

# The Division of a Paper Kingdom: The Tragic Afterlives of Francis Bacon's Manuscripts

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## 1 Introduction

Time, Francis Bacon liked to say, is like a river, which carries things down to us that are light and frothy, but into which weighty and solid things sink.<sup>1</sup> It is an appropriate image with which to begin an account of the posthumous fortunes of his manuscripts. We have, as it happens, an unusually large number of these. Yet as we shall see, much more has been lost than has been preserved. This is true more generally for the great majority of figures from his century. Destruction, not preservation, is the default condition for this period. Yet the story of that destruction, and of efforts to restrain the devouring ravages of time, can tell us a number of things about the nature of early modern manuscript: about mechanisms of preservation, both material and legal; about the relationship between manuscript and print; and, perhaps most importantly, about changing patterns of manuscript collecting across the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

The survival of an author's manuscript archive, in whole or in part, permits quite different questions to be posed of them than their printed books can ever allow. Yet although Francis Bacon's printed books have consistently attracted readers, it is fair to say that the scholarly opportunities presented by his surviving manuscript archive have only recently begun to be taken up. Many avenues of inquiry are therefore open. Bacon's manuscripts will allow us to understand in detail the painstaking ontogeny of his *Great Instauration*. They enable us to reconstruct his own highly-structured archive.<sup>2</sup> They will permit us to look over his shoulder at his working methods and habits of composition.<sup>3</sup> They will allow us to understand the ways in which Bacon encouraged the circulation of

1 Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* [1605], ed. Michael Kiernan, *The Oxford Francis Bacon* [hereafter *OFB*], IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 29 (see also 231).

2 Angus Vine, "Francis Bacon's Composition Books," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14 (2008): 1–31.

3 Graham Rees, "Introduction," to Francis Bacon, *Philosophical Studies, c.1611–c.1619*, *OFB*, VI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), XXXI–XXXV, LIX–LXV.

his correspondence from an early stage in his public life.<sup>4</sup> They will enable us to reconstruct his close involvement with the professional scribal worlds around Parliament, the Inns of Court, and the book-trade.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Bacon's manuscripts will in due course allow us to map the changing function and personnel of his secretariat (the term is not too strong) throughout his life. But in order to undertake these studies, it will also be helpful to understand the fortunes of his posthumous archive.

We have been placed in a position to embark upon this inquiry by the heroic labours of Peter Beal. In his *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (1980), and latterly in the even fuller *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (2014), we now possess something approaching a full list of surviving manuscripts of Bacon's writings.<sup>6</sup> Only copies of Bacon's speeches remain unsystematically catalogued. And when Beal's work is combined with that of Alan Stewart and his collaborators on Francis Bacon's surviving letters, we have an even more comprehensive conspectus of the documentary situation.<sup>7</sup> Taken together, these reference-works permit us to undertake here an inquiry that has never previously been attempted: an overview of the entire archival after-life of Bacon's collection of his own manuscripts in his possession at his death. (A consequence, however, is that I will have very little to say here about the enormous quantity of professional and private copies of Bacon's writings that were made without any connection to him, both in his own lifetime and extensively afterwards.)<sup>8</sup>

This is not to suggest, of course, that several of Bacon's previous editors have not already confronted the question of how a particular manuscript, or set of manuscripts, has come to survive. From Thomas Birch in the 1760s, through James Spedding in the mid-nineteenth century, down to the contemporary editors of the on-going *Oxford Francis Bacon*—Graham Rees, Michael Kiernan,

4 For a case study, see Andrew Gordon, "A Fortune of Paper Walls': The Letters of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex," *English Literary Renaissance* 37 (2007): 319–336.

5 Richard Serjeantson and Thomas Woolford, "The Scribal Publication of a Printed Book: Francis Bacon's *Certaine Considerations Touching ... the Church of England* (1604)," *The Library* 10 (2009): 119–56.

6 Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. I: 1450–1625, part 1: *Andrews–Donne* (London: Mansell, 1980), 17–52; Peter Beal, *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, s.n. "Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St Albans (1561–1626)" ([www.celm-ms.org.uk](http://www.celm-ms.org.uk); hereafter *CELM*).

7 Alan Stewart, ed., *Francis Bacon Correspondence Project* ([www.livesandletters.ac.uk/projects/correspondence-francis-bacon](http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/projects/correspondence-francis-bacon)) (hereafter *FBCP*).

8 These are catalogued in *CELM* alongside manuscripts containing Bacon's own handwriting.

Alan Stewart, and Angus Vine—scholars have sought to explain how the documents they are editing have survived, and this synthesis draws extensively on their individual findings.

How can items from Bacon's archive be identified? The primary way, of course, is to find his own handwriting on a document. I use this expression advisedly. Bacon's writings are not, on the whole, written out entirely in his own hand. From an early period of his life he developed the habit of using scribes—initially professionals, latterly also those whom we might call gentleman amateurs—to make fair copies of his work. But Bacon would then correct, revise, and extend these copies, covering their elegant transcripts with his own vigorous improvements. These revisions are usually sufficiently extensive, and also characteristic, for there to be no room for doubt about the attribution. This method of identification has been used since Robert Stephens' searches for Baconian items among the Harleian manuscripts in the earlier eighteenth century (on which more anon); it was developed, with conspicuous success, by James Spedding in his work among the State Papers during the 1850s.<sup>9</sup>

But to this venerable and essential procedure it is possible to add a supplementary one, which is the key to the whole affair. As we shall see, seventeenth-century interest in Bacon's writings was sufficiently strong that a number of different people made lists of extant Bacon manuscripts. These lists, once they have been systematically studied, are the means by which it is possible to reconstruct the flow of Bacon's manuscripts down the river of time in the century following his death.

Most of Bacon's own surviving manuscripts are now to be found in a single place: the Harleian collection in the British Library (formerly the British Museum). They flowed into the safe harbor of Robert and Edward Harley's collection in the early years of the eighteenth century. But as we shall see, they did not all arrive in the same vessel. Once berthed there, moreover, they found themselves somewhat indiscriminately mingled together. It is this confluence of previously separate journeys that has hitherto hindered our understanding of the genealogy of their travels. For the reconstruction offered here of Francis Bacon's archival afterlife shows that his posthumous manuscripts had a convoluted, even a tragic, history. Upon the death of their author, his paper kingdom was divided between three different heirs; it would turn out to be the least of his inheritors who best proved his love for his former master.

9 Robert Stephens, "Preface," to *Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon* (London, 1734), III. James Spedding, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1861–74). By their nature, Baconian manuscripts in the State Papers passed out of his hands during Bacon's lifetime, and hence fall outside the scope of this investigation.

2 **On Bacon's Death: 1626–27**

Francis Bacon's compositional process is a distinctive one. He seems to have begun by drafting a work either in his own hand or to dictation. He would then have an interim version copied out fairly by a scribe. This fair copy would then be defaced by additions, corrections, and deletions in Bacon's own hand. The process would then be repeated: scribal fair-copy; authorial tinkering. But Bacon seems to have been fairly rigorous about destroying earlier drafts of his writings as they became superseded by the interim fair-copies made for him by scribes. This means that in cases where one of his writings survives in manuscript, it tends to survive in only a single authorial manuscript.

During his lifetime, Bacon maintained an extensive and orderly manuscript archive of his own writings. His papers were organised according to carefully-defined principles, which he had established by at least as early as 1608, when his personal archive already contained no fewer than twenty-eight different notebooks. In particular, he divided his manuscript "libri" into five main categories, of which the first (and no doubt most important) were six loose-leaf folio "composition books," in theology, politics, natural philosophy, logic and rhetoric, orations, and letters.<sup>10</sup> By virtue of the compositional process described immediately above, these volumes therefore contained what might be called "working fair-copies" of Bacon's original writings.

It is clear that the outlines, at least, of Bacon's careful archival organization remained in place at his death on 9 April 1626. His will further informs us that his papers were kept in a variety of "Cabinetts," "Boxes," and "Presses."<sup>11</sup> These repositories may, however, have been physically divided between his principal residences: the neighbouring houses of Gorhambury and of Verulam, at St Albans, where he retired when he was banished from the verge of the court in 1621; and his chambers at Gray's Inn, to which he was able to return after his banishment was lifted.<sup>12</sup> In the course of his life, and especially in its final five years, Bacon published many of his writings. But many more remained to see the light of print across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

10 On the principles by which Bacon ordered his manuscripts in 1608, see BL, MS Add. 27,278, fols. 10v–14r (the "Commentarius Solutus," printed in Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:59–62); see further Vine, "Composition Books," 6–8, and Angus Vine, "Commercial Commonplacings: Francis Bacon, the Waste-book, and the Ledger," *English Manuscript Studies* 16 (2011): 197–218.

11 National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA), PROB 1/33/1–2 (also printed in Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 7:539–45).

12 Markku Peltonen, "Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (oxforddnb.com; hereafter ODNB).

Bacon's unpublished manuscripts were at the forefront of his mind as death approached. He first elaborated his wishes in the curt will he drew up on 10 April 1621:

My compositions unpublished, or the fragments of them, I require my servant Harris to deliver to my Brother Constable,<sup>13</sup> to the end, that if any of them be fit in his judgment to be published, he may accordingly dispose of them. And in particular I wish the Elogium I wrote in felicem memoriam [Reginæ inserted] Elizabethæ may be published.<sup>14</sup>

This will was superseded by a later "last" will, which survives in two slightly different versions. In both of these, Bacon disposes of his manuscripts before his other goods—after, that is, his soul, which he left to God, and also his reputation, which he theatrically bequeathed "to foreign nations, and the next ages." The earlier version of the "last" will requires:

my Servant, *Henry Percy*,<sup>15</sup> to deliver to my Brother *Constable*, all my Manuscript-Compositions, and the Fragments also of such as are not Finished; to the end that, if any of them be fit to be Published, he may accordingly dispose of them. And herein I desire him, to take the advice of Mr. *Selden*,<sup>16</sup> and Mr. *Herbert*, of the *Inner Temple*,<sup>17</sup> and to publish or suppress what shall be thought fit. In particular, I wish the Elegie, which I writ in *felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ*, may be Published.<sup>18</sup>

13 Sir John Constable, Bacon's brother-in-law.

14 British Library (hereafter BL), MS Add. 4259, fol. 111r, a copy in the handwriting of John Locker (on whom see further below, at n. 141 onwards). The document Locker was copying has not been located. See further Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 7:228–29.

15 Henry Percy is left £100 in the final version of Bacon's will (TNA, PROB 1/33/1–2). In an autograph letter of 26 Jan. 1626, sent from Gray's Inn to the Secretary of State, Edward Conway, Bacon made a petition on behalf of Percy, there described as "my good frend and late servant" (TNA, SP 16/19/49; Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 7:549). See further Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The troubled life of Francis Bacon* (London: Gollancz, 1998), 501.

16 John Selden (1584–1654), scholar and legal historian.

17 Edward Herbert (c.1591–1657; knighted 1641), the uncle of George Herbert and of Edward Herbert, first Baron Cherbury. He defended Selden against the Crown in his trial of 1629.

18 Thomas Tenison, *Baconiana* (London, 1679), 203–4.

A later and more polished last will, dated 19 December 1625, removes the references to Henry Percy, John Selden, and Edward Herbert. But it now adds a new element:

Alsoe whereas I haue made vpp two Register-Bookes the one of my Orations or speeches the other of my Epistles or Letters whereof there may be vse, And yet because they touch vpon busines of state they are not fitt to bee putt into the handes but of some Councillor, I doe deuise and bequeath them to the right honourable my verie, good Lord the Lord Bushopp of Lincolne and the Chancellor of his *Majesties* Dutchy of Lancaster.<sup>19</sup>

Alsoe, I desire my Executors espetiallie my brother Constable and also Mr Bosvile presently after my decease, to take into their handes all my papers whatsoever, *which* are either in Cabinetts Boxes or Presses, and them to seale vpp vntill they may att their leasure peruse them.<sup>20</sup>

Thus the inheritors of Bacon's manuscripts should have been his brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, about whose "communication in studies" with him Bacon had earlier written;<sup>21</sup> and William (later Sir William) Boswell (c.1583–1650) ("Mr Bosvile"), who was evidently a trusted friend at the end of Bacon's life. More generally, this will should, in principle, have served to order the dispersal of Bacon's estate following his death.

It did not. Bacon died owing enormous debts, which his estate could not begin to meet.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, every single one of the six men whom Bacon named as his executors declined to serve in that capacity. This is made clear in the letters of administration that were eventually issued by the prerogative court

19 That is, John Williams and Sir Humphrey May. See further Bacon's undated letter to Williams on this matter (*FBCP*, bcno796), printed from Bacon's own copy in Tenison, *Baconiana*, 195.

20 TNA, PROB 1/33/1–2. *CELM*, \*BcF 654, indicates that this document contains the presence of Bacon's autograph. But the names of the witnesses are in the hand of its scribe, and I suggest that the signature "Fr st alban" is too. The handwriting of the codicil disinheriting Bacon's wife is also continuous with the main document, further indicating that it is a later copy.

