient regions of knowledge will seem as barbarous, compared with the new, as
the newly found regions of the world seem barbarous, compared to many of the old. For: She (Miranda) so far surpasseth Sycorax As greatest does least. (Es ift ein himmelsweiter Unterschied.)

The marriage of Sycorax and Setebos is an ill-fated conjugal union of old; it was prepared by Aristotleles and sanctioned by the Christian Church about 400 A.D. Sycorax is the personification of Scholastic Learning (i.e. the Christian Church joined to heathendom, or heathen arrogance). She is described by the poet as a very old witch that is grown into a hoop with age; born in Argier, i.e. in Africa or heathen lands, from where she was banished. For one thing she did they would not take her life. This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child, and her son Caliban, speaking of her, says: “As wicked dew as ever my mother brushed with raven’s feather from unwholesome fen”. There can be hardly any doubt that her name is composed of ὅς ἀραξ (= a sowraven), which exactly expresses the hatred and contempt which Bacon feels towards, and ever and ever expresses concerning, Scholasticism, especially in: The Partus Temporis Masculus.

In: De Augmentis I (vol. III, page 296 etc.), Bacon speaking of man’s happiness in Paradise, where man was placed to work therein, thinks that this work was for “contemplation”, not for necessity. There being “no sweat of the brow”, man’s employment must of consequence have been matter of delight “in the experiment”, and the giving of names. Therein man was disturbed by the serpent, “the coluber tortuosus”, and moral wisdom and human knowledge-
was abased by “sin”. Yet God did not abandon mankind, sending the prophets, our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost. He sent his divine truth into the world, waited on with other learnings as with servants or handmaids. — We find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the Church were excellently read and studied in all the learning of the Heathen. And Gregory I, who designed to obliterate and extinguish the memory of heathen Antiquity and authors, received the censure of humour, malignity and pusillanimity, amongst holy men. But contrariwise it was the Christian Church, which amidst the inundations of Scythians on one side, from the northwest, and the Saracens from the east, did preserve in the sacred lap and bosom thereof the precious relics even of heathen learning, which otherwise would have been extinguished, as if no such thing had ever been. In Filum Labyrinthi (vol. III, page 501): The Church in the bosom and lap thereof, in the greatest injuries of times has ever preserved (as holy relics) the books of philosophy and all heathen learning (i. e. the one thing she did).

Novum Organum LXXIV (vol. IV, page 74): If those doctrines (of heathen philosophy) had not been like a plant torn up from its roots, but had been attached to the womb of Nature and continued to draw nourishment from her, that could never have come to pass which we have seen now for twice a thousand years (per annos bis mille), namely that the Sciences stand where they did; receiving no noticeable increase, but on the contrary, thriving most under their first founder and then declining. (The same: Redargutio (vol. III, page 578). — Page 78: Now it is well known that after the Christian Religion was received and grew strong, by far the greater number of the best wits applied themselves to theology, and that this devotion to theology occupied the third
portion or Epoch of time (after the age in which Natural Philosophy was seen to flourish among the Greeks, but a brief particle of the time; and the Roman Epoch, when most wits applied themselves very generally to public affairs). — And so this great mother of Science (Natural Philosophy) has with strange indignity been degraded to the office of a servant.

Again in: Novum Organum LXXVIII, speaking of the “errors”, and of so long a continuance in them, through so many ages (the Greeks, the Romans, the nations of Western Europe) Bacon bitterly complains that they are very many and very potent. And then continues: All wonder how these considerations, which I bring forward, should have escaped man’s notice till now. And the only wonder be, how now at last they should have entered into any man’s head and become the subject of his thoughts; which truly I myself esteem as the result of some happy accident (an auspicious star!), rather than any excellency of faculty in me: a Birth of Time (Partus Temporis), rather than of wit. Now in the first place, those so many ages, if you weigh the case truly, shrink into a very small compass. For out of the five and twenty centuries, over which the memory and learning of man extend, you can hardly pick out six that were fertile in sciences, and favourable to their development. The intervening ages of the world, in respect of any rich or flourishing growth of Science, were unprosperous. For neither the Arabians nor the schoolmen need be mentioned, who in the intermediate times (keeping experience i. e. “Ariel”, captive) rather crushed the sciences than increased their weight. The same in: Cogitata et Visa (vol. III, page 613): Baconus cogitavit et illud: Atque ipsam diuturnitatem temporis recte consideranti in angustias parvas redigi. Nam ex.
viginti quinque annorum centuriis, in quibus hominum memoria fere versatur, vix quinque centurias seponi etc.


**Advancement of Learning II** (vol. III, page 365). For although Aristotle, as though he had been of the race of the Ottomans, thought he could not reign except the first thing he killed all his brethren (= philosophers; unless he put all his brethren to death; vol. IV, page 358), (for mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible), yet to those that seek truth and not magistrality, it cannot but seem a matter of great profit to see before them, through Aristoteles' writings, the several opinions touching the foundation of nature of antique philosophers before Aristoteles.

It is a matter of common discourse of the chain of sciences which the Grecians have fitted of the name of Circle-Learning. Nevertheless I do not understand one and the same thing that Cicero's discourse, and the note and concert of the Grecians in the word Circle-Learning do convey. Bacon thinks that the Learning of the Schoolmen, i.e.
scholastic Learning goes rather in a circle, than in progression (the labour having been rather in circle, than in progression; the “Diallelos” of the Sceptics; Sycorax, who with age and envy was grown into a hoop). We may add: vol. II, page 154: Philosophiae in subtilitatis molestiis versantes et pronuntiativae, et singula ad principiorum trutinam examinantes et torquentes malae sunt; quales fuere plerumque Peripateticorum et Scholasticorum. Or: vol. VI, page 672: Atque magis probandus est Empedocles, qui tanquam furens, et Democritus qui magna cum verecundia queritur: omnia abstrusa esse, nihil nos scire, veritatem in profundis puteis immer- sam, veris falsa miris modis adiuncta intorta esse, quam Aristotelis schola fidens et pronuntiatrix.

According to Bacon, the old Method of Learning was to take progress from the circle in which it was revol-ving, and make it end in discovery. All knowledge (vol. III, page 222/223), must be subject to that use for which God has granted it; which is the benefit and relief of the State and Society of Man; for otherwise all manner of knowledge becomes malign and “serpentine”, and therefore as carrying the quality of the serpent’s sting and malice.

There can hardly be any doubt, from all the passages mentioned, that by the personage of Sycorax Scholastic Learning is meant by the poet. If we consider besides that she kept Ariel fettered for twelve (hundred) years, and that Prospero speaks of Ariel having been freed another dozen (hundred) years before the opening of the play, we may even, in taking “year” for “century”, reconstrue the 25 hundred years of Ariel’s captivity, i.e. of the progress of Natural Phil- losophy being stopped.
The father of Caliban, or "his dam's god", as Caliban says, is "Setebos", which name is supposed to be taken, and probably was purposely taken from *Eden's History of Travel* (1577), where 'Setebos' is mentioned as the great Devil of the Patagonians. It is only difficult to say by what circumstance the witch Sycorax, who came from "Argier", and whom we take to represent "Scholastic Learning", should in any way be connected with a Patagonian deity. We rather may suppose that the poet, in adopting this name, wished to "infold" some other relation in it, which if too easily understood, might have betrayed his bitter hatred of "that sort of people". We take Setebos to be = Setobos, which may be explained by σητός βοσίς, i.e. Mottenfraß, Mottenweide; moths' delight; book-worm, porer, etc. Pope says: I wanted but a black gown (= gabardine?) and a salary, to be as mere a "book-worm", as any one there.

Vol. III, page 285, we read besides: Speaking of the third disease or impediment, i.e. vain affectations, we find it worse. For as substance of matter is better than beauty of words, so contrariwise vain matter is worse than vain words. Surely like as many substances which are solid, do putrify and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtile, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit but no soundness of matter, or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly prevail among the schoolmen.
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In Cogitata et Visa (vol. III, page 599), we find de "verborum natura, quae vaga et male terminata intellectui hominum illudunt et fere vim faciunt": — ut etiam infantes, cum loqui discant, felicem errorum cabalam haurire et imbibere intur.

By cabala we must understand, in the first place, the mystic philosophy of the Hebrew religion, as the poet says: Eager to read, whatever tells of magic, cabala and spells.

Then again, it was the Cabalists who endeavoured to identify all such sciences, as demonology, astrology, chiromancy, sympathetic medicine, weaving the whole into a secret, universal, and (of course) false, philosophy.

It seems that the word "cabala" suggested to the poet the word "Cabalan", or, by metathesis the anagram: "Caliban", in the same way as some commenters take it to be an anagram for "Canibal" = Cannibal.

In Redargutio (vol. III, pag. 563) we read, besides what the Egyptian priest says about Greek philosophy: Vos Graeci semper pueri idque (ut cogitat Baconus), non tantum in historia et rerum memoria, sed multo magis in rerum contemplatione. Quidne enim sit instar puertiae ea philosophia, quae garrire et causari noverit, generare et procreare non possit? — — Fabulas habebant et somnia, alia plurima quae omnia magisterium sapiunt, non inquisitionem veritatis. And speaking of Scholastic Learning, "vir quidam" says: Ea certe minime in saltu aut silvis natura nutrita est, sed in scholis et cellis tanquam animal domesticum saginatum (i. e. you "sty" me in this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me the rest of the island).

Cogitata et Visa (vol. III, pag. 601): Baconus cogitavit et illud: Aristotelem Philosophiam Naturalem corruc-
We may perhaps think also of what Bacon says in: Advancement of Learning (vol. III, page 422): that the monastical life is not simply contemplative, but performeth the duty either of incessant prayers and supplications, or etc. For contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams on society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not.

The poet represents "Caliban" as a savage that did not know his own meaning, and would gabble like a thing most brutish. And though he did learn, and endeavours to speak in elegant verse, we cannot help feeling his brutality of sentiment, so that in the scale of humanity, i.e. of human feelings (with the exception perhaps of Antonio), he ranks lowest among the characters of the play, as a being in whom the moral instincts have no part. According to the poet, he is: A horn devil, a thing of darkness, an "earthy" thing, a man of Ind (a Cannibal), no feeling man;

\[ \text{a most lying slave} \]

\[ \text{Whom stripes may move, not kindness; an abhorred slave} \]

\[ \text{Which any print of goodness will not take,} \]

\[ \text{Being capable of all ill etc. (Act I, sc. 2, 345 etc.)} \]

Or (Act V, 272):

\[ \text{This demi-devil,} \]

\[ \text{For he is a bastard one; this thing of darkness —} \]

\[ \text{As disproportioned in his manners} \]

\[ \text{As in his shape —} \]

He is a true "Pedantes", scorned upon theatres as the "ape of tyranny" (Bacon, vol. III, page 276), who licks the shoes of him who is valiant (Act III, sc. 2, 26), speaking most
submissively: Wilt thou be pleased to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?

His manners are abhorrent, execrable; his vile nature has that in it which good natures cannot abide with; a demi-devil, for he is a bastard one, who was taught language with the profit that he knew "how to curse", perhaps to pronounce anathemas as the Papist mentioned page 24. And yet he says in the end (Act V, 295): "I'll be wise hereafter. And seek for grace", while the inflexible, callous sinner Antonio shows no trace of repentance, being, as it were seized with moral leprosy, of which Bacon (vol. III, page 297) says: If there be any whole flesh remaining, the patient is to be shut up for unclean; but if the whiteness have overspread the flesh, the patient may pass abroad for clean. More about it: De Augmentis III, vol. IV, page 338.

Like e.g. "Le Tartuffe" of Moliere, Caliban may have been represented as a "typical figure", with this difference, however, that in the course of political events in England, from 1587—1610 (the laws given in consequence of the murder of Henry IV), it may several times have changed its "type": from the fanatical monk, who kills a king, to the Pedantes (uniting, as it were, the three characters of a Tartuffe, Trissotin, and Vadius). Perhaps, in a certain sense, King James I himself might have been called a "Caliban", who made nice verse, and published his Demonology.

As a fact, Caliban, as represented in the Tempest, is the worst enemy to Miranda, the greatest danger and obstacle to a new birth of Science.
IV.

The other Persons in the Play.

1.

The impediments, or obstacles which are in the way of true knowledge, according to Bacon (vol. III, page 224—232, and elsewhere), are numerous. The (three) chief discredits (disgraces, distempers) of Learning are all from ignorance, but ignorance severally disguised, appearing sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines, sometimes in the severity and arrogance of politiques, and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves. Knowledge has in it somewhat of the "serpent", and therefore, where it entereth into man, without the necessary limitation and caution, it makes him swell (Scientia inflat).

De Interpretatione Naturae (vol. III, page 223): Let it be believed, and appeal thereof made to Time, with renunciation nevertheless to all the vain and abusing promises of Alchemists and Magicians, and suchlike light, idle, ignorant, frivolous, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects, that the new-found world of land was no greater addition to the ancient continent, than there remaineth at this day a world of inventions, and sciences unknown etc.

The three chief distempers (diseases, vanities or errors) of Learning are: vain imagination, vain altercation, vain affectation, or: fantastical, contentious, and delicate learning. There are besides some more, rather peccant humours, that are not so secret and intrinsic, but that they fall under a popular observation and inducement. Some of those impediments or distempers are exhibited in our play. Omnes impedimentorum aut malitias aut molestias, quibus vera philosophia interclusa est, signabimus:
Some typical specimens of “vain Learning” are shown in the gentlemen’s conversation, and merry fooling on frivolous matters, in the first scene of the second Act. In spite of the precarious position in which they are, “they tumble up and down in their ingenious reasons and conceits, and find it easy to pronounce judgment (de facili pronuntiant; vol. III, page 293). Upon such intellectualists (or sentimentalists) Heraclitus already gave a just censure, saying: Men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great and common world, for they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God’s work; and contrariwise, by continual agitation of wit, do urge, and as it were, invoke their own spirits, to divine and to give oracles unto them, whereby they are deservedly deluded. They only propound those empty disputes and controversies of philology, and ornaments which are fit for table-talk: exactly those void speculations of which Alonso says: Thou dost talk “nothing” to me; or Gonzalo: You are gentlemen of brave mettle, who would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing. They frivolously pronounce (as Bacon frequently censures) such flat universalities as must end in confusion and doubt; making a satirical simile of everything, or turning everything to a jest, or falsifying or contradicting everything by cavil or the like. And therefore I make no more estimation of them, than I do of the tricks of tumblers, funambuloes, baladines, the one being the same in the mind as the other is in the body: matters of strangeness without worthiness (Advancement of Learning II; vol. III, page 398). See also: Essays (1597) 1625: On Studies.
2.

Gonzalo, the shrewd, witty old courtier is one of the pleasantest characters of the piece. He would not, or could not refuse to carry out the cruel design against Prospero and Miranda, which was entrusted to his execution, but made a compromise with his natural kindness of heart, by doing the timely service by which the Duke and his daughter were saved from starving; and through him Prospero got possession “of his magic books”, from which he learned his “potent art”

We cannot help thinking that, if Sir Francis Bacon was the author of the Tempest, and we really think he was, he formed this most attractive character probably in remembrance of his (Bacon’s) uncle William Cecil, Lord Treasurer Burleigh (1520—1598), “the second founder of his poor estate”, as Bacon says in that most interesting letter of 1592. We think it useful to give here some passages from that letter, and some more remarks from Spedding (Bacon’s works, vol. VIII, page 106—109), referring to those years of “storm and stress”, when the genius of Shakespeare began to rise.

Earl of Essex, the favourite of a mighty queen, (herself being the favourite of a mighty nation), with a heart for all that was great, noble and generous etc., then (1590—1591) proffered his friendship to Bacon. Such a friend seemed to be the one thing which such a spirit stood in need of. If Essex seemed like a man expressly made to realize the hopes of a new world, so Bacon may seem to have been expressly made for the guardian genius of such a man as Essex. Francis Bacon’s brother, Anthony Bacon, arrived in England
in the beginning of 1592 (after ten years' stay on the Continent), when his brother Francis had just completed his thirty-first year. Francis Bacon's main object still was to find ways and means for prosecuting his great philosophical enterprise. Then already his hope and wish was to obtain these by some office under the Government — without spending all his time in professional drudgery. Nearly six years had passed since his last application to Burleigh, when he suggested a fresh remembrance to him in the letter, which will be found in full at the end of this essay. In this letter he frankly confesses to his dear uncle, his Lordship, "who is the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of his (Bacon's) house, and the second founder of his poor estate", that the Contemplative Planet carries him (Bacon) away wholly, for he has taken all knowledge to be his province. And what will he do? — Well, he says, half in jest, and half in earnest: I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue 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 that mine of truth, which lies so deep.

In: Certain Observations made upon a Libel published this present year (1592; Spedding, vol. VIII, page 147—208): Bacon warmly defends his uncle Burleigh, saying e.g. It is rather true that his Lordship, out of the greatness of his experience and wisdom, and out of the coldness of his nature has been qualified etc. — — but he has been, as far as to his place appertaineth, a most religious and wise moderator in church matters. And he said, as Cephalus, the Athenian, says, so much renowned in Plato’s work — who having lived near to the age of a hundred years, in continual affairs and business, was wont to say of
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Two of the facetious gentlemen are wicked men, especially Antonio, who has expelled remorse and nature, and never knew compunction, both being ‘politiques’ (politicians). They are most dangerous to true Learning. Antonio is the utter villain; he offers “dolosa oscula malignantis”. With him it is natural, innate malignity that knows no remorse, no compunction. “Twenty consciences” would not hinder him in his wicked doings; he, the man of lies, who in the end credits his own lie, has — as the abettor of scholasticism — supplanted Prospero, the promoter of true Science — in his dukedom, twelve (hundred) years before the action of the play. See also: page 34.

There is, as it were, a scale or ladder of goodness or wickedness in the group of the six gentlemen. In Advancement of Learning II (vol. III, page 417—441) we find a long discussion about moral Philosophy, about the Appetite and Will of man; of the nature of Good and Evil, of Virtue and Vice, Duty, etc., which it would be too long to quote here even in abstract. Besides we find in Bacon’s Essay about “Goodness”: There be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. — The lighter form of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or forwardness, or aptness to oppose; 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 (qui calamitates semper aggravant): not so good as a dog that licked Lazarus’ sores; but like flies that are still buzzing on anything that is raw. Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature etc.

We at once recognize this sort of malignity when we hear Sebastian say (Act II, sc. 1, 128):
You were kneeled to and importuned otherwise by all of us etc.,

and then Gonzalo says:

My lord Sebastian,

The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,

And time to speak it in: you rub the sore,

When you should bring the plaster.

4.

Ariel, the "Lion of God", whom the foul witch Sycorax kept fettered for twelve (hundred) years, represents Nature or Power of Nature, which exists in three states (Parasceve; vol. III, page 253): Either she is free, and develops herself in her ordinary course; or she is forced out of her proper state by perverseness of matter, and the violence of impediments (as by Sycorax), or she is constrained and moulded by human ministry (as by Prospero). Aut enim libera est natura ac sponte fusa atque cursu consulto se explicans (as Ariel sings: Where the bee sucks, there suck I etc.), aut impedita, aut subacta, i. e. aut impedimentorum violentia de statu suo plane convulsa (as Ariel confined in a cloven tree), aut ab arte et ministerio humano constringitur et fingitur, et plane transfertur et tanquam novatur. Natura per artem, tanquam Proteus, in necessitate ponitur id agendi, quod absque arte actum non fuisset. Proteus i. e. "materia" (vol. VI, page 651/52), seems to have been to the poet the prototype of Ariel, as Scylla that of Caliban. About "Proteus" Bacon says (Globus Intellectualis, vol. III, pag. 512): Most excellently therefore did the Ancients represent Proteus, him of the many shapes, to be likewise a prophet triply great (vatem ter maximum), as knowing the future, the past, and the secrets of the present.
For he knows the universal passions of matter, and thereby knows what is possible to be. — The vexations of art are certainly as the bonds and handcuffs of Proteus, which betray the ultimate struggles and efforts of matter. — Nature, like Proteus, is forced by art to do that which without art would not be done; call it which you will: force and bonds, or help and perfection.

Volume IV, page 297 (History Mechanical): The use of History Mechanical is, of all others, the most radical and fundamental towards natural Philosophy. It will not only be of immediate benefit etc. — For like as a man's disposition is never well known or proved till he be crossed, nor “Proteus” ever changed shapes till he was straitened, and held fast; so nature exhibits herself more clearly under the trials and vexations of art than when left to herself. — Let Natural History therefore be divided into the History of Generations, of Praetergenerations, and of Arts. (We ought to add to this: Novum Organum II; chapter XLVIII: Instances of Strife and Predominance, and the Motions).

We easily recognize a Proteus-like nature in Ariel, who, of course, is a non-human being. We observe in him: lightness, swift and restless motions, buoyancy, and especially the desire of freedom. Yet he seems to have caught, in the service of Prospero, a faint reflection of human feeling. Being kept in Prospero's service only so long as is necessary, “to reach a certain end”, he is dismissed, until “in the succeeding Centuries “Natural Philosophy” shall have made sufficient progress, “to bind him for everlasting service” in the higher power of man.

As to the name “Ariel”, it seems to have been suggested to the poet by the XXIX. book of Isaiah (verse 1—7),
where it is applied to "Jerusalem". There we find also some of the attributes of Ariel hinted at.

It ought to be noticed, by the way, that in this very chapter mention is made of a "sealed book", a "marvellous work" among "this people" and a wonder, concerning which the wisdom of the wise men shall perish, and the understanding of the prudent shall be hid. — For shall the work say of him that made it: "He made me not"? — or shall the thing framed say of him that framed it: "He had no understanding"? — And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book; and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness. —

The "spirit Ariel" is besides mentioned in the Cabala as "a waterspirit"; and in: Ben Jehuda ben Gebirol, book Jezirah, mention is made of some intermediate beings, between the intellectual and the physical world. In the fables of the Middle-Ages Ariel is a spirit of the "air", and the guardian angel of innocence.

Saint Augustine says in: De Cognitione verae vitae: "Spirits, by God's permission, can raise storms and tempests, and command rain, hail, snow, thunder and lightning, at their pleasure", which illustrates the popular creed in witchcraft or magic, in Shakespeare's days in England.

Like Puck (or Pook) in the Midsummernight's-dream, Ariel is visible and invisible, at will, and achieves some Puck-like exploits. We ought to remember also that, in all probability, Puck is the personification of Shakespeare, "the poet", whilst Bottom, the weaver, is the ludicrous personation of the "actor" Shakspere, who when asked by Titania, the queen
of the fairies (or Poesy?), what he desired to eat, answers: "Truly a pack of provender: good dry oats, a handful or two of dried pease, or a bottle of hay (or let us suggest: "money"); for good hay, sweet hay has no fellow". —

We ought to notice the special character and agency of "Ariel", who "is but air," and who is expressly called an "airy" spirit. At the behest of Prospero, or at his own will and potency, in a twink he becomes a spirit of fire, then a naiad or a spirit of water, and in doing his spiriting gently, he can tread the ooze of the salt deep, and do business in the veins of the earth, when it is baked with frost. (Act I, sc. 253 etc.)

As to Ariel's being capable of assuming any shape, we refer to Bacon, who has to say a great deal about the qualities of the "air", a needy thing, seizing everything with avidity (vol. V, page 325), which is the common link of things (vol. V, page 471 etc.), which receives and conveys light, which distinguishes with the greatest accuracy the different impressions and notes of musical; and (what is greater) articulate sounds etc. etc., and which easily undergoes a transmutation into water, and a commixture with flame (vol. II, pages 348—374).