21 Francis Bacon, *Essaies* (London, 1612), sig. A4r (dedication to Constable).

22 The auditor of Bacon's estate, Francis Phelips, stated the total sum owing to be £22,371 1s 3d. His bill is printed in Francis Bacon, *Opera omnia*, ed. John Blackbourne (London, 1730), 2:565–68. (But note that Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 513, offer a different sum, of £19,658 4s 4d.) Bacon's wealth at death, by contrast, has been calculated at a mere c. £7,000 (Peltonen, "Bacon, Francis").

of the Canterbury province on 30 July 1627, which dispense each of those appointed by Bacon, and instead confer the office of winding up Bacon's affairs upon two of his creditors instead. The first of these creditors was Sir Robert Rich, a Master in Chancery; the second was Bacon's former gentleman retainer, Thomas Meautys, who had rashly lent him money during his final sickness, and whom we shall meet again. Thus Bacon's estate was administered as if he had died intestate, and Rich and Meautys became ultimately responsible in law for the distribution of his goods.<sup>23</sup>

In principle these goods would have included Bacon's manuscripts. Yet although they are named first in his will, it seems most doubtful that they were regarded as having any financial value—unlike the leases, “rich hangings,” or table-carpets that Bacon also itemises in his will. Perhaps this fact explains William Boswell's later testimony to Samuel Sorbière that the bequest of Bacon's papers was the only one of his numerous legacies that was ever executed. Boswell also claimed that he himself inherited “all” of Bacon's papers. If we assume that Constable gave over his rights in the manuscripts to Boswell then this statement may be strictly true—even if Sorbière's subsequent claim that Bacon left four hundred thousand pounds for an “imaginary College” after the model of his *New Atlantis*, is not.<sup>24</sup> Yet although Boswell may have possessed all the manuscripts in law, he did not do so in fact. In the event, Bacon's posthumous archive was divided (as we shall now see) between three different people, all of whom appear in the will in some capacity. Boswell, named as literary executor, was one of them. William Rawley (c.1588–1667), one of Bacon's chaplains, a beneficiary of £100, and the will's first witness, was another. And

23 So I reconstruct a complex situation that has attracted a several different and inconsistent interpretations. The executors named by the will were Sir Humphrey May, Sir Richard Hutton, Sir Thomas Crewe, Sir Francis Barnham, Sir John Constable, and Sir Euball Thelwall. The letters of administration are printed from the register of the Canterbury prerogative court in Bacon, *Opera omnia*, 2:563–64. See also James Spedding, “Preface,” to Francis Bacon, *Works*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 7 vols (London, 1858–61), 3:3, and Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 7:551; and compare with the accounts offered by Rees, “Introduction” to *OFB* VI, LXX; Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 513; and Doina-Cristina Rusu and Christoph Lüthy, “Extracts from a Paper Laboratory: The Status of Francis Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*,” *Intellectual History Review* 27 (2017): 171–202.

24 *Sorberiana*, ed. François Graverol (Toulouse, 1691), 51 (art. “Bacon”): “Mr. Boswel me dit qu'il avoit eu particuliere connoissance avec ce rare homme, qui lui laissa par testament tous ses papiers, qui fut la seule chose exécutée de plus d'un million de legats qu'il avoit fait par galanterie. Il leguoit 400. mille livres à un Collège imaginaire, dont il dresse le plan en son *Nova Atlantis*.”



the last was the loyal creditor Thomas Meautys (c.1590–1649), whose debt is given priority in a codicil to the will.<sup>25</sup> These were the three men who would play the role of variously faithful daughters to Bacon's over-hopeful Lear.

### 3 The Division of Bacon's Manuscripts, 1627–1667

#### 3.1 *The Boswell Portion*

The later of Bacon's "last" Wills charges his executors to take possession of his manuscripts and seal them up pending further investigation of their contents by Sir John Constable and William Boswell. Constable seems to have been happy to allow Boswell to take up his share of the burden, for no more is heard of him, whereas Boswell evidently took possession of an important portion of Bacon's manuscripts. Alan Stewart and Graham Rees have reconstructed the fortunes of these documents. A successful university scholar who latter became a diplomat, Boswell was known to be a sound judge of the political significance of unpublished manuscripts: in the aftermath of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham he assessed the potentially seditious library of Sir Robert Cotton for the Privy Council.<sup>26</sup> Across his lifetime, Boswell himself became an increasingly significant collector of manuscripts, including ones by John Dee, whom he greatly admired, as well those he had inherited from Bacon.<sup>27</sup> Though his Bacon manuscripts no longer survive, some of the works they contained, do, for after Boswell's death in 1650 at The Hague, where he had served as Charles I's ambassador, they were published. Their editor was the Dutch scholar Isaac Gruter (1610–1680).

Gruter had certainly seen the original Bacon manuscripts that had been in Boswell's possession, a point he was keen to emphasize both in private and in public. In May 1652 he wrote to William Rawley about manuscripts "from boxes from Boswell's collection" that were either in Bacon's own handwriting, or in Rawley's with revisions by Bacon.<sup>28</sup> And he began his preface to the edition itself by noting

25 TNA, PROB 1/33/2.

26 Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB VI, LXX–LXXXV*, drawing upon unpublished research by Alan Stewart.

27 In his *Ephemerides* for 1639 Samuel Hartlib noted that Boswell possessed "a nest" of manuscripts by John Dee and Nathaniel Bacon. Sheffield University Library (hereafter SUL), HP 30/4/26A, consulted here and subsequently in the publication by Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Michael Hannon, eds., *The Hartlib Papers* (Sheffield: Humanities Research Institute, 2013) ([hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib](http://hrionline.ac.uk/hartlib)).

28 See Thomas Tenison, *Baconiana: Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr Francis Bacon* (London, 1679), 222 (Isaac Gruter to William Rawley, The Hague, 29 May 1652), on those



that it derived “from manuscript volumes which their author had carefully corrected and in various places altered.”<sup>29</sup> His descriptions here square precisely with what we know of Bacon’s habitual composition practices. But the edition itself was printed, not from Bacon’s originals, but from copies of Boswell’s manuscripts that Gruter himself had made, as both Gruter’s preface and his letter to Rawley make clear.<sup>30</sup>

Gruter published the works in a popular little octavo volume entitled *Scripta in universali et naturali philosophi* that was put out by Lodewijk Elsevier at Amsterdam in 1653. The only piece in it that did not derive from Boswell was the Latin translation of Thomas Bodley’s letter to Bacon from 1608 critiquing his philosophy, which Gruter tells us he made himself from a volume of Bacon’s letters.<sup>31</sup> The majority of the original works in Gruter’s volume are known from it alone. Gruter’s volume includes a number of writings dated by Rees to the period c.1611–c.1619: the *Phænomena universi*, the *De fluxu et refluxu maris*, the *Descriptio globi intellectualis*, the *Thema cæli*, and the *De principiis atque originibus*.<sup>32</sup> It also includes a number of more miscellaneous writings of which the majority probably date from a slightly earlier period: the *Indicia vera de interpretatione naturæ*; the *Cogitationes de natura rerum*; the *Aphorismi et consilia, de auxiliis mentis*; the *De interpretatione naturæ sententiæ XII*; and the *De interpretatione naturæ proœmium*.<sup>33</sup> Finally, the Boswell/Gruter *Scripta* also contains a few writings that are also known either in whole or in part from other manuscript sources: these include the *Temporis Partus Masculus*, and, most importantly, the *Cogitata et visa*.<sup>34</sup>

As James Spedding realised, the cache of natural philosophical manuscripts that Gruter published in 1653 corresponds precisely to the third of the six

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manuscripts: “quæ ex *Boswelliani* Musei scriniis chartaceis penes me exstant vel propria manu descripta, vel alterius apud vos, sed *Baconi* manum & limam experta.”

- 29 Isaac Gruter, “Lectori Salutem,” in Francis Bacon, *Scripta in naturali et universali philosophica* (Amsterdam, 1653), sig. \*5r: “... ex Manuscriptis Codicibus, quos accurate recensuerat & varie emendarat author.”
- 30 See Gruter, “Lectori,” sig. \*5r; Tenison, *Baconiana*, 223 (Gruter to Rawley, 29 May 1652): “apographa me redactis ex legato Boswelliano.”
- 31 Gruter, “Lectori,” sig. \*5r. This letter had been printed, from a publicly circulating manuscript volume of items of Bacon’s correspondence, in *The Remaines of the Right Honorable Francis Lord Verulam* (London, 1648), sigs. L4v–M3v.
- 32 All of these texts are published in Bacon, *Philosophical Studies* (OFB VI).
- 33 These writings are scheduled for publication in volume 5 of the *Oxford Francis Bacon*.
- 34 Queen’s College, Oxford, MS 280, pp. 205–233 (CELM, \*BcF 289), a handsome presentation manuscript of the *Cogitata et visa* now in the archive of Thomas Barlow (1609–1691), may be the copy that Bacon sent to Sir Thomas Bodley in 1607.

different “composition books” that Bacon maintained across his life. Bacon’s own title for this collection was “Scripta in Naturalj et vniuersalj philosophiâ” (writings on natural and universal philosophy), and this is precisely the wording that Gruter uses his volume of unpublished Baconiana. Indeed, he explicitly states in his preface that “the title which stands at the front of the book, and which includes the entire subject of the book, divided into its various treatises, derives from Bacon himself.”<sup>35</sup>

This being so, it is likely that the order of the texts in the *Scripta* reflects in some way the order in which they existed in Bacon’s archive. Our best evidence here is Gruter’s explanation for why he gave the name of “Philosophical Attempts” (*Impetus Philosophici*) to the collection of items in the latter part of his volume:

Everything that follows from the piece entitled *True Indications of the Interpretation of Nature* to the end I have called “Philosophical Attempts,” a name I noted in my conversations with that great man [*i.e.* Boswell] when he mentioned these documents to me. For he never used to call the things that were associated with the earlier items (each of which has its own title) anything else.<sup>36</sup>

James Spedding suggested that this implied that “the five pieces which stand first under separate titles ... were found copied out in a book; and that the rest ... were in separate papers, tied up with it,” drawing attention to the method of archival organisation Bacon had laid out in 1608.<sup>37</sup> It seems very likely that was correct.<sup>38</sup> If so, then Bacon’s archive of unpublished *Writings on Natural and Universal Philosophy* stood at his death along the lines indicated in Table 1.1. It is important to bear in mind, however, that many, and perhaps all of the items in it had either been abandoned or had been superseded by the printed publications of Bacon’s lifetime.

35 BL, MS Additional 27,278, fol. 10v (Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:59). Gruter, “Lectori,” sig. \*5r: “Titulus, quem frons libri præfert, & totum complectitur opusculi, in varias dissertationes secti, argumentum, ab ipso *Verulamio* est.”

36 Gruter, “Lectori,” sig. \*5v: “Quicquid sequitur ab eo loco, cujus inscriptio est in ipso contextu *Iudicia* [recte *Indicia*] *vera de interpretatione Naturæ* usque ad finem, donavi eo nomine *Impetus Philosophici*, quod ex familiaribus Viri magni colloquiis notassem, cum de istis chartis mecum ageret. Non aliter enim appellare solebat quicquid prioribus per titulos suos separatis connecteretur.” Cf. Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB* VI, LXXXIV.

37 See above, n. 10.

38 Spedding, “Preface,” 7–8. See also Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB* VI, LXXXIV; Vine, “Composition Books,” 7.

Yet the texts that Gruter printed in the *Scripta* were not the only ones whose manuscripts he had seen. In his 1652 letter to Rawley, Gruter also mentions that he had once had “in my hands” a “large and complete” manuscript of Bacon’s *Historia Gravis et Levis*, which nonetheless consisted only of headings which Bacon had not worked up.<sup>39</sup> This document, and indeed the work itself, is now lost.<sup>40</sup>

Even more strikingly, Gruter also appears to have possessed Bacon’s second composition-book—the one containing “Scripta in Politicis et Moralibus” (writings on politics and morals). In 1651 Gruter wrote to Thomas Browne (1605–1682) that, “for the last few weeks I have had in my possession manuscript *opuscula* of Bacon of Verulam—some of them moral and political, others natural-philosophical—corrected by the author himself.”<sup>41</sup> In the preface to the 1653 *Scripta*, Gruter elaborated slightly on this point:

Friendly reader: you owe all these unpublished works ... to that most worthy man William Boswell, who was left them by Bacon himself, together with other ones written on political and moral subjects, which, thanks to that late man’s gift, are now preserved in my hands and will not be hidden very much longer.<sup>42</sup>

Gruter’s classification of these manuscripts (*in politico & morali genere*) again corresponds exactly to a title that we know Bacon himself had used in 1608 when describing the structure of his own archive.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, it seems very likely that the Boswell manuscripts Gruter had access to were prefaced by two Latin title-pages, perhaps written in Bacon’s own hand—like that of the equivalent

39 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 223 (Gruter to Rawley, 29 May 1652): “De *Gravi & Levi* in manibus habui integrum & grande volumen.”