This coincides with what the poet says (Act I, sc. 2, 190):

To answer thy best pleasure; be it to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curled clouds.

Or Act I, sc. 2, 300:

Go make thyself like a nymph of the sea;
Be subject to no sight but mine, invisible
To every eye-ball else.
Running Commentary

to some passages in the play, to show the close relations between the Tempest and the "Instauratio Magna".

1.

Tempest. The title of the play may have been suggested already in the Proemium (vol. III, page 518/519): Tametsi enim barbarorum incursiones non metuam, tamen ex bellis civilibus et ex sectarum malignitate, et ex compendiariiis istis artificiis et cautelis, quae eruditionis locum surreperunt, non minor in literas et scientias "procella" videtur impendere.

Yet it is most probable that this allegorical "Tempest" was associated, by the poet, with that real "storm" which overtook and scattered an English fleet in mid-Atlantic, where Sir George Somers’s vessel, the Sea-Adventure, was driven ashore on the Bermudas (1609). And it may well be supposed, as Furness suggests (Tempest, page 312), that the poet Shake-speare (i.e. Bacon) may have obtained oral information from William Strachey, or rather — from admiral Somers himself.

It hardly seems necessary to suggest that the "Storm" or "Tempest" in our parabolical play is meant ultimately to symbolize the "Storm of the Reformation", which resulted in the Separation of the Protestant Church from the Romish.

2.

Island. We read in Temporis Partus Masculus (vol. III, page 535/536). De istis vero sectarum ducibus et compluribus
aliis id genus, facilis sententia est. Errori varietas, veritati unitas competit. Ac nisi temporum politiae et provisus eius-modi ingeniorum peregrinationibus adversiores exitissent, multae etiam aliae errorum orae fuissent peragratae. Immensum enim pelagus Veritatis Insulam circumluit; et supersunt ad-huc novae ventorum idolorum iniuriae et disjectiones.

This “insula veritatis” may be supposed to be anywhere; it might be England, or some “enchanted isle”. But along with the “storm” above mentioned, it took shape and form, and a geographical location, as we read in Furness (Tempest, page 1), who, with Hunter, supposes it to be Lampedusa or some other island in the Mediterranean (perhaps known to Sir Francis Bacon, or his brother Anthony). On no account was it one of the Bermudas, as Ariel (Act 2, 228, 329) is sent to fetch dew “from the Bermoothes”, though it is quite possible that the poet wished explicitly to remind his audience of an incident still fresh in the public mind.

Act I, sc. 1, 6: Take in the topsail. History of the winds (1622): In heavy storms they first lower the yards, and take in the topsails, and if necessary, all the others, even cutting down the masts themselves. Bacon says that when a ship is on a lee shore, and to avoid disaster must put to sea again, she can lie within six points of the wind, provided she set her courses. Reed 158.

Act I, 61: Though every drop of water swear against it 
And gape at widest to glut him.
This odd word occurs only once in the Plays, and is considered quite unusual. Yet Bacon says (History of
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finished in itself, without casting beams on society (as in monastic life), assuredly divinity knoweth it not. (Vita sine proposito vaga et languida est). Only on this defense monastic life is esteemed as an office, when it performeth the duty of writing or taking instruction. — Duty, is either common duty, or the respective or special duty etc. etc. — Or (page 473): Whilst divinity says: "Primum quaerite regnum Dei, et ista omnia adicientur vobis", Philosophy says: "Primum quaerite bona animi, cetera aut aderunt, aut non oberunt". — Exactly what Prospero says, verse 89, 90:

*I, thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness and the bettering of my mind
With that which o'erprized all popular rate.*

We may add from: De Augmentis VI, vol.IV, page 482; XXV: Knowledge, and Contemplation: That pleasure is indeed according to nature of which there is no satiety. How good a thing to have the motion of the mind concentric with the universe. Goodness and truth are the same thing. Or (vol.III, page 294): But this is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if Contemplation and action may be more nearly and straightly conjoined and united together than they have been: a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets: Saturn the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter the planet of civil society and action.

Or: Interpret. Nat. vol. III, page 252: It is hard to say whether mixture of contemplation with an active life, or retiring wholly to contemplations, do disable and hinder the mind more.

We might also adduce what Kuno Fischer says about Narcissus (page 181—184), if only we take Echo for — Poesy (which Bacon pronounces to be the second principal part of Learning).
Act I, sc. 2, 79. **How to grant suits, how to deny them; whom to advance, and whom to trash for overtopping.** — To *grant* all suits were to undo yourself or your people; to *deny* all suits were to see never a contented face . . . your Majesty should lose in this no **advancing** (Letter to King James, 1620). — There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that **overtops**.

9.

Act I, sc. 2, 86: **That now he was the ivy, which had hid my princely trunk.** Henry VII (1621): It was ordained that this winding *ivy* of a Plantagenet **should kill the tree itself**.

10.

Act I, sc. 2, 94: **Like a good parent etc.** You cannot find any man of rare felicity but either he died childless . . . or else he was unfortunate in his children (Memorial to Queen Elizabeth 1608); Reed 22. — And in: De Augmentis: They that are fortunate in other things are commonly unfortunate in their children, lest man should come too near the condition of gods.

11.

Act I, sc. 2, 102: **To credit his own lie.** Bacon (in Henry VII) says: With long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, he was turned by habit into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. Donnelly page 359.

We ought to mention here also what **Bacon** says in his "**Essay of Truth**": There is no vice that does so cover a man as to be found false and perfidious. — Surely
the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot be so highly expressed as in “that it shall be the last peal to call the judgment of God upon the generations of men”.

12.

Act I, sc. 2, 107: To have no screen, etc. There is great use in ambitious men in being ‘screens’ to princes in matters of danger and envy. Essay of Ambition. Reed 360.

13.

Act I, sc. 2, 115: The very rats instinctively had quit the bark. — Essay of Wisdom (1625): It is the wisdom of rats that will be sure to leave a house before it fall. Reed 611.

14.

Act I, sc. 2, 153: O, a cherubim. — Thou wast that did preserve me. — How much like Bacon! His love for Knowledge (a principal part of which is poesy) saved him from utter dejection and wretchedness. Being, like Prometheus (vol. VI, page 752) bound to the column of Necessity, he knew how to retain the advantages of Providence, and yet free himself from the evils of solicitude and perturbation, by fortitude and constancy of mind, prepared for all events, and equal to any fortune — and to persevere even unto death (page 20). Or (Natural and Experimental History, vol. V, page 132 etc.): If therefore there be any charity for “man”, we must approach with veneration, to unroll the volume of Creation — and strenuously persevere even unto death.

15.

Act I, sc. 2, 158: By Providence Divine: It has been mentioned before (page 7), what important concern it was for Bacon to succeed in the Reconstruction
of Science. Advancem. of Learn. II, page 357: The ways of Sapience are not much either to particularity or to chance. So is the wisdom of God more admirable when nature intendeth one thing, and Providence draweth forth another. Page 593: Precati etiam Deum cuius numine et nutu haec fiunt. — De Augmentis II (vol. IV, page 313): At some times it pleases the Divine Wisdom (for the better establishment of his people) to reveal his secret will, to write it and report it to view in such capital letters that “He that runneth by”, that is, that mere sensual persons and voluptuaries (like certain gentlemen in our play), who hasten by God’s judgments, and never bend or fix their thoughts upon them, are nevertheless, though running fast and busy about other things, forced to discern them. Such are divine counsels, through tortuous labyrinths, and by vast circuits at length manifestly accomplishing themselves. Such are late and unlooked for judgments; deliverances suddenly and unexpectedly vouchsafed; all which things serve not only to console the minds of the faithful, but to strike and convince the consciences of the wicked. — We have got here the plot of the play, to which the dénouement is given Act V, 203 (page 72), when Gonzalo, having inly wept, at last finds his speech again, and says:

For it is you (gods) that have chalk’d forth the way
Which brought us hither.

The same idea: De Augmentis II, vol. III, page 341; or vol V, page 58 etc. (De Augmentis VIII): Proverbs such as these: “Every man is the architect of his fortune (Pol sapiens fingit fortunam sibi)” ; “A wise man shall rule over the stars”; etc., if taken and used as spurs to industry, and not as stirrups to insolence, are doubtless imprinted in the greatest minds, as we see in Augustus Caesar. Yet (page 77): in projecting
their schemes, they ought in the midst of the flight of their minds, look up to Eternal Providence and Divine Judgment, which often overthrows and brings to nought the machinations and evil designs of the wicked, however deeply laid.

[We may properly add here (from Furness, page 311) what Jourdan says about the shipwreck (1609): They fell betwixt a labyrinth of rocks, which they conceive are mouldered into the sea by thunder and lightning. This was not Ariadne's thread, but the direct line of God's Providence].

16. 

Act I, sc. 2, 167: My books; see page 3.

17. 

Act I, sc. 2, 180: by my prescience:

_I find my zenith does depend upon_

_A most auspicious star, whose influence_

_If now I court not, but omit, my fortunes_

_Will ever after droop._

Besides what has been said page 10, we find: Partus Temporis Masculus I. _Ex altissima mentis meae providentia et ea exploratissimo rerum et animorum statu haec traditurus sum modo omnium maxime legitimo._ — Redargutio (vol. III, page 583, 584): Quare utendum est aetatis nostrae praerogativa, neque committendum ut cum haec tanta vobis adsint, vobis ipsi desitis — Itaque rem in longum non differemus. — Quin credite mihi, quod de Fortuna dici solet, cam a fronte capillatam, ab occipitio calvam esse. Omnis enim sera subtilitas et diligentia, postquam verum tempus praeterierit, nunquam Fortunam apprehendere aut capere potest. Or: De Augmentis VIII (vol. V, page 71): Sometimes the fault (of failure) arises from weak-
ness of judgment, that they do not discern in time when things or actions have reached a period, but come in too late, when the occasion has passed by.

Advancement of Learning II (vol. III, page 340 etc., in History of Cosmography): It may truly be affirmed to the honour of these times, that this great building of the world had never through-lights made in it, till the age of us and our fathers. To circle the earth was not done nor entered till these later times. And this proficience in navigation and discoveries may plant also an expectation of the further proficience and augmentation of all sciences. For so the prophet Daniel fortelleth: “Plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia”, as if the openness and throughpassage of the world, and the increase of knowledge were appointed to be in the same age.

Novum Organum CXIV (vol. IV, page 102): Lastly, even if the breath of hope which blows on us from the New Continent were fainter than it is, and harder to perceive; yet the trial must by all means be made; since by not trying we throw away the chance of an immense good. But as it is, it appears that there is hope enough and to spare, not only to make a bold man try, but also to make a sober-minded and wise man believe. (It must not be as in the Promus: God sendeth fortune to fools.) This concludes, in Bacon’s Novum Organum, the paragraph of the “Signs”. It is time therefore, he continues, to proceed. Having so far prepared men’s minds as well for understanding as for receiving what is to follow (now having purged, and swept, and levelled the floor of the mind), it remains to place the mind in a good position, and as it were in a favourable aspect towards what has to be laid before it, i.e. Miranda, having been
sufficiently informed, by Prospero, about the true state of things, must be prepared to meet with Ferdinand, who on his side has to be prepared, or as it were “tuned” for this meeting, by Ariel’s songs.

Act I, sc. 2, 198. *I flamed amazement* etc. Bacon (History of the winds; 1625): The ball of fire called Castor by the Ancients, that appears at sea, if it be single, prognosticates a severe storm (seeing it is Castor, the dead brother), which will be much more severe, if the ball does not adhere to the mast, but rolls and dances about. But if there be two of them (that is, if Pollux, the living brother, is present), and that too when the storm has increased, it is reckoned a good sign. But if there are three of them (that is, if Helen, the general scourge, arrive), the storm will become more fearful. The fact seems to be, that one by itself seems to indicate that the tempestuous matter is crude; two that it is prepared and ripened; three or more that so great a quantity is collected as can hardly be dispersed (vol. II, page 69; vol. V, 191).