40 On this lost work, see further Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB VI*, LXXXIV–LXXXV, and Graham Rees, “Introduction,” to Francis Bacon, *The Instauration Magna: Last Writings*, The Oxford Francis Bacon XIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), xxv.

41 Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB VI*, LXXVII, translating MS Rawlinson D. 391, fol. 101r (Isaac Gruter to Thomas Browne, 24 June 1651): “Nunc a pauculis septimanis in manibus mihi sunt manuscripta opuscula Baconi Verulamii, ab ipso authore emendata, partim politica et moralia, partim physiologica.” See also Vine, “Composition Books,” 20.

42 Gruter, “Lectori,” sig. \*5v: “Omnia autem hæc inedita ... debes, Amice Lector, Nobilissimo *Guil. Boswello*, ad quem ex ipsius Baconi legato pervenerant, cum aliis in politico & morali genere elaboratis, quæ nunc ex dono τοῦ μακαρίτου penes me servantur non diu premenda.” See further Spedding, “Preface,” 7; Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:59; Vine, “Composition Books,” 6–7.

43 BL, MS Add. 27,278, fol. 10v (Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:59): “2 Scripta in Politicis et Moralibus.”

TABLE 1.1 *Bacon's third composition-book, reconstructed*

## Title-page:

Scripta in Naturalj et vniuersalj philosophiâ

## In the composition-book proper:

<i>Cogitata et visa de interpretatione naturæ</i>	[scheduled for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Descriptio globi intellectualis</i>	[ <i>OFB VI</i> , pp. 95–169]
<i>Thema Cæli</i>	[ <i>OFB VI</i> , pp. 171–93]
<i>De Fluxu et refluxu maris</i>	[ <i>OFB VI</i> , pp. 63–93]
<i>De principiis atque originibus</i>	[ <i>OFB VI</i> , pp. 195–267]

## Associated papers of “impetus philosophici:”

<i>Indicia vera de interpretatione naturæ</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Phænomena universi</i>	[ <i>OFB VI</i> , pp. 1–61]
<i>Scala intellectus</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Prodromi, sive anticipationes philosophia secunda</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Cogitationes de natura rerum</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Filum labyrinthi, sive inquisitio legitima de motu</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Aphorismi et consilia de auxiliis mentis</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>De interpretatione naturæ sententiæ XII</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>De interpretatione naturæ proæmium</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]
<i>Topica inquisitionis de luce et lumine</i>	[for <i>OFB V</i> ]

fifth composition-book, entitled “Orationes, Instrumenta, Acta,” which travelled by a different journey.<sup>44</sup> But Gruter’s promised second volume never appeared.<sup>45</sup> And although he was clear that he printed the *Scripta* from copies, his two references to possessing Boswell’s manuscripts after his death suggest that it is at his door that their loss should be laid.

44 It is preserved at BL, MS Harley 6797, fol. 11r. The title is attested in BL, MS Additional 27,278, fol. 10v (Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:59). See further Vine, “Composition Books,” 10, 28.

45 On this point, see also John Locker, “Postscript,” to Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, 519.

Although Gruter says nothing about them, others thought that William Boswell owned further Bacon manuscripts still. In the latter part of 1655 the intelligencer Samuel Hartlib noted that John Aubrey (1626–1697) was “writing the life of Verulam.” At the same time he recorded that “Mr Schlezer mentioned to have heard of a MS. of his [sc. Bacon’s] De Arthritide.”<sup>46</sup> Hartlib expanded on this note in a letter that he wrote to John Worthington, the Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, in December of that year. Noting his pleasure that Jesus “had the honour to have so famous a gentleman” as Sir William Boswell as one of their fellows, he went on to ask whether, amongst a bequest of books to his old college, Boswell might have given “a MS of my Lord Verulam’s de Arthritide a most elaborate tract.” He has been assured (Hartlib writes), “that *Sir William Boswell* had it in his keeping, but hitherto it cannot be found.” Hartlib’s searches for Bacon’s “elaborate” treatise on gout, like those of Bacon’s modern editors, were fruitless.<sup>47</sup>

According to one contemporary testimony, probably reporting the judgment of William Rawley, Sir William Boswell “got the best” of Bacon’s *Nachlass*.<sup>48</sup> This being so, it is fortunate that Gruter printed part of it in the *Scripta*, thereby giving Bacon’s growing readership in the Low Countries, England, the Empire, and elsewhere, access to some of his earliest surviving studies in natural philosophy. But all the evidence suggests that the texts Gruter printed in the *Scripta* were only a moiety of what Boswell possessed.

Hence the story of Boswell’s Bacon manuscripts, as indeed of his manuscript collections as a whole, is ultimately a tragic one. Boswell was a remarkably well-connected figure, and he had put together an unusually choice selection of manuscript treatises. Samuel Hartlib noted precisely this in 1639: Boswell, he wrote, “hase a World of little *Treatises* very Excellent ones in several kindes *which* hee hase beene a gathering these many *years*. These hee causes now to bee bound vp together that they bee not lost.”<sup>49</sup> Vanity!

46 SUL, HP 29/5/54B (Ephemerides, 1655). “Mr Schlezer” is Friedrich Schlezer, “a pupil of [Joachim] Jungius” and a “godly and learned young man,” who visited Hartlib in London in the 1650s. (Stephen Clucas, “Samuel Hartlib’s Ephemerides, 1635–59, and the Pursuit of Scientific and Philosophical Manuscripts: The Religious Ethos of an Intelligencer,” *Seventeenth Century*, 6 (1991): 47–8).

47 *The Diary and Correspondence of John Worthington*, ed. James Crossley (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1847–55), 1:66–8 (Hartlib to Worthington, 12 Dec. 1655).

48 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/4B). Hartlib’s intermediary source was John Sparrow, on whom see below, at n. 65.

49 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/20B), headed “*Libri selecti Sir William Boswell*.”

No manuscript from Boswell's collection, whether by Bacon or anyone else, is now known to survive.

### 3.2 *The Rawley Portion*

If Sir William Boswell and Isaac Gruter were less than wholly faithful stewards of Bacon's textual legacy, the next recipient of a portion of his archive was not. William Rawley entered Bacon's household in 1618 as the first of the chaplains that Bacon's newly ennobled status entitled him to maintain, and remained with him when all the rest had left.<sup>50</sup> As Rawley had served Bacon in life, so he continued to serve him in death—as he himself put it.<sup>51</sup> Presumably with Boswell's consent, Rawley came into the possession of a significant quantity of Bacon's posthumous manuscripts.<sup>52</sup> Certain indications suggest, however, that the portion he received may have been regarded as the least significant part of the archive. Nonetheless, over the next thirty years, Rawley would make himself the most important editor of Bacon's posthumous works, publishing at least five, and (as we shall see) possibly six different volumes of Baconian *Nachlass*. As Graham Rees and Pete Langman have emphasised, our knowledge of Bacon and his writings owes a great deal to Rawley's intermediation.<sup>53</sup> He both enlarged Bacon's posthumous canon and carefully defined it against the perceived threat of apocrypha and unauthorised editions.

Rawley already had experience of editing Bacon's writings, for it was in that capacity that he had written the brief preface to the folio edition of the *De augmentis scientiarum* in 1623.<sup>54</sup> The first posthumous work that Rawley

50 Bacon's will mentions "Mr Peterson my late Chapline," in connection with his funeral sermon (TNA, PROB 1/33/1). On Rawley, see further Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB XIII*, LXXIII–LXXIX; Angus Vine, " 'His Lordships First, and Last, Chapleine': William Rawley and Francis Bacon," in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood, and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 123–140.

51 Cf. Tenison, *Baconiana*, 214–15 (Rawley to Elie Diodati, 9 Mar. 1633): "... Cui [sc. Bacon] olim inservisse, atque etiamnum inservire ...."

52 On this point, see also Michael Kiernan, "Introduction," to Francis Bacon, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh and Other Works of the 1620s*, The Oxford Francis Bacon VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), CXIX–CXX.

53 Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB XIII*, LXXVIII–LXXXIII, assesses the respective editorial merits of Gruter and Rawley; see also A. P. Langman, "Beyond the Old World and the New': Authority and Knowledge in the Works of Francis Bacon, with Special Reference to the *New Atlantis*" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2006).

54 William Rawley, "Lectori Salutem," in Francis Bacon, *De Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum* (London, 1623), sig. ¶2r–v. (This preface appears never to have been translated into English.)

published from Baconian manuscripts was the folio volume containing the *Sylva Sylvarum* and *New Atlantis* in 1626/7.<sup>55</sup> Rawley's dedication of this book to Charles I presented himself as "one that was trusted with his *Lordships Writings*, euen to the last."<sup>56</sup> Yet in discharging this trust by printing the *Sylva*, its manuscript was destroyed. Only a few fragments related it now survive.<sup>57</sup> Not for the last time, the appearance in print of a work by Bacon led to the destruction of its manuscript.

The next work of Bacon's that Rawley was responsible for printing was the collection of items that appeared in the *Certaine Miscellany Works* of 1629. Again, none of the manuscripts that contributed to make up that volume now appear to survive.<sup>58</sup> And in 1638 Rawley's next Baconian publication appeared, in the form of a volume of *Moral and Civil Works*. This imposing folio constitutes an important document in the canon of Bacon's writings, for according to the claim on the title-page the principal works in it were "given their Latinity (for the most part) by their honorable author himself."<sup>59</sup> If so, then we must suppose that Rawley also possessed the manuscripts containing Bacon's deathless Latin, before they, too, perished by virtue of having been printed.

Certain copies of this capacious folio of 1638 also include sheets of the *Novum organum* which had been printed eighteen years earlier, in 1620, lacking however the famous engraved frontispiece. These sheets had presumably

55 See further David Colclough, "The Materialls for the Building': Reuniting Francis Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* and *New Atlantis*," *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010): 181–200.

56 Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1626), sig. ¶1v.

57 See n. 108, below.

58 Francis Bacon, *Certaine Miscellany Works*, ed. William Rawley (London, 1629). This volume contains copies of "Considerations Touching a War with Spain" (written 1624); "An Advertisement Touching an Holy Warre" (written 1622); the "Offer ... of a Digest ... of the Laws of England" (made to James I in 1622); and the fragmentary introduction of the "History of the Reigne of King Henry the Eighth" (written 1623). The relations of surviving manuscripts to some of the printed texts are analysed in Kiernan, "Introduction," to *OFB VIII, CVIII and CIX–CXV*.

59 Francis Bacon, *Operum moralium et civilium tomus*, ed. William Rawley (London, 1638), title-page: "Ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donatus." (Referring to the Latin versions of the *History of Henry VII*; *Essays*; *De sapientia veterum*; *Holy War*; and *New Atlantis*.) The 1648 Amsterdam reprint of the *Novus Atlantis* similarly claims that it was "written in Latin by that distinguished man, Francis Bacon" (*Latine conscriptum, ab illustri viro Francisco Bacone*). But we also have Aubrey's testimony that Thomas Hobbes translated "severall of his Essayes into Latin" (John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 1:331).



remained unsold or otherwise undistributed after 1620 and had travelled with Bacon's papers, probably in Rawley's possession, before being put to use in 1638.<sup>60</sup> Hence although this book did not draw upon any unpublished manuscripts, it too—or at least, those copies of it which contain the *Novum organum*—should be regarded as an integral part of Bacon's archival afterlife. An archive may, after all, include copies of an author's unsold books, as well as his manuscripts.

Rawley's possession of unpublished material from Bacon's archive aroused the interest of others. The French pastor Elie Diodati wrote to him from London in 1633, noting that he "eagerly awaited" the edition of Bacon's "works" that Rawley promised.<sup>61</sup> William Rawley even lent his Bacon manuscripts to certain inquirers. One of these was the Oxford scholar Gilbert Watts (*d.* 1657).<sup>62</sup> Watts played an important role in the posthumous dissemination of Bacon's writings by virtue of the lavish edition he published in 1640 of his fine translation back into English of Bacon's *De augmentis scientiarum*. But Watts did not use any unpublished materials for this volume, which was made from a copy of the 1623 folio. Nor did he ever publish the apology for Bacon's philosophy or the English translation of the *Novum organum* that he advertised in that translation.<sup>63</sup> But Watts evidently maintained his interest in Bacon's writings, because in 1655 Samuel Hartlib recorded that "Dr Rawlins [*i.e.* William Rawley] hath a very thick Book ... (*which will make a folio*) of Lord Verulam containing Miscellany Speeches *which hee keeps vnpublished.*" Hartlib's note continues: "Dr Wats had it for some times in his keeping but hee was called vpon by the *said* Dr and restored the same."<sup>64</sup>

60 Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB XIII, LXXVII*; Graham Rees, "Introduction," to *The Instauration magna Part II: Novum organum and Associated Texts*, The Oxford Francis Bacon XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), XCIX; Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 116 n. 99.

61 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 217–18 (Diodati to Rawley, London, 4 Apr. 1633): "Promptam ejus Operum Editionem, quam polliceris, tam avidè expecto."

62 See further Hugh de Quehen, "Watts, Gilbert (*d.* 1657)," *ODNB*.

63 Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficiency of Learning; or the Partitions of the Sciences. Nine books*, trans. Gilbert Watts (Oxford, 1640). Watts mentions his "*Justification*" of Bacon at sig. ¶4r, and the translation of the *Novum organum* at sig. 2¶1v.

64 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1655 (SUL, HP 29/5/57A). Hartlib also mentions here that "Dr Wats hath translated the 1. Book of [*his deleted*] *Novum Organon Verulamii.*"

Furthermore, prior to England's troubles of the 1640s, a young barrister and graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, called John Sparrow made "A Catalogue of the extant Manuscripts of Bacon, Lord Verulam viscount St Alban" from documents then in the possession of William Rawley.<sup>65</sup> Rawley himself also made a further and fuller list of Baconian manuscripts. A copy of this list, together with Sparrow's shorter one, survives among the papers of a physician, also from Trinity College, called Daniel Foote.<sup>66</sup> Samuel Hartlib sent copies of the first list to interested inquirers, including Justinian Isham and Lord Robartes.<sup>67</sup> Rawley seems to have been putting his Baconian manuscripts in order in preparation for the next set of editions he would publish.

It is generally supposed that there was then a twenty-year hiatus between Rawley's volume of Bacon's *Opera* in 1638 and his next Baconian publication in 1657.<sup>68</sup> But in 1651 there appeared an otherwise anonymous manual of prayers and meditations entitled *Gleanings of Refreshment in Gods Vineyard*, which contains four items ascribed to Bacon. Bacon's former servant Thomas Bushell later asserted that the "worthy and faithfull" Dr Rawley had published this little book.<sup>69</sup> It is notable for containing the only known text of a tiny treatise attributed to Bacon entitled "The Summe of the Bible." In 1639 Justinian Isham saw a manuscript of it that was owned by Sir Christopher Hatton, and was not impressed: "The Abridgement of *the Bible*, which I made such Account to see was nothing to that I expected, not about 30 lines &

65 Sparrow's list survives in two copies: one, made by Samuel Hartlib in his Ephemerides in 1639 (*Hartlib Papers*, SUL, HP 30/4/5A); the other, undated and in an unidentified hand, is among the papers of Daniel Foote (BL, MS Sloane 429, fol. 243r). Hartlib's copy is edited in Clucas, "Hartlib's Ephemerides," 50–51. On Sparrow, see K. Grudzien Baston, "Sparrow, John (1615–1670)," *ODNB*.

66 BL, MS Sloane 629, fols. 244r–245v. This list is identifiable as Rawley's by its reference to Bacon's Latin discourse *In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ* "turned into English by my selfe, since my Lords death" (245v): Rawley's translation was published in his *Resuscitatio* (n. 72, below). On Foote, see David Thorley, "Daniel Foote, M.D., of Cambridge: The Evidence in Print and from the Sloane Collection," *eBLJ* art. 15 (2013): 1–30. It seems that Hartlib also saw a copy of this longer list: see *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/27B): "Sparrow imparted a full Catalogue of Verulams ms. which Dr Raleigh hase."

67 See the Appendix, below.

68 For instance by Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB* XIII, LXXVIII.

69 Thomas Bushell, *An Extract by Mr. Bushell of his Late Abridgement of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions* (London, 1660), sig. H1r. On Bushell, see George C. Boon, "Bushell, Thomas (b. before 1600, d. 1674)," *ODNB*.

whither writt by Verulam tis doubtfull; there is nothing neere that, in it, as in *the* Preface to most Bibles.”<sup>70</sup> “The Summe” does not appear on either of the surviving lists of Rawley’s Baconian manuscripts, but it is not completely out of the question that it constitutes a new addition to the canon of Bacon’s writings.<sup>71</sup>

In 1657 Rawley finally disburdened himself of an extensive edition of many of the unpublished English writings by Bacon that he had in his possession in the volume he entitled *Resuscitatio*.<sup>72</sup> As copy for most of the letters in this volume he used the “Register Book” of his correspondence that Bacon had prepared towards the end of his life.<sup>73</sup> Lastly, in 1658, Rawley completed his debt to Bacon’s memory by editing a smaller volume of Latin *Opuscula*, mostly containing unpublished natural philosophical material.<sup>74</sup> It has been suggested that the implication of Rawley waiting until Boswell was dead before he published these works implies that he was conscious that he possessed their manuscripts illicitly. But this does not quite square with the testimony of Samuel Hartlib in 1639, that Boswell had promised to give Rawley his own manuscripts in order to publish them.<sup>75</sup> It seems more likely that these books finally appeared, as Rawley indeed says, because of his growing consciousness of his own mortality. Rawley knew, after all, his master’s own thoughts on the matter, which Bacon had expressed to John Williams at the end of his life, and which Rawley articulated in the preface to the *Resuscitatio*. Almost certainly alluding to the two “Register-Bookes,” Rawley noted that Bacon had aimed not “at the *Publication* of them, but at the *Preservation* onely; And *Prohibiting* them from *Perishing*.” But the events to which the letters and speeches related were now

70 *The Hartlib Papers*, Isham to Hartlib, 2 Sept. 1639 (YALE/16, i.e. Beinecke Library, Yale University, Osborn Collection, MS File 16792). Isham had previously heard it was “a MS. of Verulam containing an Epitome of the Histories of the Bibel.” *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/12B).

71 *Gleanings of refreshment in Gods vineyard. ... With a confession of faith and a sum of the Bible, by the right honorable Francis L. Verulam, Viscount S. Alban* (London, 1651), sigs. B4v–B5r. See further Richard Serjeantson, “Francis Bacon and ‘The Summe of the Bible,’” *Notes and Queries* 64 (June 2017), 318–21.

72 Francis Bacon, *Resuscitatio, or, bringing into publick light severall pieces of the works, civil, historical, philosophical, & theological, hitherto sleeping*, ed. William Rawley (London, 1657).

73 See above, at n. 19. Rawley refers to his use of “his Lordships Register-Book, of Letters” in *Resuscitatio*, sig. 3M1r.

74 Francis Bacon, *Opuscula*, ed. William Rawley (London, 1658).

75 See n. 98, below.

sufficiently distant that Rawley felt he would no longer be treading “too near, upon the *Heels of Truth*” by publishing them.<sup>76</sup>

Between them, Rawley’s two volumes of *Resuscitatio* and *Opuscula* contain many of the works that appear on the lists he and Sparrow had previously made. But they do not contain everything. One such item is entitled “*Historiam Generationis Hominis*” (the history of human reproduction). Rawley describes this as “Some of the Experiments ... reserved out of the Natural History”—that is, left out of the *Sylva Sylvarum*—“because they were not fit to be published in English;”<sup>77</sup> Hartlib confirmed that “propter obscenitatem” (on account of their indecency) they “will hardly be published except it be in Latine.”<sup>78</sup> But in the event these papers were never published, even in the decent obscurity of a learned language, and are now, alas, entirely lost. Hence we may never know the ins and outs of Bacon’s experiments into that touchy subject.

Less morally demanding was a different natural history, the *Historia densi et rari*. In a letter of 1652, Isaac Gruter had mentioned to William Rawley that among the copies he had made from Boswell’s manuscripts was an incomplete version of Bacon’s *Historia densi et rari*.<sup>79</sup> Rawley had evidently previously told Gruter that he possessed a fuller and later version of that work.<sup>80</sup> Gruter had hoped to print the *Historia densi* among the other treatises in the 1653 *Scripta*, but in the event he did not do so. Mostly likely Rawley had replied to tell him that he planned to print it himself, which he duly did in the *Opuscula*. A consequence, however, is that not only Rawley’s manuscript, but also Gruter’s copy, are now lost.<sup>81</sup>

By the time William Rawley died in 1667, he had therefore published many—though not all—of the Bacon manuscripts that had been in his possession. As with the Boswell manuscripts, the fact of being printing was fatal for the original documents themselves. But not everything was printed. There

76 Bacon to John Williams [early 1626?] (*FBCP*, bcno796), in Tenison, *Baconiana*, 195. William Rawley, “To the Reader,” in Bacon, *Resuscitatio*, sig. (a)4r–v.

77 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/5A). This description is not found in the equivalent list in the Foote papers, BL, MS Sloane 429, fol. 243r.

78 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/4B).

79 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 223 (Gruter to Rawley, 29 May 1652): “In apographis meis ... reperies historiam *Densi & Rari*, sed imperfectam, opusculo licet longiusculè producto.”

80 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 223 (Gruter to Rawley, 29 May 1652).

81 There is a further manuscript of an early draft of the *Historia densi* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, coll. Dupuy, n° 5, fols. 7r–23v in the hand of Nicolas Rigault (*CEL*M, BcF 295.5; Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB* XIII, LIX–LXVIII); it does not correspond to Gruter’s description of the copy he saw.

is one particularly important collection of manuscripts that appears to derive from Rawley's portion. These are those documents contained within the larger and more miscellaneous volume that is now Harleian MS 6797, which Angus Vine, in a miraculous feat of codicological reconstruction, has identified as containing the contents of Bacon's fifth Composition Book, consisting of his speeches, proclamations, and reports, as it stood in about 1609.<sup>82</sup> All of the items in this Composition Book appear in the *Resuscitatio*. And their texts are close to, though not always identical with, those in the *Resuscitatio*.<sup>83</sup> How then did the manuscripts survive? They bear no marks of an encounter with the print-shop.

The answer may lie with the "Register Book" of his speeches that Bacon prepared at the end of his life, alongside that of his letters. This Register Book must have been made directly from the Composition Book whose contents now survive in the Harleian collection, but which Bacon, and also Rawley, then took to be superseded. If, as seems likely, Rawley possessed this second Register Book and used it to print the *Resuscitatio*, this would account for the survival of the fifth Composition Book: its contents would merely have constituted superseded duplicates. The irony is that, by virtue of being contemporary documents containing Bacon's own revisions, the surviving manuscripts are of much greater scholarly interest than any fair copy would have been. But it is not often that the cards fall in one's favour in this way.

### 3.3 *The Meautys Portion*

If Rawley, by his loving editorial labours, plays the role of Cordelia to Bacon's Lear, then that of heartless Regan is filled by the third of the three men who divided Bacon's archive between them: Thomas Meautys. Here we have a new story to tell. It has long been evident that both Boswell and Rawley possessed portions of Bacon's *Nachlass*, and indeed they have commonly been regarded as its only two inheritors. But as will now become clear, not only Boswell and Rawley, but also Thomas Meautys, took possession of a most important portion of his former master's archive.

Since Stephen Clucas first brought it to light, scholars have known of Samuel Hartlib's testimony about the fortunes of Bacon's posthumous manuscripts.

82 Vine, "Composition Books," esp. 8–19.

83 Bacon's "Certaine Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland," BL, MS Harley 9796, fol. 122r, is misdated, in his own hand, to 1606. This erroneous date is repeated in *Resuscitatio*, 2K4r, whose text must therefore ultimately derive from that manuscript, but probably (as is suggested here) via an intermediate "Register Book" copy.

Reporting what he had been told by John Sparrow, Hartlib wrote in his *Ephemerides* for 1639 that Bacon's manuscripts "were divided amongst his *Chaplain* Raleigh, Sir W. Boswell who got the best and Mutis one of his Servants who remained longest with him, whom hee also made Executor."<sup>84</sup> Hartlib repeated this statement later on in the same year: "Mr Mutis, Sir W. *Boswell* and Dr Raleigh haue them all."<sup>85</sup> Graham Rees circumspectly suspended judgment on the accuracy of Hartlib's testimony: "Meautys may in fact have possessed some Bacon manuscripts but we only have Samuel Hartlib's hearsay evidence for this."<sup>86</sup> Yet other evidence proves that Hartlib's information was indeed quite correct.<sup>87</sup>

This evidence confirms that, until his death in 1649, Meautys possessed a box of manuscripts containing several very important pieces of writing by Bacon of which we would otherwise be entirely ignorant. They include some of his earliest surviving philosophical writings. Among them is the slim quarto volume containing the revealing early English version of Bacon's philosophical system, the *Valerius Terminus*, together with part of the Latin *Temporis Partus Masculus*.<sup>88</sup> Meautys' box also contained the English *Filum Labyrinthi*—a version of the Latin *Cogitata et visa*, of which Boswell had Bacon's copy. Confusingly, this document, like several others deriving from Meautys' portion, is now bound up in Harley 6797, alongside documents that came from Rawley.<sup>89</sup> And Meautys also had another English work with a Latin title, the *Sequela cartarum sive Inquisitio Legitima de calore et frigore*, written, unusually, entirely in Bacon's own hand.<sup>90</sup> The political writings preserved in the Meautys box included the important political treatise *Of the True Greatnes of the Kingdome of Brittain*e, which Bacon would later set aside in order to transform it into the less nationally-specific essay of 1612 entitled "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms."<sup>91</sup> Meautys also possessed the sole known draft of the speculative Proclamation that Bacon drew up upon the accession of James I, but which was never published at

84 *Hartlib Papers*, *Ephemerides*, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/4B). Clucas, "Hartlib's *Ephemerides*," 41.