[We may add also, from Furness, page 314: Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling *blaze*, half the height of the main mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud etc.]

19.

Act I, sc. 2, 334. *Water with berries in it*: We may think of Silva Silvarum 913: Bay-berries (and juniper-berries) are an inward antidote against the plague; or of berries of the plant “coffa” (Silva Silvarum 738): They have in Turkey a drink called “coffa”, made of a berry of the same name, as
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may add from: Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis (vol. V, page 132 133): We must entreat men again and again to discard, or at least to set apart, for a while, these volatile and preposterous philosophies (see page 35), and to approach with humility to unroll the volume of Creation, to linger and meditate therein, and with minds washed clean from opinions to study it in purity and integrity, — and becoming again as little children, condescend to take the alphabet of it into their hands, and spare no pains to search and unravel the interpretation thereof, but pursue it strenuously and persevere even unto death.

24.

Act II, sc. i, 11—19: The visitor will not give him o'er so. — Dolour cometh to him etc. Bacon (Advancement of Learning, vol. III, page 370—377), speaking of the daily visitations of the physician, and of Cures of diseases, says: I esteem it to be in the office of a physician, not only to restore health, but also to mitigate dolour.

To what has been mentioned about the "frivolous" gentlemen, and their volatile philosophies (page 35, and 36), we may add, about these "intellectualists", what Bacon says besides (vol. III, page 292): Monarchies incline wits to profit, commonwealths to glory and vanity. Sebastian's reply reminds of Bacon's characteristic words (page 296): As for the knowledge which induced the fall of man, it was not the natural knowledge of creatures, but the moral knowledge of good and evil (eritis sicut Deus). Or: De Augm. VI (vol. IV, page 480): Vain-glorious persons are ever facetious, liars, inconstant, extreme. Or: page 486: Affectation is the shining putrefaction of ingenuousness. Or page 487: Jests.
25.

Act II, sc. 1, 40 etc. Temperance (instead of “temper-erature”). Here a proper name; yet it seems most interesting what Bacon says about “temperance” in De Augmentis VI, vol. IV, page 481. [We ought to keep in mind also, what Jourdan (Furness, page 309) says about the temperature of the Bermudas-island: We found the air so temperate and the country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for life etc., while Strachey gives a contrary description; page 314].

26.

Act II, sc. 143. Plantation. We cannot forbear mentioning here the most important article about “Plantations” in Bacon’s Essay XXXIII (vol. VI, page 457).

27.

Act II, sc. 1, 147 etc. In the Commonwealth etc. Donnelly vol. I, page 478, justly observes: Francis Bacon wrote the New Atlantis, to show to what perfection of civilisation mankind might attain, and we find here Prospero’s good friend Gonzalo, planning an improved commonwealth, borrowed from the French essayist Montaigne, who (with de Thou; 1553—1612) was one of Sir Francis Bacon’s intimate friends; in the year 1580 he published his “Essais”, which were then imitated by Bacon. Montaigne’s essays were translated into English by John Florio (published 1603). In chapter I, 30, there is found a passage describing an Indian tribe, and entitled: “Of the Cannibals”: It is a nation that has no kind of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of political superiority etc. — The very words that import “lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulation, covetousness, envy, detraction, and pardon”, were never heard
of amongst them. [Furness observes (page 105): There is a large erasure here (from line 145—190) in Collier's MS., which Mommsen takes to be the indication that, in the time of Collier's annotations, the description of Gonzalo's commonwealth had ceased to be amusing, or appeared antiquated]. Let us take notice of what Sir Francis Bacon says about his friend Montaigne in that most interesting eighth book of "De Augmentis" (vol. V, page 64): Those who are so intent and absorbed in the matter which they have in hand, that they have not even a thought spare for anything that may turn up by the way, (which Montaigne confesses to have been his weakness, in his Essay: De l'Utilité et de l'Honnêtetê), are indeed the best servants of kings and commonwealths, but fail in advancing their own fortune (like Bacon himself).

28.

Act II, sc. I, 195. Speaking of sleep, Sebastian says: *Do not omit the heavy offer of it; it seldom visits sorrow etc.* Many are the passages in which both Bacon, and Shakespeare speak of the medicinal virtues of sleep, the curative power of sleep. Bacon: Historia Vitae et Mortis: Such is the force of sleep as to restrain all vital consumption. And again: Sleep is nothing else but a reception and retirement of the living spirit into itself. Or: Natural History 746: Sleep does supply somewhat to nourishment; (or other passages of Shake-speare: Innocent sleep, sore labour's bath; Balm of hurt minds. Chief nourisher in life's feast. Great nature's second course. Nature's soft nurse etc. (It would fill the pages of a book, only to speak about this chapter).
29.

Act II, sc. 1, 197. *We two will guard your person* etc. The whole of the conversation of the "wits" vividly reminds of Bacon's Advancement of Learning (vol. III, page 295): Thus have I described those "peccant" humours (the principal of them), which have not only *given impediment to the proficience of Learning*, but have also given occasion to the *traducement* thereof: wherein if I have been too plain, it must be remembered: Fidelia vulnera amantis, sed *dolosa oscula malignantis* (faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful). Antonio especially, whom we suppose to be the personification of Papism (from 400—1600 A. D.), is stigmatised as the man who lies for the lie's sake; who has a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. With him it is the lie that sinketh and settleth in the mind. Essay of Truth (vol. VI, page 375, 376).

30.

Act II, sc. 1, 275: *But for your conscience* etc. Bacon (De Augm. IX, vol. V, page 113): We must observe that the *light of nature* is used in two senses: the one as far as it springs from sense etc.; the other as far as it *flashes on the spirit of man* by an *inward instinct*, according to the law of conscience, which is a *spark and relic of his primitive and original purity*; a light however not altogether clear, but such as sufficeth rather to *reprove the vice* in some measure than to give full information of duty.

31.

Act II, sc. 2, 1: *All the infections that the sun sucks up*. Bacon: all kind of heat dilates and extends the air, as the sun goes forward, and thence thunders, and lightnings,
and storms (Troilus and Cressida V, 2: the almighty sun, “constringing” the air, and producing the hurricane), and the causes of malaria. Bacon (Calor et Frigus, vol. III, page 647, 648): The sunbeams raise vapours out of the earth; the sun causes pestilences etc. It would be impossible to quote here all the passages about the action of the “sun”, and the “spirits”, in connection with it.

Act II, sc. 2, 45: Till the dregs of the storm passed. “Dregs” and “lees” are favourite words with Bacon (History of Henry VII): The “dregs” of the northern people; dregs of conscience; to drink the lees and dregs of Perkin’s intoxication; the memory of King Richard lay like “lees” in the bottom; (to Queen Elizabeth): the dregs of his age etc. In the same way “scum” etc. Donnelly, page 344, 345.

Act II, sc. 2, 116: I’ll hide me under the dead moon-calf’s gabardine. Bacon (Natural History, 897): It may be that children and young cattle that are brought forth in the full of the moon, are stronger and larger than those which are brought forth in the wane; and those also which are begotten in the full of the moon (are stronger and larger). I. O. Halliwell, on the contrary, explains: a moon-calf is an imperfectly-developed foetus, here metaphorically applied to a misshapen monster. Donnelly, page 447.

Act III, sc. 1, 3: Some kinds of baseness Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters Point to rich ends. Donnelly says a great deal (page 150—152) about this passage, in order
to show its **Baconian** origin and bearing, e. g.: The mind must be peculiarly constructed that can at the same time grapple with the earth, and soar in the clouds. Says Macaulay: Some people may think the object of the Baconian philosophy a low object. In Experimental Natural History Bacon says: We briefly urge as a precept that there be admitted into this (natural) history: 1) The most common matters, such as one might think it superfluous to insert, from their being well known. 2) **Base, illiberal** and **filthy** matters, and also those which are trifling and puerile . . ., nor ought their worth to be measured by their intrinsic value, but by their application to other points and their influence on philosophy etc. See also: page 21.

35-

Act III, sc. 1, 7:

*The mistress which I serve quickens what is dead,*  
*And makes my labours pleasures:*

Besides what has been said about “labour” page 20, we may add here from Bacon (Historia Vitae et Mortis; vol. V, page 280—283): The spirits of man are delighted both with things accustomed, and with things new. The thing above all others most pleasing to the spirits is: a continual advance to the better. Lastly, *endeavour and labour,* which if undertaken cheerfully and with good will, refreshes the spirits, if it be attended with aversion and dislike, preys upon and prostrates them. Or: “**Pan**” (vol. III, page 324, 325) delights in the “nymphs”, th. i. in the spirits; for the spirits of living creatures are the delight of the world; the spirit of man “dances” to the tune of the thoughts, and this is the frisking of the nymphs.
36.

Act III, sc. 3, 3: Through forth-rights and meanders: Bacon (Natural History, 385): For if they go forth-right to a place, they must needs have sight. (Troilus and Cressida III, 3: Step aside from the direct forth-right).

37.

Act III, sc. 3, 16: Strange shapes: Bacon (Advancement of Learning II, vol. III, page 362) declares true Natural Magic and Metaphysic as still deficient. What Prospero produceth, is wrought by that light or "rough Magic" mentioned "in books", see page 3. Whosoever shall entertain high and vaporous imaginations, instead of laborious and sober inquiry, shall only beget hopes and beliefs of strange and impossible shapes. And therefore we may note in these sciences which hold so much of imagination and belief, as this degenerate Natural Magic, and the like, that in their propositions the description of the means is ever more monstrous than the pretence or end. Verity (page 155) says: The Tempest does not play upon superstition more than the action of the piece requires. The supernatural is treated strictly as the agency by which the plot is worked out.

38.

Act III, sc. 3, 45: Mountaineers dewlapped like bulls: Bacon (Silva Silvarum, 396): Snow-water is held unwholesome, inasmuch as the people that dwell at the foot of snow-mountains, or otherwise upon the ascent, especially the women, by drinking snow-water have great bags hanging under their throats. (In Midsummernight's Dream Act II, sc. 1, 50: a gossip's withered dewlap; IV, sc. 1, 127: dew-lapped like Thessalian bulls).
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the parts in due subjection; when it escapes, the body decomposes, or the similar parts unite as metals rust, fluids turn sour. Or: Spirits are nothing else but a natural body rarified to a proportion, and included in the tangible parts of bodies as in an integument. Bacon does not speak, as we would, of the spirit in a man, but of the spirits, as if there were a multitude of them in each individual, occupying every part of the body. For instance: Great joys attenuate the spirits (den Geist); familiar cheerfulness strengthens the spirits by calling them forth. In bashfulness the "spirits" do a little go and come. And in Shakespeare we find this same theory of the "spirits" e.g. Your spirits shine through you (Macbeth); Young gentleman, your spirits are too bold for your years (As you like it). My spirits as in a dream are all bound up (Act I, sc. 2, 486). The nimble spirits in the arteries (Love's Labour lost). Or here: Now 'gins to bite the spirits.

Act IV, sc. 1, 40: Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims: Again Donnelly gives an excellent illustration (mostly taken from Mrs. Pott), to show that both Francis Bacon and the writer of the Plays were filled with great love for gardening (page 415—419). Among the 35 different flowers, mentioned by Shakespeare there is also the "peony", or "piony". Bacon (Silva Silvarum X, 963 and 966) says: It has been long received, and confirmed by divers trials, that the root of the male piony dried, tied to the neck does help the falling sickness; and likewise the incubus, which we call "the mare".