85 *Hartlib Papers*, *Ephemerides*, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/27B).

86 Rees, "Introduction," to *OFB* VI, LXXIII n. 20.

87 This evidence takes the form of an inventory made by the discoverer of Meautys' collection in 1682, and of letters reporting its discovery; see §4(11), below, and esp. n. 113.

88 BL, Harley MS 6463, pp. 1–70, 70–73 (*CELM*, BcF \*285 and BcF 307).

89 BL, MS Harley 6797, fols. 139r–146v (*CELM*, BcF \*214).

90 BL, MS Harley 6855, fols. 52r–60r (*CELM*, \*BcF 111).

91 BL, MS Harley 7021, fols. 25–42 (*CELM*, \*BcF 232)

the time;<sup>92</sup> and various fugitive documents relating to the Mint and to the Court of Wards.<sup>93</sup>

No less importantly, Meautys' box also contained numerous copies of letters sent by Bacon (some in Bacon's own hand, others in the hands of various of his scribes, including Meautys himself), which now constitute the single most important surviving volume of Bacon's letters, MS 936 in Lambeth Palace Library.<sup>94</sup> It is from this collection, for instance, that we know of Bacon's letter to Isaac Casaubon; of his correspondence with Gondomar; and of Toby Matthew's letter to Bacon enclosing a copy of a letter by Galileo.<sup>95</sup>

Taken as a whole, Thomas Meautys' chest of manuscripts constitutes a collection of extraordinary richness. Without it, our understanding both of Bacon's intellectual development and of his political life would be greatly diminished. One may well imagine the excitement of someone interested in such things upon coming across it. Moreover, unlike both the Boswell and Rawley collections, the contents of this box of manuscripts were never printed in the seventeenth century. By escaping the press then, the documents themselves survived. Yet by the time they were first printed, in the eighteenth century, their association with Meautys had been entirely lost. From then until now, the provenance of the documents in his box has been obscure. Yet the implications are clear: the great majority of surviving Bacon manuscripts do not derive from the diligent William Rawley, but rather from the cautious Sir Thomas Meautys.<sup>96</sup>

\*

92 BL, MS Harley 6797, fols. 13r–14v (not in *CELM*).

93 BL, MS Harley 7020, fols. 156–166 (not in *CELM*).

94 Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL), MS 936. A catalogue of this volume may be found at [lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk](http://lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk), and see also the listing in *FBCP*.

95 LPL, MS 936, items 272 (Casaubon), 168, 184C, 248, 282 (Gondomar), 31 (Matthew). The enclosed copy-letter of Galileo, which is listed in Henry J. Todd, *A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London, 1812), 215, is now missing (a point I owe to Mordechai Feingold).

96 A loose end remains. In early 1653, Samuel Hartlib recorded in his *Ephemerides* that "My Lady Mitton is said to have the remainder of all Verulams MS. which Aubrey will labor to get from her" (*Hartlib Papers*, SUL, HP 28/2/49B); see also Kelsey Jackson Williams, "Training the Virtuoso: John Aubrey's Education and Early Life," *Seventeenth Century* 27 (2012): 167. I have not been able to identify this person. Is it possible that "Mitton" is a corruption of "Meautys," and hence that the entry refers to Sir Thomas Meautys' widow, Anne? Yet in 1651 Lady Anne Meautys had married Sir Harbottle Grimston, and should thereafter have been known as Lady Anne Grimston.



We are therefore now in a position to put uncertainty about the posthumous fortunes of Bacon's manuscripts to rest. Hartlib's information was good—unsurprisingly, since it derived from William Rawley himself. Bacon's *Nachlass* was indeed divided between three different men.

William Boswell, whom Bacon had specifically named in his will as the person best suited to determine the fate of his manuscripts, “got the best.” Thanks to Isaac Gruter, Bacon's composition-book of “natural and universal philosophy” was eventually printed; but the other composition-book, containing “writings in politics and morals,” perished.

Thomas Meautys, who sometimes copied Bacon's letters for him during the 1620s, and who as a creditor had acquired legal responsibility for disposing of Bacon's estate, obtained the majority of Bacon's draft letters, as well as various other manuscripts in both natural philosophy and politics. It is possible, indeed, that his portion consisted of the manuscripts which Bacon had left in his chambers at Gray's Inn, which Meautys took possession of following Bacon's death.<sup>97</sup> But although he, and his heirs, preserved them in a dedicated box, they did nothing with them.

William Rawley, finally, acquired the residue of Bacon's archive. Though the documents he possessed may have been ones that had been rejected by the other two men, there is some evidence that they recognised Rawley's willingness, and his ability, to have Bacon's *opera posthuma* printed; in 1639 Samuel Hartlib recorded that “Sir W. Boswell and Mutis have promised to Raleigh to give him all *what* they have to publish them.”<sup>98</sup> In the event, however, neither seems to have done so. But it is likely that Rawley did obtain possession of the two Register Books of Bacon's letters and speeches that he had left to Bishop Williams and Sir Humphrey May, and that he used them in printing the *Resuscitatio*, alongside the many other works by Bacon that he conferred to the world with the authority of his close personal connection to the deceased Lord Chancellor.

Indeed, by virtue of Rawley's energy and care in enlarging Bacon's canon of printed works, it became possible by 1670 for the stationer Charles Molloy to suppose that it was Rawley who had obtained custody of “all” of Bacon's manuscripts.<sup>99</sup> Rawley's diligent publications might indeed give this impression, but

97 This suggestion is owing to A. Chambers Bunten, *Sir Thomas Meautys, Secretary to Lord Bacon, and his Friends* (London: Page & Thomas, 1918), 38, whose reasoning on this point is not obviously contaminated by his unsubstantiated views regarding the authorship of the plays of Shakespeare.

98 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/4B).

99 Charles Molloy, “To the Reader,” in *The Second Part of the Resuscitatio or a Collection of several pieces of the works of... Francis Bacon* (London, 1670), sig. A4r.

it was not correct. Yet the misapprehension is understandable. Boswell's portion was lost in the Low Countries. And the box containing Thomas Meautys' portion of the Bacon manuscripts was still waiting to be found.

#### 4 Thomas Tenison, Consolidator

Following the death of William Rawley in 1667, an important new figure enters the convoluted story of Francis Bacon's archival afterlife; a collector and editor who, though he destroyed as much as he preserved, nonetheless helped ensure the survival of those portions of Bacon's archive that still remain. This person was the scholar, cleric, and future Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison (1636–1715). In the river of time down which Bacon's manuscripts flowed, Tenison forms an important, though a temporary, confluence.

##### 4.1 *The Rawley Manuscripts and Baconiana* (1679)

In the course of his time as a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in the mid-1660s, Thomas Tenison had become a friend of William Rawley's younger son (also William), who was also a fellow there until his early death, a year before his father, in the plague-year of 1666. By the later 1670s, this connection had given Tenison access to, and probably ultimately ownership of, William Rawley's portion of Bacon's manuscripts.<sup>100</sup> In 1679 Tenison published from these documents the collection he entitled *Baconiana*. His stated criteria for publication turned upon the status of a document's handwriting. "Nothing here is offered," wrote Tenison in his lengthy introduction,

which was not written either by his [i.e. Bacon's] own Hand, or in Copies transcrib'd by the most faithful Pen of his Domestic *Chaplain*, Dr. *William Rawley*: A Person whom his Lordship chiefly us'd in his Life-time, in Writing down, Transcribing, Digesting, and Publishing his Composures.<sup>101</sup>

On this basis Tenison filled his *Baconiana* with editions of a number of manuscript items that Rawley had declined to print (and a few other items that did not derive directly from the Rawley collection), divided into the

100 Tenison, "An Account," 79, 89–90; Thomas Birch, "Preface," to Francis Bacon, *Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices, &c.* (London, 1763), sig. A6r–v; Spedding, "Preface to the Physiological and Medical Remains," in Bacon, *Works*, 3:797.

101 Tenison, "An Account," 79.

categories of “Politico-moralia,” “Physiologica” (i.e. natural philosophy), “Medica,” “Theologica,” and “Bibliographica.” It is to this volume that we owe unique copies of some rather miscellaneous writings on natural philosophical and medical subjects, and also an early draft of the *Abecedarium novum naturæ*.<sup>102</sup>

Some of the items that Tenison published appear to have existed in more than one manuscript. In particular, Tenison wrote of Bacon’s *Articles of Questions, touching Minerals* that “having by me three Copies, I publish them by that one on which his Lordship had endorsed with his own Hand, *This is the clean Copy*.”<sup>103</sup> Again, however, none of the manuscripts that he drew upon to print the volume survive. (Nor do either of the two other copies of the *Articles ... touching minerals*.) Tenison also printed in the *Baconiana* a number of interesting letters, some of them addressed to William Rawley rather than to Bacon himself. The manuscripts of these letters, too, have perished. Even in the hands of so keen a collector as Tenison, then, the fact of a work’s being printed still constituted a death-sentence to original documents. It is not just that the act of printing led to the destruction of the manuscript that was sent to the print-shop: it is that the existence of a printed version meant that not just the “clean Copy” of a work, but also any others, were no longer fit to be kept.

Tenison was, by definition, printing manuscripts that Rawley had declined to publish, a ticklish point that he faced squarely in his preface. But even Tenison did not print everything he had found. In particular, he speaks of “Some few imperfect Papers, about his Lordship’s private Affairs, or of very little moment in Philosophy” being “still kept where they ought to be, in private Hands.” It is clear from this, as well as from certain surviving documents, that already in 1679 Tenison knew of certain papers that he had chosen to hold back from the press.<sup>104</sup>

The most remarkable of these is Bacon’s private memorandum book of July 1608, the “*Commentarius Solutus*.” It likely (though not absolutely certain) that Rawley had inherited this as part of his portion, but what is clear is that at some point in his life it came into Tenison’s possession, and this allusion suggests that it was indeed from Rawley that Tenison acquired it. Tenison’s discretion regarding its contents, however, had a curious consequence. In the course of Tenison’s lifetime the “*Commentarius Solutus*” became separated

102 See Rees, “Introduction,” to *OFB VI*, LXXIII.

103 Tenison, “An Account,” 96.

104 Tenison, “An Account,” 80–82 (quotation at 82).

from his other Bacon manuscripts, and made its way into the public library that Tenison established for the use of his parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1684.<sup>105</sup> There it remained, probably unread and certainly unknown to Bacon's several editors, until the resourceful James Spedding "chanced upon it" (as he modestly put it—no manuscript is identified by chance) in March 1848.<sup>106</sup> After the Tenison Library was wound up by Act of Parliament, and its contents auctioned off in 1861, the "Commentarius Solutus" was sold, and shortly afterwards made its way to the British Museum.<sup>107</sup> On such slender threads hang the survival of the single most revealing document in Bacon's entire biography.

A similar path was taken by a three fragmentary manuscripts of writings by Bacon that are now to be found in a composite volume of Thomas Tenison's miscellaneous papers. These documents are presumably the last remnants of Rawley's miscellaneous collection of Baconian natural philosophy. They survived by escaping print in Tenison's *Baconiana* and then perhaps became misplaced in Tenison's public library. From there they made their way in the 1861 sale into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872). The volume was sold again in a Phillipps family sale at Sotheby's in 1913, after which it passed into the Additional Manuscripts of the British Museum—the latest Bacon material (so far) to do so.<sup>108</sup>

105 W. Lee, "Archbishop Tenison's Library," *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser., 8 (1865): 322–4; William O'Sullivan, "A Finding List of Sir James Ware's Manuscripts," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 97C (1997): 73. A catalogue of manuscripts in this library was published by Edmund Gibson, *Librorum manuscriptorum in duabus insignibus Bibliothecis, altera Tenisoniana, Londini, altera Dugdaliana, Oxonii, Catalogus* (Oxford, 1692); it makes no reference to any manuscripts of Bacon. See also P. Hoare, "Archbishop Tenison's library at St Martin-in-the-Fields: the building and its history," *London Topographical Record*, 29 (2006), 127–50.

106 Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 4:8.

107 British Library, MS Add. 27278 (*CELM*, \*BcF 153); Vine, "Composition Books," 5. This manuscript also contains (fols. 17<sup>r</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>) a version in Bacon's hand of his *Inquisitio legitima de motu* (*CELM*, \*BcF 303). The catalogue of the library prior to sale was issued as the "Catalogue of the Valuable Library formed by Archbishop Tenison (Sotheby and Wilkinson)" (1861). It was auctioned 3–8 June 1861. A copy of this catalogue, annotated with prices obtained, at a sum total of £1410 7s, is at London Metropolitan Archives, ACC/2692/209.

108 British Library, MS Add. 38693, fols. 30<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>v</sup> (notes relating to the *Sylva Sylvarum*), 29<sup>r</sup>–v (a portion of the *Inquisitio de magnete*), 49<sup>r</sup> (a fragment of the *Historia vitae* in Bacon's own hand); *CELM*, BcF 283, BcF 302, and \*BcF 297, respectively. See further Graham Rees, "An Unpublished Manuscript by Francis Bacon: *Sylva Sylvarum* Drafts and other Working Notes," *Annals of Science* 38 (1981): 377–412.

These instances demonstrate that, at his death, Tenison definitely possessed certain Bacon manuscripts that had previously belonged to Rawley. Did he then also own the manuscripts that went into the *Baconiana*, or did they remain the property of William Rawley's heirs? Here the evidence is unclear. Tenison speaks of his "worthy Friend" John Rawley, William Rawley's elder son, as "the Executor of the said Reverend Doctor" and the person "by whose care most of these Papers have been preserved for the public Good." He goes on to note that he had received certain "Bundles" of manuscripts together with three catalogues that William Rawley had made of them.<sup>109</sup> And, as we have seen, he speaks of manuscripts about Bacon's "private Affairs" remaining in "private Hands." Yet he does not state unequivocally that those hands are his.

On balance, however, it seems most likely that Tenison did come to possess the remains of the Rawley portion—including not only the items that went into *Baconiana*, but also the items from Bacon's fifth Composition Book that are now to be found in Harleian MS 6797, and also the "Commentarius Solutus." Of these, those in the first category were printed, and then perished, probably in the print-shop; the second survived to make their way into a further collection; and the last were hidden away in his own library, only to emerge again in the revolutionary year of 1848.

#### 4.2 *The Rediscovery of Meautys' Box*

Remarkably, however, Rawley's cache of Bacon manuscripts was only the first such collection that came into Tenison's possession. For a few years after he had published the *Baconiana*, a further and in certain ways even richer collection of Baconian manuscripts found its way into Tenison's hands. He mentioned the discovery in a letter to the then Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, in December 1682. It is this letter that proves that, just as Hartlib had reported, Thomas Meautys did indeed possess a significant portion of Bacon's posthumous archive:

I did forgett, on Tuesday, to acquaint your Grace that I had (by a strange Providence) latelie found out, in this Town, a great many Originall Papers of the Lord Bacon. When I have look'd them over & sorted them I will be bold to present *your* Grace with a Catalogue of them. They came to

109 Tenison, "An Account," 79–80, 89.

me from *the* Executor<sup>110</sup> of *the* Executor<sup>111</sup> of Sir T. Meautys, who was his *Lordships* Executor.<sup>112</sup>

Fortunately, Tenison duly produced the catalogue he promised Sancroft, and it now survives alongside his original letter in Thomas Tanner's collections of ecclesiastical correspondence from the period. It is this catalogue that enables us to know what writings were contained in Thomas Meautys' box (Fig. 1.2).<sup>113</sup>

Tenison was clearly conscious that he had made an exciting discovery, for he immediately began to make plans with Richard Chiswell, the stationer who had published the *Baconiana*, to print a further volume of material drawn from collection that had belonged to Thomas Meautys:

I have now lookd over all *the* books & Papers in *the* box. In *the* books there are Copies of Essaies, Maxims of Law &c. all printed alreadie. But they contain somethings fitt to be printed: & they & *the* Letters will make an handsome folio *which* I doubt not but will turn to Account. For *the* Letters here are divers of Sir T. Meautys &c worth nothing. but there are more then 40 Letters to the duke of Bucks. & some of *the* duke of Bucks to him. There are 8 or 10 to King James. they are 3 or 4 to Gondamor, & Gondamours Answer to one of them. There are 2 or 3 Letters to Bishop Williams, & 2 from him. There is Lord Bacon's Letter to Casaubon, in Latine. There is 1 Essay never printed. All *which* will be well accompted.

110 Richard Roberts, "a Surrey clergyman," was the executor of Henry Meautys' estate. See John P. Ferris and Rosemary Sgroi, "Meautys, Henry (c.1585–by 1663), of St. Julian's Hosp., St. Albans and Westmill, Herts.," *History of Parliament* ([www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org)).

111 Probably Henry Meautys, who (after some delay) inherited his brother's estate. See S. A. Baron, "Meautys, Sir Thomas (c.1590–1649)," *ODNB*.

112 OB, MS Tanner 35, fol. 147r (Thomas Tenison to William Sancroft, 18 Dec. 1682). After he had published his volume of Bacon's *Letters ... & c.* in 1763, Thomas Birch obtained a copy of this letter from Richard Rawlinson, which survives among his papers at BL, MS Add. 4259, fol. 134r. He printed it in the (posthumous) second edition of his edition, which forms part of *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 6 (London, 1803), sig. B8r–v. Yet its implications have never been fully considered, neither by Spedding, who knew of it (see *Letters and Life*, 2:2–3), nor by Rees, who did not. See also Stewart, "Introduction," to *OFB* I, 3.

113 OB, MS Tanner 35, fols. 145r, 146r. There is a copy of this list among Thomas Birch's papers at BL, MS Add. 4259, fols. 134v–135r.



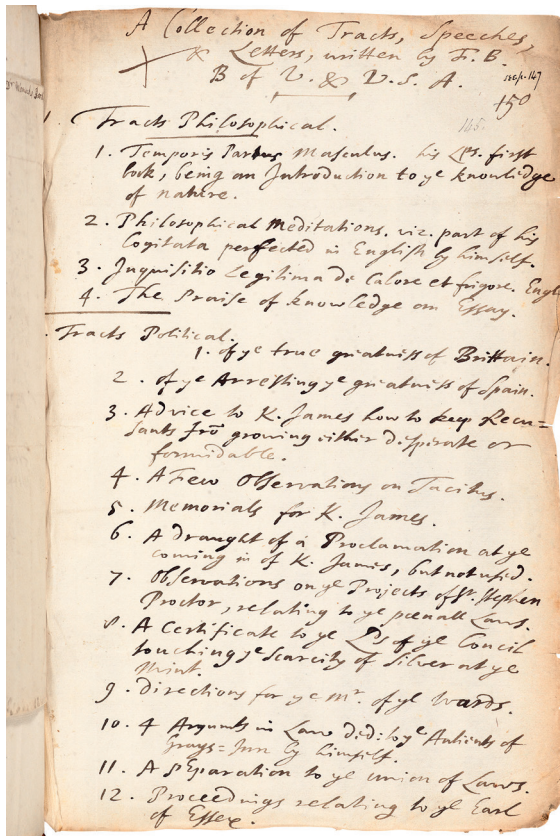


FIGURE 1.2 Thomas Tenison's list of Thomas Meautys' Bacon manuscripts.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS TANNER 35, FOL. 145R.

After the Holydays I will methodize all, & putt all Letters of the same date together (for as yet they are in confusion) & then we will take further resolutions about them.<sup>114</sup>

This letter is revealing about the state of Meautys' Bacon archive as it then stood. It contained both "books"—that is, bound manuscript volumes—and loose "Papers." It also contained numerous letters, in a state of "confusion."

Tenison's plans to print a further volume of Baconiana from the Meautys portion came to nothing, however. Perhaps he lacked the energy to carry the work through. Yet this may be an uncharitable explanation, given that shortly

<sup>114</sup> BL, MS Add. 4259, fol. 136 (Tenison to Chiswell, Dec. 1682).



afterwards Tenison produced an edition of some unpublished manuscripts of Sir Thomas Browne. A different explanation is offered by Chiswell's publication of a "Second Edition" of Tenison's *Baconiana* in 1684. In fact, this volume merely consists of a new title-page fronting a reissue of sheets from the 1679 imprint. Perhaps the unpublished works of Francis Bacon were less vendible than Tenison had hoped, and the stationer could not see a market for the handsome folio that the scholar confidently envisaged.

Whatever the reason may be for the non-appearance of Tenison's planned book, it is perhaps fortunate that Tenison did not continue his editorial work on Bacon's manuscripts. For the evidence of the 1679 *Baconiana* is that the print-shop would again have been fatal to any manuscript that crossed its threshold. Instead, and in sharp contrast with the portions that had belonged to Boswell and to Rawley, most of the manuscripts that once sat undisturbed in Meautys' box still now survive.

## 5 The Dissolution of Tenison's Collection

Archbishop Tenison lived just long enough to crown George I. But having brought together so many Bacon manuscripts in his lifetime, with his death in 1715 they again began to flow away from him in several different directions. The details of the transactions by which they did so are obscure; but the directions in which different portions went, at least, are clear.

By the time of his death Tenison had acquired a substantial collection of manuscripts, together with "a vast number" of books.<sup>115</sup> (He had a particular liking for documents relating to Cambridge University.<sup>116</sup>) His dispositions for this collection in his will are elaborate, though unfortunately not very specific. In this document he requests his executors to ensure that some of his papers (unspecified) be "burnt and destroyed." He requests that other books and manuscript already deposited in the "Public Library" at Lambeth remain there. And other (also unspecified) documents again are to be deposited there by Edmund Gibson and his library-keeper Benjamin Ibbot, saving that "as many of them as are useless or otherwise unfit" were to be "immediately destroyed." Finally, Tenison gave the "rest and residue of my said Books and Manuscripts which shall be then left and remaining" to the beneficiaries of his will. These were

115 *Letters of Humfrey Wanley: Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672–1726*, ed. P. L. Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 332.

116 See, e.g., Sarah Knight, "Milton's Student Verses of 1629," *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010): 37–39.

Tenison's cousin, Edward Tenison (1673–1735); his kinsman, George Fage (*fl.* 1691–1728); and the religious controversialist, Thomas Herne (*d.* 1722).<sup>117</sup> Tenison's printed and manuscript books were to be “equally divided” among them by three further people: “Dr Edmund Gibson, Mr Benjamin Ibbot and Mr Robert Clavinging my domestick Chaplaynes or any two of them.”<sup>118</sup> Somewhere amidst this complex set of bequests there sat the many Bacon manuscripts that Tenison had acquired from the heirs of both William Rawley and Thomas Meautys.

### 5.1 *The Lambeth Manuscripts*

Tenison's stipulations go some way towards explaining the current resting-places of Bacon's manuscripts, for a number are indeed now to be found in Lambeth Palace Library. They are found, above all, in Lambeth MS 936, a remarkably rich collection principally of Bacon's draft letters together with a few other papers, dating from between 1603 and his death, in the handwriting of Bacon himself and of various of his regular scribes, including Thomas Meautys. This volume contains many (though not all) of the letters that Tenison mentions in his letter to Chiswell, including the letters of Thomas Meautys, the letters to James I, the letters to Gondomar, the letters to and from John Williams, and the letter to Casaubon.<sup>119</sup> The contents of this volume, then, which has been central to the study of Bacon since some of its contents were first printed in 1763, derive from Thomas Meautys. But how did they get to Lambeth?<sup>120</sup>

MS 936 is part of collection that entered the archiepiscopal library in 1749 from the estate of Edmund Gibson, then the rector of Lambeth, who was charged by Tenison in his will with depositing certain of his manuscripts in the Lambeth library, and with distributing the remainder to Tenison's beneficiaries. These fourteen volumes came to be known as the *Codices Gibsoniani* or Gibson Papers.<sup>121</sup> The first scholar to print any of them was Thomas Birch, in his 1763 edition of Bacon's *Letters and Papers*. His preface to that volume

117 All of these men were alumni of Tenison's college, Corpus Christi, Cambridge. See further Robert Masters, *The History of the College of Corpus Christi and the B. Virgin Mary* (Cambridge, 1753), 19, 399, 400–3. Fage was prebendary of Tervin, 1709–1728, in succession to Edward Tenison (Joyce M. Horn, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857*, vol. 10, *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2003), 64).

118 TNA, PROB 11/550/123, fols. 22v–23r (will of Thomas Tenison, proved 23 Jan. 1716).

119 See above, n. 114, and further the catalogue at [archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk](http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk).

120 On this question, see also Stewart, in *OFB* I, 500–1.

121 LPL, MSS 929–942.

offers a concise history of the collection, but does not mention its derivation from Meautys, of which Birch was at that time unaware. In it, he suggests that Tenison's Bacon papers, together with "the rest of his manuscripts, not already deposited in the library at Lambeth, were left by him ... to his chaplain, Dr. Edmund Gibson, ... and to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Benjamin Ibbot."<sup>122</sup> But as we have seen, this is not exactly what Tenison's will had stipulated: Gibson and Ibbot were charged to distribute Tenison's manuscripts, not to take possession of them.