Act IV, sc. 1, 64: Since they did plot The means that dusky Dis my daughter got. Bacon (Proserpina, vol. VI,
page 758) explicitly relates the story of the rape of Proserpina, daughter of Ceres, by Dis, and the grief and anxiety of her mother. He narrates also the daring attempt, made by Theseus, to carry away Proserpina (the Mistress or Queen of Dis) from the chamber of Dis, and gives a spirited interpretation of the myth.

44.

Act IV, sc. 1, 97: Makes this place Paradise; this seems to suggest the idea of a real restitution of man to his former state, i.e. his first state of Creation.

45.

Act IV, sc. 1, 115: I had forgot that foul conspiracy of the beast Caliban etc. These lines are in close relation to Providence Divine, and "a most auspicious star" (page 30). If Prospero does not succeed in his plan, his fortune will for ever droop, or as sympathetic Ariel says (Act II, sc. 1, 299):

For else his project dies.

If, after having taken so much pains, after having tormented and worn himself out like another Prometheus (vol. VI, page 751), Bacon does not succeed in winning the Prince (perhaps Prince Henry, † 1612) by his great work (later on called: Magna Instauratio), he would have to despair of any success. All his endeavours, his fears and anxieties to retain the advantages now given by Providence would be in vain; the work of his life, his darling daughter "Scientia", would be lost for ever. He says e.g. (in Natural and Experimental History, vol. V, page 133): Ever earnestly desiring, with such a passion as we believe God alone inspires, that this which until our time bitterly has been unattempted, may not now be attempted in vain, I have thought it right to make

Holzer, Shakespeare's Tempest.
some anticipation thereof, and to enter upon the work at once. May God, the Founder, Preserver and Renewer of the Universe, in his love and compassion of man, protect and rule this work. And again (page 227): Knowledge is like a water that will never again rise higher than the level from which it fell; and therefore to go beyond Aristotle by the light of Aristotle is to think that a borrowed light can increase the original light from whom it is taken. So then no true succession of wits having been in the world, either we must conclude that knowledge is but a task for one man’s life, and then vain was the complaint that life is short, and art is long; or else, that the knowledge that now is, is but a poor shrub —, or that in two points (page 222) the curse is peremptory; the one that vanity must be the end in all human efforts; the other that the consent of the creature being now turned into reluctance, this power cannot otherwise be exercised and administered but in continuous labour.

46.

Act I, sc. 1, 120: Never till this day, says Miranda, I saw him with anger so distempered etc. The reason for this distemper has been explained in the note 45. As to the notion of ‘distemper’, Bacon (Advancement of Learning, vol. III, page 371) says: Man’s body is an instrument easy to distemper; and therefore the poets did well to conjoin Music and Medicine in Apollo: because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man’s body, and to reduce it to harmony. — The consideration is: Either how and how far the humours and affects of the body do work upon, or alter, the mind; or again: how and how far the passions or apprehensions of the mind do alter or work upon the body. The former part of the consideration, concerning
the concordance between the mind and body, is afterwards answered by Prospero (verse 135): "A turn or two I'll walk, To still my beating mind", quite in the sense of Bacon, who gives it in many parts of his work as his opinion: that exercise and movement in the open air is beneficial to both body and mind, e. g. (vol. III, page 362): For the clearing of the spirits, to exhilarate the mind, to clarify the wits, to prolong life, or to restore some degree of youth or vivacity; ambages of diets, bathings, anointings, motions and the like will do better service than a few drops or scruples of a liquor or receit.

47.

Act IV, sc. 1, 125 etc. And like the baseless fabric of this vision etc. Being reminded of, and vexed by, the thought (as mentioned in the note 45), of the possibility of success of the conspiracy of Caliban (the worst enemy to Miranda), and of his own near death, before he sees his great work accomplished — —, and seeing melting away his agent-spirits into thin air, Prospero feels what Bacon expresses in speaking of the curse (of God over man) being peremptory and not to be removed; or more specially in: Advancement of Learning, addressed to the king (1605), at the end of the first book (vol. III, page 318): Let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of Knowledge and Learning in that whereunto man's nature does most aspire, which is immortality and continuance. For to this tendeth generation and raising of houses and families; to this buildings, foundations and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame and celebration; and, in effect, the strength of all other human desires. We see then how the monuments of
Wit and Learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of hand. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty five hundred years or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter? — during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities have been decayed and demolished. — It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but lose. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages.

(Vol. V, 437): Neither is the Great Form, "the Fabric of the Universe", endued with eternity; for heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord shall not.

We may gather from these passages that the famous inscription on the monument of the poet, set up in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey (1741), reproducing the verses before us, only expresses one half of a thought, viz. that the works made by man's hand, as well as the whole fabric of the Universe, and men themselves must perish, must fade. The other half is: But "vanity will not be the end in all human efforts"; for the works of man's Mind and Wit, such as the epic poems of Homer (and we ought to suggest: the Plays of Shakespeare, of which the "Tempest" is the first, the introductory play), shall not perish.
48.
Act IV, sc. 1, 131: Leave no **rack** behind: Bacon (silva silvarum) says: The thin clouds above which we call “the rack” (Reed 709).

49.
Act IV, sc. 1, 165: And as with age his body uglier grows etc. Bacon (Historia Vitae et Mortis, vol. II, page 211) says: Old age if it could be seen, deforms the mind more than the body. I remember when I was a young man at Poitiers in France that I was very intimate with a young Frenchman of great wit, but somewhat talkative, who afterwards turned out a very eminent man. He used to inveigh against the manners of old men, and say, that if their minds could be seen as well as their bodies, they would appear no less deformed.

50.
Act V, 2: Time goes upright with his carriage: The remark of Warburton, repeated by Verity and Furness, conveys little light. If the foundation on which we build up our interpretation is solid and right, we must suggest: “Time” here is “that great Time”, so often spoken of by Bacon, that is to bring the great Birth of Time: “New Science”, and this “Time”, so far goes upright, does not bend under his carriage, i.e. the task to be performed (for his project is gathering to a head; his charms crack not).

We may think also of a passage, written by Bacon as early as 1592 (in Praise of Knowledge): Let me so give every man his, as I give Time his due, which is: to discover Truth.

51.
Act V, 26: The rarer action is in virtue than in vengeance. — Bacon (Essays 1625): In taking revenge a man
is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior. One who does the wrong is the aggressor, he who protracts it is the protractor. Bacon's inculcation of the duty of forgiveness, which is so emphatically reproduced here, as in many of the Shakespeare Plays, was fully exemplified in his own life. Sir Toby Matthews says of him: "I can truly say that I never saw in him any trace of a vindictive mind, whatever injury was done to him, nor ever heard him utter a word to any man's disadvantage, which seemed to proceed from personal feeling". Reed 172.

See besides: De Augmentis XXXIX: He that did the first wrong made a beginning of mischief; he that returned it made no end. Or: vol. III, page 472: All virtue is most rewarded, and all wickedness is most punished, in itself. Or: De Augmentis VI (vol. IV, page 482): Magnanimity is a poetical virtue. If the mind do but choose generous ends to aim at, it shall have not only the virtues but the deities to help. Virtues induced by habit or by precepts are ordinary; those imposed by a virtuous end are heroical. We may besides think of vol. III, page 308: For that voice (whereof the heathen have ever confessed that it sounds not like man): Love your enemies; be you like unto your heavenly father, doth well declare that in that point we can commit no excess. Or: Be you holy, as I am holy; and what is "holiness" else but goodness, as we consider it separate and guarded from all mixture and all excess of evil? —

52.

Act V, 84: You whose pastime is to make mushrooms etc. Bacon (Silva Silvarum, 546) says: Next unto moss I will speak of mushrooms, which are likewise an imperfect plant.
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is only a contemptible, yet a necessary means “to reach his end”. This end once reached, i.e. true Natural Philosophy being restituted to her right place, a still greater aim remains (vol. III, page 356): of which we know not, whether man’s inquiry can attain unto it: the Summary Law of Nature: the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end (opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem).

55.

Act V, 58: A solemn air etc.: Bacon is exceedingly fond of Music; he speaks fully about it in Natural History (II, 101—114), and in many other places. As mentioned (in note 46), he thinks Medicine and Music well conjoined in Apollo, both being means to tune this curious harp of man’s body, and to reduce it to harmony. And (De Augmentis II, page 326): It seems there are two kinds of harmony and music: one of divine wisdom, the other of human reason. And to the human judgment, and the ears as it were of mortals, the government of the world and the more secret judgments of God sound somewhat harsh and untunable. Among the arts of Pleasure Sensual (IV. book, page 595), music has reference to morality and the passions of the mind.

56.

Act V, vol. 62: Holy Gonzalo: If we may suppose that the name was chosen in remembrance of the “gran capitano” Gonzalvo da Cordova (1453—1515), the character appears to be that of Bacon’s uncle William Cecil, Lord Burleigh (1520—1598), the second founder of Bacon’s poor estate (see page 37). Gonzalo is, as it were, the instrument in the hand of Providence to
save Prospero and his daughter. He is the true preserver, the reverend old counsellor, no doubt, of whom Bacon says, vol. VIII, 197, 198: who has been counsellor before Elizabeth's time, and hath continued counsellor longer than any counsellor in Europe; one that must needs have been great, if it were but by surviving alone; one that has passed the degrees of honour with great travail and long time. See besides: Note 52.

57.

Act V, 67: The ignorant fumes that mantle Their clearer reason etc. — Bacon (Silva Silvarum I, 46): The beer drinketh fresh, flowereth and mantleth exceedingly. See also: Act IV, 1, 47: the filthy-mantled pool (and: Macbeth: Do cream and mantle like a standing pool).

58.

Act V, 79: Their understanding begins to swell etc. — We are reminded by these words of some of the first aphorisms in Novum Organum (vol. IV, page 50 etc.): The understanding left to itself tries a little that other way, which is the right one, but with little progress; since the understanding, unless directed and assisted, is a thing unequal and quite unfit to contend with the obscurity of things. Or: XLVII. The human understanding is moved by those things most which strike and enter the mind simultaneously and suddenly, and so fill the imagination. — But for that going to and fro to remote and heterogeneous instances, the intellect is altogether slow and unfit, unless it be forced thereto by severe laws and overruling authority. Redargutio (page 658): Nos tantum patientiam et aequanimitatem, idque in ingeniis altioribus et firmioribus conciliare speramus. Sane in tabellis non alia inscripseris, nisi priora deleveris; in mente aegre priora deleveris, nisi alia inscripseris.
59.

Act V, 118: Thy dukedom I resign. — By these words the denoument of the play is attained; it indicates the Restitution and Re-investing of Prospero to his dukedom, i.e. of man to sovereignty and power over Nature, which he had in his first state of Creation. See page 7.

60.

Act V, 203: For it is you (you gods) that have chalked forth the way, Which brought us hither. — These words, being in close connection with the words: By Providence Divine, Act I, sc. 2, 159 (see page 10), are calculated to illustrate Bacon's words in Redargutio (page 658): Omnem violentiam abesse volumus; atque quod Borgia facete de Caroli Octavi expeditione in Italiam dixit: Gallos venisse in manibus cretam tenentes, qua diversoria notarent, non arma quibus perrumperent; similem quoque inventorum nostrorum et rationem et successum praecipimus; nimirum ut potius animos hominum capaces et idoneos seponere et subire possint, quam contra sentientibus molesta sint. (Herewith Bacon finishes his introduction to Redargutio, and as if the object of his endeavours were already reached, introduces: "amicum suum quendam ex Gallia redeuntem". This friend then tells Bacon everything that he found in Paris, "in that society of the fifty old men", where "vir quidam" exactly exhibits as done already what Bacon is preparing to attain. And the Redargutio winds up: Ita autem inter se colloquebantur; se (amicum) instar eorum fuisset qui ex locis opacis et umbrosis in lucem apertam subito exierint, cum minus videant quam prius; sed cum certa et laeta spe facultatis melioris.

Thus have I passed through Natural Philosophy, and the deficiencies thereof; for my part, as I affect not to dissent, so I purpose not to contend. If it be truth,

Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae.

(All as we sing, the listening woods reply.)

Here follows again the story about Alexander Borgia, who was wont to say of the expedition of the French for Naples, that they came with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, and not with weapons to fight; so I (Bacon) like better that entry of truth which cometh peaceably with chalk to mark up those minds which are capable to lodge and harbour it, than that which cometh with pugnacity and contention.

The same story occurs in: Novum Organum XXXV, ending: I (Bacon) in a like manner would have my doctrine enter quietly into the minds that are fit and capable of receiving it.

61.

Act V, 311. Every third thought shall be my grave. — Bacon (in Advancement of Learning II, vol. III, page 426) says: It seemeth to me that most of the doctrines of philosophers are more fearful and cautionary than the nature of things requires. So have they increased the fear of death in offering to cure it. For when they would have a man's whole life to be but a discipline or preparation to die, they must needs make men think that 'death' is a terrible enemy against whom there is no end of preparing. Better says the poet:

Qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat Naturae.

(The end of life is to be counted amongst the boons of Nature.)
Freed therefore and delivered from this doctrine of the philosophers’ heaven, (as Seneca writes: Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei = it is true greatness to have in one the frailty of man and the security of God), we may with more sobriety and truth receive the rest of our inquiries and labours. In these things it is left unto us to proceed by application:

Vincenda est omnis fortuna ferendo:

and so likewise:

Vincenda est omnis natura ferendo.

But we do not speak of a dull and neglecting suffering, but of a wise suffering.

62.

The Epilogue might be expressed simply with the words which Bacon quotes from the prophet: State super vias antiquas et videte quenam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea (vol. III, page 290). Perhaps the idea of the Epilogue seems more fitly expressed in that which “vir quidam”, probably Sir Francis Bacon’s old friend “de Thou”, says in the end of the Redargutio: (ut Alexander Magnus nil aliud quam bene ausus est vana contemnere), ita et nos simile quiddam a posteris audiemus. In quo sane iudicio illud recte: nostra nil magni esse; illud non recte: si ausis tribuant quae humilitati debentur. Hac enim ex parte revera nobis gratulamur, et eo nomine felices nos et bene de genere humano meritos esse existimamus, quod ostendimus quid vera et legitima spiritus humani humiliatio possit. Verum quid nobis ab hominibus debeatur, ipsi viderint.

We find the idea of the epilogue best expressed in the end of the Preface to De Augmentis, addressed to the King (vol. IV, pages 290, 291), where Bacon says: I know well I can use no other liberty of judgment than I must leave
with others — —, and many of these things will incur censure. — — I shall be content that my labours be esteemed as the better sort of wishes —, since it requires some sense not to make a wish absurd in itself.

We may suggest the following interpretation: Having, after his long banishment in the "Insula Veritatis", in a peaceable way recovered his dukedom, i.e. free exercise of Science after twelve (hundred) years captivity, Prospero (Bacon) solicits the good will of his audience, of civilized mankind whom he wishes to win by his Magna Instauratio. If he were not to meet with applause, "his project would fail, and he must despair, or else", in regard of the deficiencies of his work, hope for the mercy of God, and the indulgence of mankind.

We may add also the following passage from Bacon's last Will (19. Dec. 1625): "For my name and memory, I leave it to man's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages". Bacon died: 9th April 1626.

Sir Francis Bacon's views about Dramatical Art, and Music.

1.

The best division of human learning is that divided from the three faculties of the rational soul: History, which has reference to memory; Poesy, which refers to imagination, and Philosophy, which refers to reason.
Poesy, which is the second principal part of Learning, represents things superior to the sensible world, to satisfy the mind with shadows of things, when the substance cannot be obtained. Like History, it is concerned with individuals, but individuals invented in imitation of those which are the subject of true history; yet with that difference, that it commonly exceeds the measure of nature, joining at pleasure things, which in nature would never have come together, and introducing things, which in nature would never have come to pass; just as Painting likewise does. This is the work of Imagination (De Augment. II, Chapt. 1, vol. IV, page 292). Poesis autem doctrinae tanquam somnium.

One of the Fathers called poesy "vinum daemonum" (devil's wine), because it filleth the imagination, as a "lie" that but passeth through the mind; yet it is but a shadow of a lie and does no hurt (Essay: Truth; 1625).

The nymph "Echo", which is married to Pan, is a thing not substantial but only a voice; or if it be the more exact and delicate kind, Syringa, — when the words and voices are regulated and modulated by numbers, whether poetical or oratorical. But it is well devised that of all words and voices Echo (= poesy) alone should be chosen for the "world's" wife; for that is the true philosophy which echoes most faithfully the voices of the world itself, and is written, as it were, at the world's own dictation; being nothing else but the image and reflexion thereof, to which it adds nothing of its own, but only iterates and gives it back (De Augment. II, vol. IV, page 326).

In its matter, poesy is one of the principal portions of Learning, and is nothing but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse. It is rather a pleasure, or a play of imagination, than a work or duty
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music, it has had access and estimation in rude times and barbarous regions, where other learning stood excluded.

Poesy is narrative, representative or dramatical, and allusive or parabolical. (According to Bacon's theory, Satires, Elegies, Epigrams, Odes, and the like, refer to philosophy, and arts of speech; under the name of poesy he treats only feigned history).

Representative or dramatic poesy, which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use, if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and corruption. Now of corruption of this kind we have enough; but the discipline has in our time been plainly neglected. And though in modern states playacting is esteemed as a toy (except when it is too satirical and biting), yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue. Nay it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow, by which men's minds may be played upon. And certainly it is most true, and one of the greatest secrets of nature, that the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone.

Concerning Virtue, it is necessary to determine not only what it is, but whence it proceeds, and to know the ways and means of acquiring it; for we want both to know virtue, and to be virtuous. And this essentially appertains to Moral Philosophy, which is the wise servant and humble handmaid of Sacred Divinity, and to Ethics, which handles the divers characters of men's natures, to know the diseases and infirmities of the mind, which are not other than the pertur-
bations and distempers of the affections, and to cure them (vol. III, pages 437, 438).

But the Poets and Writers of Histories are the best doctors of this knowledge; where we may find painted forth, with great life, how affections are kindled and incited; how pacified and refrained, and how again detained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves; how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify; how they are inwrapped one with another. Amongst the which the last is of special use in moral and civil matters; how to set affection against affection, and to master one by another, employing the predominant affections of fear and hope, for the suppressing and bridling the rest.

We finally come to those points which are within our own command, and have force and operation of the mind, to affect the will and appetite; to alter manners, to handle custom; to exercise habit, education; example, imitation, emulation, company, friends, praise, reproof, exhortation; fame, laws, books, studies, good nature, or ill nature (benignity or malignity).

We ought to mention here what Theseus in "A Midsummer-night's Dream" (Act V, sc. 1) says about poesy:

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact (= composed) —
The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Does glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
‘Bacon’ cannot sufficiently marvel that this part of knowledge, touching the several characters of natures and dispositions, should be omitted both in morality and in policy; wherein our fault is the greater because both history and poesy, and daily experience are goodly fields where these observations may grow. — A full and careful analysis ought to be made, exhibiting not the entire character of men, but the several features and individual peculiarities of mind and disposition which make it up (imaginum ipsarum lineas et ductus magis simplices) with their connection bearing one upon another — a kind of mental and moral anatomy, as a basis for a system of moral and mental medicine.

Speaking of Good, Active and Passive, ‘Bacon’ says: So man’s approach or assumption to divine or angelical nature (as e. g. Miranda) is the perfection of his Form; the error, or false imitation of which good is that which is the Tempest of human life etc. (Advancement of Learning II, vol. III, pages 424—426).

We may see, from these aphorisms, that Bacon’s mind, in the same way as that of king Solomon, encompassed the world and all worldly matters —, et veluti oculo uno rerum naturas, altero humanos usus pererrat (vol. III, page 186). —

Certainly this merit of Learning was lively set forth by the ancients, in that feigned relation of Orpheus’ theatre; where all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp. The sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of
men; who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires, of profit, of lust, of revenge, etc., which as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, so long is society and peace maintained. But if these instruments be silent, or that sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion. For the will of man is seduced by apparent good, having for a spur the passions.

4.

Parabolical Poesy is of a higher character than the others, and appears to be something sacred and venerable. It is of a double use, and serves for contrary purposes: for illustration, and for infoldment; in the former case the subject is a certain method of teaching, in the latter an artifice for concealment. Now, and at all times, the force of the parables for illustration is, and has been, excellent, because arguments cannot be made so perspicuous, nor true examples so apt.

As for Parabolical Poesy used for infoldment, it is applied for such things, the dignity whereof requires that they should be seen, as it were, through a veil.

5.

As to the style and form of words, that is to say: metre or verse, it is a very small thing, but the examples are large and innumerable. Precepts should be added as to the kinds of verse which best suit such matter or subject. Some of the modern poets have tried to train the modern languages into the ancient measures (hexameter, elegiae, iambus, etc.), measures incompatible with the structure of the languages themselves, and no less offensive to the ear. In these things the judgment of the sense is to be preferred to the precepts of art, and it
is not art, but abuse of art, when instead of perfecting nature, it perverts them. Poesy being (as mentioned before) like a luxuriant plant, it would be vain to take thought about the defects of it. With this therefore we need not trouble ourselves. And with regard to accents of words, it is too small a matter to speak of (De Augm. VI, vol. IV, pages 443, 444).

6.

Stageplaying, if practised professionally, is indeed a thing of low repute; but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. And therefore judging well, the Jesuits do not despise this kind of discipline; for it is an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture; gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked on (vol. IV, page 496).

7.

'Bacon' is exceedingly fond of, and well versed in, music. In my time, he says: music has been well pursued, and then (Silva Silvarum III) he enlarges upon the imitation and reflexion of sounds, of the spiritual and fine nature of sounds.

He prefers simplicity in music, when he says: Music is a proper part of worship. That there should be singing of psalms and spiritual songs is not denied, and the grave sound of the organ is a better accompaniment to the pause for meditation after reading the Word than a still silence. But "in more pompous times" too many figures of music have been added to the primitive simplicity.

We observe the musical charms in the Tempest. Thirteen pieces in it have been set to music, especially
the masque of the marriage, which rises naturally out of the action. This ample repertory of music fully harmonises with what we learn in various parts of Bacon’s work about his admiration of, and predilection for music. E.g. The sense of hearing, and the kinds of music have most operation upon manners: as to encourage men, and to make them warlike; to make them grave, to make them light; to make them gentle and inclined to pity etc. We see that tunes and airs, even in their own nature, have in themselves some affinity with the affections; so as it is no marvel if they alter the spirits. Yet generally music feedeth that disposition of the spirits which it findeth.

We need only remind of some passages in the Tempest. Besides the ditties by which Ferdinand is guided and attracted, as it were, to Prospero’s cell, there are the truly touching words of Caliban (Act III, sc. 3):

Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not etc.

Or Act IV, sc. i, verse 150, where Ariel says:

Then I beat my tabor;
At which, like unbacked colts, they pricked their ears,
Advanced their eyelids, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt music; so I charmed their ears etc.

Or Act V, verse 58, where Prospero says:

A solemn air, as the best comforter
To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains!

There are two excellent chapters about “Music in Shakespeare’s time”, in the second volume of Sidney Lanier (Shakespere and his Forerunners; London, Heine-mann 1903).
Bacon about Himself.

1.

De Augmentis VII (vol. V, page 4): For myself I may truly say that both in this present work, and in those I intend to publish hereafter, I often advisedly and deliberately throw aside the dignity of my name and wit (if such thing be), in my endeavour to advance human interest; and being one that should properly perhaps be an architect in philosophy and the sciences, I turn common labourer, hodman, anything that is wanted; taking upon myself the burden and execution of many things which must needs be done, and which others, from an inborn pride, shrink from and decline.