In the case of the "Gibson Papers," however, that is precisely what happened. Gibson's motives for detaining the manuscripts are unknown, but he did at least remedy the irregularity. Following his death in 1748, Gibson's executors delivered them, according to his instructions, to the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Herring (1693–1757). Birch goes on to describe their condition:

... as they lay undigested in bundles, and in that condition were neither convenient for use, nor secure from damage, his Grace the present Archbishop directed them to be methodized and bound up in volumes with proper indexes, which was done by his learned librarian, Andrew Coltee Ducarel.<sup>123</sup>

Henry John Todd, writing in 1812, fleshes this account out with a little more detail, noting that following their deposit in 1747 the Gibson papers "continued in a confused state till June 1758," when the newly appointed archbishop, Thomas Secker, "directed them to be methodized by Dr. Ducarel ... and they were bound in fourteen volumes, as they now appear."<sup>124</sup> It was perhaps this process that led to a few miscellaneous Francis Bacon letters finding their way into volumes of the Gibson papers in Lambeth Palace other than MS 936.<sup>125</sup>

122 Birch, "Preface," sig. A7r.

123 Birch, "Preface," sig. A7r–v.

124 Henry J. Todd, *A Catalogue of the Archbishopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London, 1812), III. See further *OFB* I, 1012.

125 For instance, LPL, MS 941, item 58, consists of an incomplete autograph letter by Bacon to James I; it is completed by LPL, MS 936, item 145, from which it has evidently at some point become separated. The sixteen volumes of Anthony Bacon papers also held in Lambeth Palace Library (MSS 647–662) appear to have arrived independently from those of his brother Francis, having been "purchas'd, at the expence of ... archbishop Tenison, by Dr. White Kennett" (Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (London: A. Millar, 1754), 2).

It is therefore the case that fewer of the manuscripts now reposing in safety in the bowels of the Church of England derive from William Rawley than has previously been thought. One at least, may indeed owe its presence there to Tenison's friendship with Rawley's family: William Rawley's notebook, containing anecdotes, recipes, proverbs—and a list of Bacon's published writings.<sup>126</sup> But the key Bacon letters in the Lambeth collection in fact derive not from Dr William Rawley, but from Sir Thomas Meautys.

## 5.2 *The Harleian Acquisition*

The story of the transmission of Bacon's archive is drawing to a close, but one last crucial (though still somewhat obscure) chapter remains to be told. The Lambeth manuscripts constitute an important portion of Francis Bacon's archive. But it is a portion that is essentially limited to copies that Bacon himself kept of his outgoing letters. It does not include the many different speeches, legal writings, and philosophical works that also flowed into Thomas Tenison's hands from both William Rawley and Thomas Meautys.

Fortunately, these documents do also survive largely entire. They do so in a single collection: that of Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford (1661–1724), and his son, Edward (1689–1741), the second earl. But because these manuscripts are dispersed throughout numerous different volumes of the Harleys' collections, their association first with Meautys, and then with Tenison, has hitherto been lost. The various manuscripts containing Bacon's holograph are conspicuous by their absence from Cyril Ernest Wright's authoritative account of the sources of the Harleian collection, *Fontes Harleiani* (1972).<sup>127</sup> Yet it is now clear that the great majority of Baconian holograph material now in the Harleian collection ultimately derives from the collections of archbishop Tenison.

What is not clear is precisely how Tenison's manuscripts made their way into Harley's collection. A characteristically parsimonious hint appears in a letter from the Harleys' librarian, Humfrey Wanley, to Edward Harley in January 1716: "as to the late A.Bishop's books I will still endeavor to gett them

126 LPL, MS 2086. On this document, see Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 122–24. A reproduction is available via *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online*, gen. ed. Andrew Zurcher ([scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk](http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk)).

127 Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972).

cheaper for you; & yet you shall have the choise of the whole."<sup>128</sup> Was this when Tenison's manuscripts also entered the Harleian collection? Or was it from Gibson, the detainer of Bacon's letters? Or did they come from one of Tenison's three legatees, who were supposed to receive the residue of his manuscripts: Edward Tenison, George Fage, or Thomas Herne?

The question remains open.<sup>129</sup> What is clear is that none of the Tenison manuscripts in the Harleian collection bear Humfrey Wanley's punctilious inscriptions. For instance, as we have seen, it seems clear that a fair number of the documents now bound into codex Harley 9797 were formerly in the possession of William Rawley; that others again formerly belonged to Thomas Meautys; and that Tenison consolidated them. These items are silent about their provenance. But a few *further* items in the volume evidently arrived in it by different routes again. One of these is the copy of a composite work (containing Bacon's *Preparation for the Union of the Laws*), in a scribal hand unconnected with Bacon's secretariat, which was given by the Irish antiquary Thomas O'Sullivan and inscribed by Wanley "2 March 1722/3."<sup>130</sup> Another is the workmanlike professional copy of Bacon's "Humble Submission" to the Lords (a very widely-copied piece), which opens the volume, and which Wanley has inscribed: "Bought of Mr. G. Pauls Landlady."<sup>131</sup>

The first datable testimony to Harley's possession of the Bacon manuscripts that were formerly in the possession of Thomas Tenison occurs in the preface to a book that appeared in 1734 entitled *Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon*.<sup>132</sup> This work was begun by Robert Stephens (1665–1732), historiographer royal, and according to Humfrey Wanley "a Relation" of Lord Harley.<sup>133</sup> Stephens' preface, written at some point between the publication of John Blackbourne's edition of Bacon's *Opera omnia* in 1730 and Stephens' own

128 Wanley, *Letters*, 333 (Wanley to Edward Harley, 26 Jan. 1716). The context suggests this promise relates specifically to printed books from Tenison's collection.

129 I do not find it answered in *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, ed. C.E. Wright and Ruth C. Wright, 2 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966).

130 BL, MS Harley 6797, fols. 54–78 (at 54r); mentioned in *Diary of Wanley*, 1:192, but erroneously identified by the editors as MS Harley 6688 (1:192 n. 8 and 2:514).

131 BL, MS Harley 6797, fols. 1–10 (at 10v).

132 This volume was shortly afterwards reissued with a new title-page as *Letters, Memoirs, Parliamentary Affairs, State Papers, &c. With some Curious Pieces in Law and Philosophy. Publish'd from the originals of the Lord Chancellor Bacon* (London, 1736).

133 *Diary of Wanley*, 1:224. Stephens presented the first earl with what is now MS Harley 1251, a collection of later-medieval devotions and images of saints. Much earlier, Stephens had published a collection of *Letters of Sir Francis Bacon* (London, 1702), which were taken from a collection "preserved by the care of a very worthy Gentleman" (sig. A4r),

death in November 1732, offers some sort of explanation for how he came to undertake the volume:

the Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford*<sup>134</sup> was pleased to put into my hands, some neglected manuscripts and loose papers, to see whether any of the Lord *Bacon's* compositions lay concealed there, that were fit to be published. Upon the perusal, I found some of them written, and others amended with his Lordship's own hand, and believed that all of them had been in the possession of Dr. *Rawley*, his Lordship's Chaplain, and faithful Editor of many of his Works. I found, that several of the Treatises had been published by him, and that others, certainly genuine, which had not, were fit to be transcribed, and so preserved, if not divulged.<sup>135</sup>

In fact, as we have seen, none of the physical documents that Rawley had sent to the press do seem to survive in the Harleian collection. But there are a sufficient number of duplicated items in Harley 6797 that one can see how Stephens might have come to such a conclusion. However, in one crucial respect, Stephens' conclusion regarding the provenance of the manuscripts he had identified was wrong. They had not "all" been in the possession of William Rawley; in fact, the majority had come from Thomas Meautys. Moreover, we observe that by this point Tenison's role as the source of the documents has either been forgotten, or is being suppressed.

Stephens died in 1732, by which time he had seen through the press about half of the volume that eventually appeared. What he had edited were mostly letters, apparently copied from exemplars in the same collection from which he had printed an earlier 1702 volume of Bacon *Letters*, and which are described as being "transcribed from a fragment of his Lordship's Register."<sup>136</sup> He also printed just a few non-epistolary items from the Harleian collection: the unfinished treatise *Of the True Greatness of*

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who remains unidentified. This volume opened the door to the much later one. Of the letters in this volume that Stephens scrupulously indicated had been printed "from the original" (all but one being from Bacon to George Villiers) I have traced the surviving manuscript of only one: Huntington Library, MS FBL 4 (Bacon to Villiers, 22 Sept. 1617; holograph, signed, sealed). On Stephens, see further Patricia Brewerton, "Stephens, Robert (1665–1732)," *ODNB*.

134 That is, Edward Harley, the second earl.

135 Stephens, "Preface," III.

136 See Stephens, "Preface," III, and Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, sig. c3r (contents-page). This fragment has not been identified, if indeed it still exists.

*Britain*;<sup>137</sup> Bacon's *Speech at the arraignment of Lord Sanquhar*;<sup>138</sup> and the text docketed by Bacon himself "Notes of a Speach touching the Warr" (with Spain).<sup>139</sup> Only one manuscript he printed, the *Charge against the Countess of Shrewsbury*, cannot now be located.<sup>140</sup>

As a consequence of Stephens' untimely death, the bulk of the many important non-epistolary items in the volume were therefore edited by a different person. This was John Locker (1693–1760), who appears to have been commissioned to complete the work following Stephens' death by his widow, Mary Stephens, the author of its dedication to George II.<sup>141</sup> Locker did his work well. He may have benefited from transcriptions made by Stephens, but it is clear from his comments and also from his editions themselves that he edited the remaining items in the volume directly from "Originals" in Harley's library.<sup>142</sup> The brief postscript that Locker wrote for a volume published under Stephens' name, but for which he did at least half the work, offers an interesting and plausible account of the fortunes of Bacon's manuscripts, drawing attention to the loss of the register-books, and to the destruction of the papers committed to Sir William Boswell. Nonetheless, Locker goes on, "is not impossible, that many of the genuine copies are yet in being," and adds that he himself had recently "met with a fair copy of the Discourse on *Ireland*, which corrects all others either manuscript or printed."<sup>143</sup> He concludes by offering his services as an editor of any further manuscripts that might come to light, and indeed his subsequent work on Bacon's manuscripts laid the foundations for Thomas Birch's collected edition of Bacon's *Works* in 1765.<sup>144</sup>

137 Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, sigs. 2C1r–2E4v.

138 Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, sigs. 2F1r–2F3r, printing BL, MS Harley 6854, fols. 99r–100v (not in *CELM*).

139 Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, sigs. 2G1r–2G4r, printing BL, MS Harley 7021, fols. 181r–188v (not in *CELM*).

140 Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, sigs. 2F3r–2G1r.

141 See Patricia Brewerton, "Locker, John (1693–1760)," *ODNB*.

142 See Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, 232, for a note by Locker recording the point at which Stephens' work on the volume ceased, and his own began.

143 Two contemporary presentation manuscripts that might meet this description are known to survive. One is now in the Huntington Library, MS EL 1721 (*CELM*, BcF 132), which Locker would have had to have seen in the collection of the earls of Bridgewater, where it then was. The other, National Library of Ireland, MS 2582 (*CELM*, BcF 134), entered that collection in May 1954 from W. Corran, of 137 Cavehill Road, Belfast; its life before then is unknown to me.

144 John Locker, "Postscript," to *Letters and Remains*, 518; [Thomas Birch?], "Advertisement," to *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 5 vols (London, 1765), sig. π3r.



By this point, however, the only substantial cache of Bacon's manuscripts that remained unpublished was the volume of letters that is now Lambeth MS 936. It was left to the capable Thomas Birch at last to print these, in 1763, in his volume of *Letters, Speeches, Charges, Remains*. This volume derived from the access that Birch had been granted to the Gibson manuscripts by Archbishop Thomas Secker through the intermediation of Viscount Royston.<sup>145</sup> With certain exceptions, Birch admitted into this volume no manuscript that had been published before.<sup>146</sup> Once his edition had been published, no really significant document that survived from Bacon's own posthumous archive remained to be printed. The next major contribution to the study of Baconian manuscripts was made in the mid-nineteenth century by the indefatigable James Spedding, who would make his way through incalculable quantities of then-uncatalogued State Papers in the Rolls Office at Chancery Lane, looking for documents containing Bacon's name or handwriting—in which endeavour he was conspicuously successful.<sup>147</sup>

Thus with Stephens' and Locker's publication of most of the treatises from the Meautys portion, and with Birch's publication of most of its letters, the three separate streams of Bacon's archival afterlife had run their course. They had all either seen their way to the press, or perished, or both. Of the Boswell portion, some had been printed, and all had perished; of the Rawley portion much had been printed, and most had perished; whereas the Meautys portion had mostly been printed, and yet had mostly survived (Fig. 1.1).

## 6 Conclusions

The drama of Francis Bacon's archival afterlife is therefore not entirely tragic. Though the majority of his posthumous manuscripts are lost, the loss of most of them came in the course of reaching print. Their texts, therefore, if not the original documents that contained the texts, survive. Hence one important conclusion of this inquiry is that while there are a few attested works that have

145 Thomas Birch, "To the Honourable Charles Yorke," in Bacon, *Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices*, sig. A2v.