2.

Advancement of Learning II (vol. III, page 423): Bacon censures the tenderness and want of accommodation (or compliance) in some of the most ancient and revered philosophers, for retiring too easily from civil business, for avoiding indignities and perturbations. The resolution of men truly moral (and philosophical) ought to be such as Gonsalvo maintained, saying the honour of a soldier should be: e tela crassiore (of a stouter web), and not so fine as that everything should catch in it. The same Gonsalvo while besieging Naples (1503), showing his soldiers the town, protested: that he had rather die one foot forward than to have his life secured for long, by one foot of retreat. See pages 72; 56.

3.

In the Proemium (of the Interpretation of Nature, translated in vol. X, page 84; written 1603): Believing that
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(From a letter to Mr. Davis, written: Gray’s Inn, 28th of March 1603): Briefly I commend myself to your love and to the well using of my name, if there be any biting or nibbling at it in the King’s (James I) court — and to perform to me all the good offices which the vivacity of your wit can suggest to your mind to be performed to one, in whose affection you have so great a sympathy, and in whose fortune you have so great interest. So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue, Your very assured, Fr. Bacon.

Concluding the Chapter about Human Philosophy (in Advancement of Learning II, vol. III, page 476, written 1605), Bacon says: Looking back into that I have passed through, this writing seems to me (si nuncquam fallit imago), as far as a man can judge of his own work, not much better than that noise or sound which musicians make while they are tuning their instruments, which is nothing pleasant to hear, but yet is a cause why the music is sweeter afterwards. So have I been content to tune the instruments of the Muses, that they may play, that have better hands. And surely when I consider the condition of these times, in which Learning has made her third visitation or circuit, in all the qualities thereof (consequently also in: poetry): the openness of the world by navigation, which has disclosed multitudes of experiments, and a mass of natural history; the leisure wherewith these times abound; the present disposition of these times to peace; and the inseparable propriety of the time, which is ever more and more to disclose Truth, I cannot but be raised to this persuasion that this third period of time will far surpass that of the Grecian and
Roman Learning. As for my labours, if any man shall please himself in the reprehension of them, they shall make that ancient and patient request: Verbera, sed audi (Let men reprehend them, so they observe and weigh them). For the appeal is from the first cogitations of men to their second, and from the nearer times to the times further off.

6.

Novum Organum CXIII (published 1620): Moreover I may think that men may take some hope from my own example. And this I say not by way of boasting, but because it is useful to say it. If there be any that despond, let them look at me, that being of all men of my time the most busiest in affairs of state (especially from 1613—1620), and in this course altogether a pioneer, following in no man's track, nor sharing these counsels with any one, nevertheless by entering the true road, and submitting my mind to Things (rebus), have advanced these matters, as I suppose, a little way. And then let them consider what may be expected (after the way has been thus indicated) from men abounding in leisure, and from association of labours, and from successions of ages (the offspring of Ferdinand and Miranda!)—Then only will men begin to know their strength, when instead of great numbers doing all the same thing, one shall take charge of one thing, and another of another.

7.

In Prometheus (vol. VI, page 751, 752) Bacon says (evidently about himself): The school of Prometheus, that is the wise and forethoughtful class of men, do indeed by their caution decline and remove out of their way many evils and misfortunes; but with that good there is this evil joined: that they stint themselves of many plea-
sures, and of the various agreements of life, and cross their genius, and (what is far worse) torment and wear themselves away with cares, and solicitudes, and inward fears (as did also Prospero). For being bound to the Column of Necessity (Mount Caucasus), they are troubled with innumerable thoughts (which because of their flightiness are represented by the eagle), thoughts which prick and gnaw and corrode the liver; and if in the intervals, as in the night, they obtain little relaxation and quiet of mind, yet new fears and anxieties return presently with the morning. Very few are they to whom the benefit of both portions falls to retain the gifts (commoda) of Providence, and yet free themselves from the evils of solicitude and perturbation. Neither is it possible for any one to attain this double blessing, except by the help of Hercules (who sailing across the ocean in a cup that was given to him by the sun, came to the Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free), i. e. fortitude and constancy of mind, which being prepared for all events, and equal to any fortune, foresees without fear, enjoys without fastidiousness, and bears without impatience. That is not a thing which any inborn and natural fortitude can attain to; it is received and brought to us from the Sun; for it comes of Wisdom, which is as the sun, and of meditation, which is as the navigation of the Ocean, two things which Vergil has well coupled together:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes et inexorabile Fatum
Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

8.

After his downfall, Francis Bacon (St. Alban) writes, in his studious retirement:
a) To the King (1621): So being freed from civil business, I lay forth my poor talent upon those things which may be perpetual.

b) To Count Gondomar, Ambassador from the Court of Spain (1621): Me vero iam vocat et aetas, et fortuna atque etiam Genius meus, cui adhuc satís morose satisfeci (to which I have done hitherto but scant justice), ut excedens e teatro rerum civilium literis me dedam et ipsos actores instruam et posteritati serviam. Id mihi fortasse honori erit, et degam tanquam in atris vitae melioris.

c) To the Queen of Bohemia (1622): Time was when I had Honour without Leisure; and now I have Leisure without Honour. But my desire is now to have Leisure without Loitering, and not to become an abbey-lubber, as the old proverb was, but to yield some fruit of my life.

9.

We ought to mention also what Sir Francis Bacon says about his own "judgment": I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was pronounced these two hundred years.

10.

We think it necessary also to add in full that most interesting letter, addressed by Francis Bacon to his uncle, the Lord Treasurer Burghleigh (1591, or 1592, when Bacon was thirty one years old):

My Lord,

With as much confidence as my own honest and faithful devotion unto your service and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship. I wax now somewhat
ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever have a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge) to serve her Majesty; not as a man born under Sol that loveth honour, nor under Jupiter that loveth business (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly); but as a man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides, I do not find in myself so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well (— if ever I were able —) of my friends, and mainly of your Lordship; who being the Atlas of this Commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied by all duties both of a great patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to do you service. Again the meanness of my estate does somewhat move me; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably)
philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of man's own; which is the thing I greatly affect. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your Lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation to voluntary poverty, but this will I do: I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry bookmaker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (Anaxagoras said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your Lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation. Wherein I have done honour both to your Lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your Lordship which is truest, and to your Lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so I wish your Lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my faithful desire to do you service. From my lodging at Gray's Inn.
Some classical Criticisms about Sir Francis Bacon.

It will be of use just to mention, before concluding, some of the classical criticisms about Sir Francis Bacon:

I.

By his Contemporaries:

1. When Sir Francis Bacon's fortunes were at their highest, on his sixtieth birthday, Ben Jonson celebrated Lord Bacon in the oft-quoted lines (Underwoods LXXX.) from which we cite:

Hail, happy Genius of this ancient pile!
How comes it all things so about thee smile? —
The fire, the wine, the men! and in the midst
Thou standst as if some mystery thou didst!
Pardon, I read in thy face —
Give me a deep-crown'd bowl, that I may sing
In raising him, the wisdom of my king (i.e. the king of "poets").

2. The President of the Committee in the judicial proceedings (1621), said about Bacon: The Defendant is no less a person than the Lord Chancellor, a man whom nature and culture of mind have so prodigally endowed that I will say no more, for I should be unable to say enough.
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Plangite iam vere Clio, Clèsque sorores
Ah decima occubuit Musa, decusque chori.

(32. Randolph):
Dum moriens tantam nostris Verulamius heros
Tristitiam musis, luminaque uda facit. —
Scilicet hic periit, per quem vos vivitis, et qui
Multa Pierias nutriit arte deas. —
Vidit ut hic artes nulla radice retenatas
Languere ut summo semina sparsa solo;
Crescere Pegaseas docuit, velut hasta Quirini*
Crevit, et exiguus tempore Laurus erat.
Restituit calamus solitum divinus honorem
Dispulit et nubes alter Apollo tuas.

It ought to be expressly noticed that no such obituary address was produced when, ten years before (1616), the ‘actor’ Shakspere died at Stratford on Avon.

William Rawley, “the honest chaplain”, says in his master’s memory: There is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues, as to his course of life. Those abilities which commonly go single in other men . . met and were all conjoined in him. With what celerity he wrote his books, I can best certify. — If there was a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him. — He contemned no man’s observations, but would light his torch at every man’s candle. He was no dashing man, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man’s parts. — His opinions and assertions were for the most part binding, and not contradicted by any; rather

* Quirinus = shake-spear (Langenswinger), from “quiris” Lange.
like oracles; which may be imputed either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason, or else to the reverence and estimation in which he was commonly held.

Quamvis autem corpus quod deposuit, mortale fuerit, libri eius et memoria haud dubie perennes erunt, neque prius fatis cessuri, quam orbis terrarum machina dissolvatur.

— Et quod tentabat scribere, versus erat.

6.

Ben Jonson, in the introductory poem to the Great Folio:

— “To the Memory of my beloved Master, William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us” —

(Ben Jonson, Underwoods XII), addresses his “beloved Master” still alive, and, no doubt, with the co-operation and express will of the still living poet, in order to lead astray public opinion, and “to keep up the secret”, throws just a few lines in the teeth “of silly ignorance and crafty malice”, by mentioning the “Sweet Swan of Avon”. And even these few lines are expressed conditionally: What a sight it would be, if we could see him again (perhaps as Falstaff, or Bottom, the Weaver)! Besides, in order to arrive at the apotheosis of the (still living) poet, it became necessary to have recourse to a subterfuge, and to assume that he (Bacon) was dead.

We there read:

Soul of the age!
The applause! delight! the wonder of our stage! —

Thou art a monument without a tomb,

Holzer, Shakespeare's Tempest.
And art alive* still, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give. —
(We may still see and) “look” how the father’s face
Lives in his issue; even so the race
Of Shakespeare’s mind and manners brightly shine
In his well turned and true filed lines,
In each of which he seems to shake a lance, (a spear)
As brandished at the eyes of Ignorance. —

If we take, from here, a short retrospective look
on “poor” Ben Jonson’s career, we find that, being
twenty-two years old (1596), in: “Every man in his
Humour”, he says about the Dramatic Muse:

But view her in her glorious ornaments,
Attired in the majesty of art,
Set high in spirit with the precious taste
Of sweet philosophy, and which is most,
Crowned with the rich traditions of the soul
That hates to have her dignity profaned
With any relish of an earthly thought —
Oh then how proud a presence does she bear!
Then is she like herself; fit to be seen
Of none but grave and consecrated eyes. —

And when, in 1598, writing in his elegant Dedi-
cation to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court (where
Francis Bacon was a member), Jonson says: I had friend-
ship with divers in your society who as they were great
names in learning, so were no less examples of living,

* These words, of course, are meant to be ambiguous,
meaning:

a) he enjoys still life, is still living among us; or:
 b) he continues living (left fort) in the remembrance
of thankful posterity.
we may confidently say, that then he had become acquainted with the greatest “genius” of his time, with Shakespeare (Bacon), by whose encouragement alone he could write as Asper:

Let me be censured by the austerest brow.
When I want art or judgment, tax me freely:
Let envious censors with their broadest eyes
Look through and through me; I pursue no favour.

From this time, we understand, “he was no favourite with the vulgar”, and needs must come into collision with the baser sort of poets of his time; then commenced the “wit-combats” with Shakespeare. And having seen something of “Shakespeare” in private life, he could — (always keeping the secret) — write in later years all those memorials about “his gentle friend”, which we find in his Sylva (or: Discoveries): Censura de poetis. De Shakespeare nostrat. Dominus Verulamius. In Scriptorum Catalogus: “But Egerton’s learned and able (though unfortunate) successor (i. e. Sir Francis Bacon), is he who has filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. Within his view, and about his times were all the wits born that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward —, so that he (Bacon) may be named and stand as the mark and αξύφη of our language.”
By Posterity:

1.

Leibnitz says: We do well to think highly of Verulam, for his hard sayings have a deep meaning in them. Compared with Bacon, Descartes seems to creep along the ground. He (Leibnitz) mentions it as one of the happy incidents of his youth, that when he had perceived the defects of the scholastic philosophy, he found “consilia magni viri Francisci Baconi Angliae Cancellarii de Augmentis Scientiarum”.

2.

Edmund Burke says: Who is there, that hearing the name of Bacon, does not instantly recognize everything of genius the most profound, of literature the most extensive, of discovery the most penetrating, of observation of human life the most distinguishing and refined? —

3.

Macaulay (who did not dream of the possibility of Bacon being the play-writer of the Shakespeare plays), says: The poetical faculty was powerful in Bacon’s mind, but not like his wit, so powerful as occasionally to usurp the place of his reason. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so thoroughly subjugated. Yet, though disciplined, it gives noble proofs of its vigour. In truth, much of Bacon’s life was passed in a visionary world, amidst things as strange as any that are described in “the Arabian nights”.

4.

Kuno Fischer, being in the same predicament as Macaulay, wrote in 1855 (Baco von Verulam, page 184—196): Beide (Bacon and Shakespeare) hatten in eminenter

R. W. Church speaks “of the bright source of Bacon’s incorrigible imaginativeness” . . ., who was a genius second only to Shakespeare . . . He liked to enter into the humours of a court, to devote brilliant imagination and affluence of invention to devising a pageant which should throw all others into the shade.
6.

John Nichol (Francis Bacon, 1901), while frequently confounding Shakespeare and Bacon, and placing them side by side, will yet not admit them to be one and the same person. No man, he says e.g., was ever more generally in advance of his age than Bacon, or came nearer to surveying all things as from a lofty cliff. When the Novum Organum was written, and the Tempest planned, Prospero had not yet broken and buried his staff, nor drowned his book etc. Better: When the Novum Organum was written, i.e. about 1618, Prospero (i.e. Bacon) had long since condemned and buried “rough magic and cabalistic knowledge”, and after the purification of Magic, after the “coasting along the shore” (De Augment. II, 5), “hoped” for better things to come.

Page 18 (vol. I): In Bacon, as far as was possible in one man, the learning of the age met and mingled. All the Romance, i.e. at that date: all the literary languages of Europe, were part of his province. All the philosophies of the West, and most of the little then known of science, came within his ken. Page 31: To each of the masterminds of the age may be assigned an empire: that of Raleigh was the sea; that of Bacon was the land (only? —); Shakespeare’s feet were firmly planted on English earth, but the higher reaches of his spirit were:

“Before the starry threshold of Jove’s court”.

Page 199 (vol. I): Around the board at York House or Gorhambury, while the flowers exhaled their fragrance and the music rang, the great chancellor (Sir Francis Bacon) gathered about him the choicest spirits of the time. There poets, thinkers, men of science and of the world, jurists, diplomatists, associated on equal terms. There was to be met:
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Conclusions and Inferences.

1.
In the Chapters A and B the incontrovertible proof, we think, has been given that "the Tempest" emanates from the brains of the author of Magna Instauratio, that it is a parabolical poesy, and that Sir Francis Bacon must be regarded as the real author of it.

2.
A thorough insight into, and a full understanding of, the Tempest is only possible through a close investigation of Sir Francis Bacon's Great Work. Viewed in this "Baconian light", the play is placed on an altogether higher standard, and becomes one of the most sublime creations of the human mind.

3.
In our view, "The Tempest" is a dramatization of Bacon's Magna Instauratio (or, as it were, of "Paradise Regained"), that is: the intention of the dramatist (Bacon) was to give a dramatic relief or foil to that which must be considered as the great object of his thoughts and aspirations, viz. the "happy match", or union between Science or Learning and Worldly Power, in other words: the final victory of Natural Philosophy over Scholastic Learning. For this very reason, we understand, it was placed at the head of the plays in the Great Folio (1623), as representing the period of "Reformation", which was the Storm or Tempest by which a New Epoch, Modern Time, has been introduced. See page 45.
We ought to mention that the head-ornament (Die Kopfleiste) of the “Tempest” in the Great Folio, and that of “Novum Organum” are the same, thus externally indicating the close connection between the two books: the one inaugurating the “Inventory of things in Nature”, the other the “Inventory of Human Passions”. (Suggested by Edwin Bormann.)

We may further remind the reader of the frontispiece of the Magna Instauratio, which shows a fullrigged ship approaching two columns which represent the “Pillars of Hercules”, with Bacon’s device “Plus ultra”, and the motto: “Multi pertransibunt et augebitur Scientia”. Redargutio (vol. III, p. 584): Nos nostrum “plus ultra”, antiquorum “non ultra” haud vane opposimus. Nos in id nati sumus, ut posteri de nobis portenta praedicent.

We may suppose that the fullrigged ship, approaching the “Pillars of Hercules” is the royal ship of the “Tempest”, which returning from the “Insula Veritatis”, with Miranda and Ferdinand on board, is going to pass the Straits, and that then she will continue her victorious course all over the globe, thus indicating the final victory of Natural Philosophy over Scholastic Learning, to the benefit and relief of the state and society of Man, or: “the restoration of mankind to the conditions of happiness which were lost in the garden of Eden”. —

4.

In order fully to appreciate some others of Shakespeare’s plays, e.g. Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Hamlet, etc. we ought to study Sir Francis Bacon’s Work. There
we shall discover the deeply rooted thoughts whence Shakespeare's plays have emanated, while in tracing the chimerical and purely fantastical suppositions, attached to the memory of the "actor" Shakspere, we cannot but go astray.

Charles Knight strikes the right note when he says: The marvellous accuracy, the real substantial learning of the three Roman plays of Shakespeare, present the most complete evidence to our minds that they were the result of a profound study of the whole range of Roman History, including the nicer details of Roman manners, not to be acquired in Shakespeare's time in a compendious form, but by diligent reading and laborious study alone.

5.

Only after having closely examined and turned to account the whole Work of Sir Francis Bacon, his Magna Instauratio, as well as his Letters and other writings, and after having critically collated the single plays with the rich store of knowledge piled up by Bacon, shall we be entitled to pronounce a final judgment, either positive or negative, concerning the Shakespeare-Bacon theory.

6.

It would be a boon to the student of Shakespeare, and a true blessing to mankind, if that "great delusion", that surely erroneous belief, were removed: that a godgifted Genius could produce the greatest works by mere force of imagination, without any earnest previous work or labour. This possibility, however, must be implied in the case of the "play-actor of Stratford", of whom no literary writings are extant, and whose
whole “written works” bequeathed to posterity consist of “five badly written signatures”.

His parents, who could not write themselves, may have given him an elementary, or even a “secondary” education at the Grammar School of Stratford (then a little town of about 1500 inhabitants); but this has never been proved, and there is not a scrap of proof, that the actor Shakspere has been a scholar, or has otherwise acquired a certain degree of learning, — or that he was a “genius” at all.

“Genius” will never by itself, without previous hard work and labour, give knowledge, e.g. a close acquaintance with “things”, historical facts, philosophical theories, or foreign languages (Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and Spanish), such as the author of the masterpieces of the Great Folio must needs have possessed. To suppose that a man of “no education”, a natural wit, an “untutored child of Nature” could have created the wonderful, bewitching, immortal productions of “Shakespeare”, is a phantasm; would be a misleading theorem. It would encourage sloth, presumption, and vainglory, and would upset all that experience everywhere else has taught us, in this respect.

On the other hand, we see from what has been shown in the Chapters C. D. E., that in Sir Francis Bacon there is such an active, indefatigable “genius”, who may well be admitted to be that mysterious playwright; and we are convinced, so far, that at all events, he must be admitted to be the author of one of those plays, namely the “Tempest”.

We should also remember what Ben Jonson, a familiar and an intimate friend of Sir Francis Bacon,
says, in this respect, in the **Memorial** mentioned before (page 97):

Yet must we not give nature **all**; thy **art**,
My gentle Shakespeare, **must enjoy a part**;
For though the poet's **matter** nature be,
**His art does give the fashion:** and that he
Who casts to write a living **line**, must sweat
(Such as thine are), and **strike the second heat**
**Upon the Muses' anvil; turn the same**
(And himself with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or, for the laurel, he may gain a scorn;
**For a good poet must be made, as well as born.**

**Appendix.**

The method of studying Shakespeare, which has hitherto prevailed, is illustrated in two recent works: 1) **H. R. Anders**: Skakespeare's Books, a Dissertation (Berlin, Reimer 1904). 2) **Sidney Lanier**: Shakspere and his forerunners, two volumes (London, Heinemann 1903).

In **Anders** we read e. g. page 8 etc. "I see a square-built, yet lithe and active fellow, with ruddy cheeks etc. Throwing himself with all his heart in all he did, young Will Shakspere certainly spent a great part of the day at the schoolroom. He probably entered the Grammar-School at the age of 6 or 7 years. — The more important and powerful influences, however, on Shakespeare's young mind did not emanate from books — though he **read a great deal in later life**, digesting thoroughly and assimilating all he
read”. — We then learn what modern languages Shakespeare knew, and what were his acquirements in English literature; what Latin and Greek authors he must have studied. “The great poet could have found no difficulty in acquiring French; he let others do the hewing of the block of “the Italian marble” (i. e. the Italian language). Shakespeare read the Greek dramas in Latin verses etc.”

In Sidney Lanier, vol. II, Chapt. XV, we read: “In summer 1575, Shakspere (when a boy) might have seen the very highest phase of English life (when Elizabeth was at Kenilworth), judging from a certain passage in the Midsummer Night’s Dream, namely Oberon’s vision of Cupid’s love-shaft loosed at a fair vestal throned by the West (Act II, sc. 1). — Let us fancy that etc.

What truth is there in all these generalities and fancies? — what logical cogency in all these conjectures de priori a posteriori? — in all these combinations? — Surely, that is not a scientific method; it is ever again the “argument in the circle”.

In contradistinction to these conjectures, let us try a different way, e.g. to find a connection between the above passage in the Midsummernight’s Dream, and the events that took place at Kenilworth in the summer 1575, between which there is an evident resemblance. Only we would propose to substitute the factor “Y”, as representing Francis Bacon, for the factor “X”, as representing the actor Shakspere. According to Spedding (vol. VIII, page 2), the two brothers Anthony and Francis Bacon left Trinity College at Cambridge in June 1575, as “ancients” de societate magistrorum. (Let this fact be: “A”). Their father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, as the
Lord Keeper had always to be in attendance on the queen. (Let this fact be: "B"). From these two premises (A and B), we may infer: that the two "ancients", coming from Cambridge for their holidays, and being then 16, and 14 years old respectively, most probably did take part in the court-festivities, the masques, and pageants at Kenilworth, in the summer of 1575, and that as close eye-and earwitnesses, they had an opportunity of being aware of Leicester’s ambitious purposes, "who then moved heaven and earth to win the hand of the queen". And when they were there, they at all events saw and heard more of the proceedings than young Will Shakspere, who then was only a youngster of eleven years of age.

And if now we venture on adopting Lanier’s method, we may fancy (as a supposition "C") that: then (in 1575), Sir Francis Bacon for the first time chanced to meet with William Shakspere, and that they instantly became fast friends etc.

It is evident that our former suppositions, which are based on the two historical facts "A" and "B", may claim a certain degree of probability, while the fantastical supposition "C", is merely a guess and imagination, without any firm foundation. Sapienti sat.

Taking our "special" thesis about the "Tempest" for granted, we conclude this essay by reducing the general thesis about Shakespeare-Bacon to the following formula:

As the case lies so that in the great secret about the author of the Great Folio there are two pre-eminent possibilities: either that in contradiction to the established laws of speculation and experience, we
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