146 Birch, "Preface," sig. A7v.

147 Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, "Editing a Hero of Modern Science," in *Books and the Science in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 345–68, offer an account of Spedding's editorial labours.

disappeared completely, the great majority of his unpublished manuscript writings that Bacon had retained to his death does seem to have been preserved in one form or another.<sup>148</sup>

The significance of Bacon's archival afterlife is therefore both representative and exceptional at the same time. It is representative insofar as it tells an unusually clearly-defined story about the changing value accorded across our period to the manuscripts of a modern author. Until the turn of the seventeenth century, the print-shop meant destruction for holograph manuscripts. Thereafter, however, the emergence of the large-scale collector—in this case the Harleys—who valued manuscripts for their authorial associations as well as for their content, meant that an autograph document could be published without perishing. In Bacon's case, that tipping-point occurred across the period between two volumes published in 1679 and 1734. In the fifty years between Tenison's *Baconiana* (1679) and Stephens' *Letters and Remains* (1734), a new respect for the manuscript as a document of interest in its own right had demonstrably come into being. When printing manuscripts from the noble collections of the earls of Oxford, or of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, it was no longer appropriate to destroy them in the process.

But the story of Bacon's archival afterlife is also exceptional. It is exceptional for the intensity with which his manuscripts were sought after; for the effort that went into publishing them; and for the size of the readership that made collections of his remains marketable. Following his death, Bacon relatively quickly became a modern classic—a writer, in Thomas Birch's words, "equal to the most valuable of the ancients."<sup>149</sup> It was this reputation, above all, that animated the interest of archbishops and future archbishops, and which facilitated the preservation and the publication of his manuscripts.

But why was the seventeenth-century print-shop so destructive? A number of reasons suggest themselves. At a practical level, the print-shop destroyed manuscripts by virtue of being cast-off, composed, and used for correction. The notoriously low proportion of surviving manuscripts that bear witness to these processes demonstrate that printers were not in the habit of returning

148 Among the attested but unlocated manuscript works by Bacon are his "De arthritide" (n. 47, above); his "Ornamenta Rationalia" (n. 150, below); and an early treatise entitled "Of Active Knowledge," discussed in Richard Serjeantson, "Francis Bacon's *Valerius Terminus* and the Voyage to the *Great Instauration*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 78 (2017), 341–68.

149 Birch, "Preface," sig. A8r.

copy to its authors or editors.<sup>150</sup> Given this, however, we must also assume that editors of posthumous works did not expect to have the manuscript they submitted to the print-shop returned to them. Yet the loss, without exception, of the documents that were published by Rawley and Tenison strongly implies that they sent originals, and not copies, to the press. Tenison bitterly laments the loss of the manuscript of Bacon's *Ornamenta Rationalia*, yet one infers that had he found it, and printed it, the document itself would have been freely discarded.<sup>151</sup> Hence, for these seventeenth-century editors, it appears that the value of a manuscript lay in the contents of its text, and that once that text was published, it superseded any specific interest the document itself possessed. Tenison valued the presence of Bacon's handwriting, but only insofar as it bore witness to the authenticity of the text it offered.

The matter of authenticity is therefore also crucial to the story of Bacon's archival afterlife. Every one of his posthumous editors provided a preface asserting the authoritative source of the documents they are printing. Gruter's first sentence stated that what he had to offer derived from copies made "from manuscript volumes which the author had accurately reviewed and variously altered."<sup>152</sup> In the *Resuscitatio* Rawley reminded the reader of his own role as Bacon's amanuensis, and spoke of setting forth his "true, and Genuine, writings themselves."<sup>153</sup> With the publication of the *Opuscula* a year later he noted that no more of Bacon's writings remained in his hands.<sup>154</sup> Tenison insisted that he was publishing nothing in his *Baconiana* that was not in either Bacon's or Rawley's handwriting. Again, therefore, the presence of an author's hand guaranteed authenticity; but it was an authenticity of the text rather than of the document. In no case did an editor before 1734 feel the need to verify their own good faith by appealing to the availability of documents; Tenison, rather, referred anyone "who doubteth of my Veracity in this matter" to a person: his "worthy Friend Mr. *John Rawley*," William's executor and son.<sup>155</sup>

150 Some such documents which do survive are accounted for in J. K. Moore, *Primary Materials Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1992).

151 Tenison, "An Account," 89–90. This document does indeed appear to be lost.

152 Gruter, "Lectori," sig. \*5r: "ex Manuscriptis Codicibus, quos accurate recensuerat & varie emendarat author."

153 William Rawley, "To the Reader," sig. (a)4r–v.

154 Rawley, "Lectori *Salutem*," in Bacon, *Opuscula*, sig. \*2r: "neque plura mihi in manibus esse."

155 Tenison, "An Account," 79.

One reason why early editors of letters, in particular, might have been coy about the location of original documents, was the persistent suspicion that the publishing of an individual's private correspondence was, as Robert Stephens put it in 1702, a "great ... violation of the secrecy that is due to them."<sup>156</sup> It was precisely "Cabalistick mysteries of State," after all, that was the attraction of printing the circulating volumes of manuscript letters that appeared in Bacon's *Remaines* (1648), and in the *Cabala* (1663).<sup>157</sup> In 1763, by contrast, Thomas Birch was confident that in his own time "the rights of historical truth" ought not to be prejudiced by a misplaced "delicacy."<sup>158</sup> In a parallel development, Birch now also begins his edition by seeking to establish the provenance of the manuscripts he is printing.<sup>159</sup>

But the most far-reaching development that this story exposes is the changing character of manuscript collections across the seventeenth century. Bacon (*d.* 1626), had a substantial archive; but it was divided among heirs he had not chosen, and its contents are now largely lost. Boswell (*d.* 1650), had a notable manuscript collection for his time; but it was lost following his death by someone—Isaac Gruter (*d.* 1680)—who should have appreciated it. Thomas Meautys' (*d.* 1649) box survived only by a "strange providence." Thomas Tenison (*d.* 1715), by contrast, was a serious clerical collector, who went so far as to found his own parochial library, and whose interests and energies united the surviving Bacon manuscripts along with many other documents. Yet he deliberately divided his own collection at his death; and the existence of both his own library at St Martins-in-the-Fields, and that of the archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth, was not enough to prevent his choicest Baconian documents from passing, silently, into the endlessly receptive and guinea-laden hands of Robert (1661–1724) or Edward (1689–1741) Harley. It was only once Bacon's manuscripts arrived in their collection that their travels finally ended. Moreover, their permanent safety was only really assured when a growing sense of national patrimony, together with a growing national wealth, allowed that extraordinary collection to be purchased for the nation in 1753 and placed

156 Stephens, "The Preface," to Bacon, *Letters* (1702), sig. A3r. In his later "Preface" to Bacon, *Letters and Remains*, v, Stephens is similarly concerned "for his Lordship's honour"

157 G. Bedell and T. Collins, "The Stationers to the Reader," in *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government: in Letters of Illustrious Persons and Great Ministers of State* (London, 1663), sigs. A3v–A4v.

158 Birch, "Preface," sig. A6v.

159 Birch, "Preface," sigs. A6v–A7v.

in the newly-founded British Museum “to be consulted by the curious, and for public Use to all Posterity.”<sup>160</sup> So far, at least, that noble goal remains intact.

This story illustrates, finally, that two kinds of person, in particular, tend to make lists of an author’s writings: biographers, such as John Aubrey; and editors, such as Rawley or Tenison. Seventeenth-century editors used lists to master a multiplicity of writings which, in the case of Francis Bacon, are uniquely numerous, various, and complicated. The catalogues they created have a general historical interest for what they tell us about attitudes to manuscripts and their circulation. But for any modern editor of Bacon’s writings these lists now also have a specific functional necessity: they help establish what papers once existed; from what sources texts were printed; and where to look for any documents that might still exist to be discovered.

But the early-modern manuscript-list is not ultimately a merely banal document. For there was also a further kind of person who made and collected such catalogues in the seventeenth century. These were the intelligencers, the collectors, the readers, and the thinkers, who were excited (and sometimes also disappointed) by the manuscripts they found, and who laid plans to use them.<sup>161</sup> For these people, the manuscript-list was a cousin to the *desiderata* or wish-list—a genre that Francis Bacon helped bequeath to the modern world.<sup>162</sup> For figures such as John Sparrow, Justinian Isham, or Samuel Hartlib, manuscript-lists served as tantalising promises of knowledge yet to be acquired. Even now, they retain something of that quality.<sup>163</sup>

160 The words are those of the Act authorizing the sale, quoted in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1808), 1:1.

161 See e.g. Justinian Isham to Samuel Hartlib, 20 Jan. 1640 (*Hartlib Papers*, SUL, HP 44/2/9A): “I doubt not but to obtaine *the Lord Verulams* MS. againe, to compare with that you shall send.”

162 Vera Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest, 1575–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 127–66.

163 I am grateful to Angus Vine for the expertise that he has contributed to this study; to Noel Malcolm for remarks that helped stimulate its conclusions; and to the editors and anonymous referee of this volume for their judicious advice. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC grant agreement no. 617391.

## Appendix

### *Some Seventeenth-Century Lists of Bacon's Writings*

- 1625 FRANCIS BACON, "Epistola ad Fulgentium." An account of his own printed writings.<sup>164</sup>
- after 1626 WILLIAM RAWLEY, "Lord St Albans works printed."<sup>165</sup>
- by 1639 WILLIAM RAWLEY/JOHN SPARROW, "A Catalogue of the extant Manuscripts of Bacon, Lord Verulam viscount St Alban."<sup>166</sup>
- by 1639 WILLIAM RAWLEY, "a full Catalogue of Verulams MS. which Dr Raleigh hase."<sup>167</sup>
- 1652 ISAAC GRUTER sends William Rawley a catalogue (*Indeterminate*) of William Boswell's Bacon manuscripts (now lost).<sup>168</sup>
- 1655 WILLIAM RAWLEY sends Gruter a "little catalogue" (*indiculum*) of his own holdings (also lost).<sup>169</sup>
- 1657 WILLIAM RAWLEY, "A Perfect List of his Lordships true Works, both in English, and Latin." Lists works printed and about-to-be printed.<sup>170</sup>
- after 1657 JOHN AUBREY, "His Writings." Lists Bacon's printed writings.<sup>171</sup>
- 1660 THOMAS BUSHELL, "Post-script to the Judicious Reader." Lists some of Bacon's printed writings.<sup>172</sup>

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- 164 Bacon to Fulgenzio Micanzio [c.1625], in Francis Bacon, *Opuscula* (London, 1658), 172–4.
- 165 LPL, MS 2086, fol. 29v.
- 166 *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/5A). The same list, not in Hartlib's hand and with very minor differences, is at BL, MS Sloane 429, fol. 243r (papers of Daniel Foote). Hartlib sent this "Catalogue" of Bacon's manuscripts to Justinian Isham in 1639 (Isham to Hartlib, 2 Sept. 1639; *Hartlib Papers*, YALE/16 [i.e. Beinecke Library, Osborn Collection, MS File 16792]).
- 167 Copy at BL, MS Sloane 629, fols. 244r–245v (papers of Daniel Foote). Mentioned in *Hartlib Papers*, Ephemerides, 1639 (SUL, HP 30/4/27B). Hartlib also sent John, Baron Robertes, a "Register of my Lord Verulams M.S." on 10 March 1640, which will have been either this or the previous item (*Hartlib Papers*, SUL, HP 7/55/1A).
- 168 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 222 (Gruter to Rawley, 29 May 1652): "Mitto indicem eorum, quæ ex *Boswelliani* Musei scriniis chartaceis penes me extant."
- 169 Tenison, *Baconiana*, 231 (Gruter to Rawley, 20 Mar. 1655): "Et quamvis pauxillum erat quod præter gratias pro indiculo reponerem ..."
- 170 Francis Bacon, *Resuscitatio*, ed. William Rawley (London, 1657), sig. 3Q4r.
- 171 OB, MS Aubrey 6, fol. 74, printed in Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 1:73–74 (life of Bacon).
- 172 Thomas Bushell, *An Extract ... of his Late Abridgement* (London, 1660), 21.

- 1679 THOMAS TENISON, "An Account of All the Lord Bacon's Works." Identifies printed, manuscript, and lost works; also mentions possessing "three catalogues" of Bacon's "unpublished Papers" by RAWLEY.<sup>173</sup>
- 1682 THOMAS TENISON, "A Collection of Tracts, Speeches, & Letters written by Francis Bacon Baron of Verulam & Lord Saint Alban." Records the manuscripts Tenison found in Meautys' chest.<sup>174</sup>

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173 Thomas Tenison, *Baconiana* (London, 1679), 21–104 (qu. at 89).

174 OB, MS Tanner 35, fols. 145r–146r.