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BACONIANA

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THE FRANCIS BACON SOCIETY

(INCORPORATED)

Among the Objects for which the Society is established, as expressed in the Memorandum of Association, are the following:—

1. To encourage the study of the works of Francis Bacon as philosopher, statesman, and poet; also his character, genius and life; his influence on his own and succeeding times, and the tendencies and results of his writing.
2. To encourage the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.

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The subscription of twenty-one shillings sterling per annum is payable on election and on the first day of each succeeding January.

In view of the present high level of costs—notwithstanding the fact that the Society is now being run most economically—this rate of subscription for membership is extraordinarily low. In these circumstances, the Council will be most grateful to all members if they can further promote our united witness to the cause of Lord Bacon by occasionally forwarding an additional sum by way of donation, and above all, by recommending their friends for election to membership.

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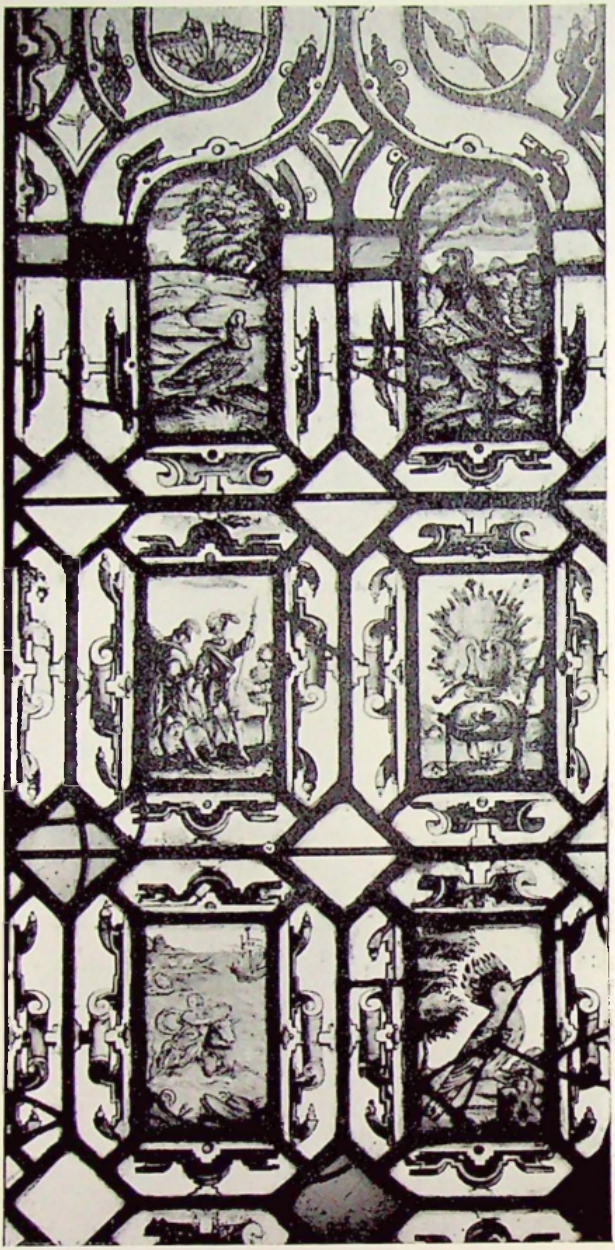

Stained Glass taken from Old Gorhambury
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BACONIANA

VOL. XLII (73rd Year) No. 159 DECEMBER, 1958

It should be clearly understood that BACONIANA *is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors or correspondents.*

EDITORIAL

The promised special number of *Baconiana* which will deal with cryptological matters has had to be postponed for a few months, and so a normal issue takes its place. Recent contributions on the cyphers have taken a novel turn, and will require careful selection, co-ordination, and checking. We therefore ask the indulgence of those members who are particularly interested in this question.

For some years we have been devoting most of our space to the literary, historical, and philosophical sides of our controversy, but *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* requires an answer, not only to the questions it raises, but also as a restatement of the position adopted by our Society, as distinct from that the reviewers of this book would like it to be. The authors, Colonel and Mrs. Friedman, though disclaiming any intention of judging the Baconian theory *per se*, have opened an interesting flank attack by their claim to have shown that all Shakespearean and Baconian cyphers (with one exception) are invalid, unscientific and incredible; and that the exception—Francis Bacon's Biliteral Cypher—which is allowed to be scientifically valid, cannot have been and was not used by him.

It was natural that the hack critics of the daily and literary press, who seldom read fully the books they review, should pretend that this disposes of the whole Baconian case, ignoring as usual the literary and historical argument on which our theory has always fundamentally rested. The fact that a number of our members are not cypherists, and that some of them even oppose these claims, is also conveniently ignored. But we can hardly associate Colonel and Mrs. Friedman with these unscrupulous methods. It is clear that, if anything, they themselves incline to the orthodox viewpoint, but their book expressly claims to deal only with the cryptological arguments and to settle these by a fairly comprehensive negative.

The Editors of *Baconiana* have no intention of allowing this book to go unanswered. They even venture to believe that its authors will be interested in our replies. Decipherments have not been and will not become the sole argument upon which our case must rest. There is a wealth of evidence without them. But if ever a cypher were

"proved", it would obviously become a decisive argument, and as such, would be welcomed by all, including the Friedmans. To keen minds the bare possibility of a secret cypher is stimulating. Whether this must be cryptographically "unique" and scientifically "valid" according to modern standards is a question which will be dealt with in our special issue by a cryptologist of distinction. His article, which shows how and why our Elizabethan forebears were compelled to resort to "partial indetermination" in their secret messages, must now await the completion of other contributions.

* * * *

I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend he may quit the stage.

Francis Bacon was a man who attracted and kept many friends—"All who were good and great loved him". Perhaps the highest tribute that has survived was that of Ben Jonson, a genius himself and more given to satire than to lavish praise.

> ". . . . . My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place of honours; but I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want . . . . . "

At the latter end of Bacon's life and after his fall, Ben Jonson's friendship must have been a very real pillar of support. But the earlier and perhaps closer tie was a more private and personal one. It was to Anthony Bacon, his "deare brother", that the first small edition of the now world-famous *Essays* was dedicated. These two were companions in childhood, at Cambridge University and through the days of "mumming and masking and sinfully revelling" at Grays Inn! It is no surprise to find those warm words "Anthony Comfort and consorte" scribbled across the cover of the Northumberland Manuscript which once belonged to Francis.

In that strange quartet—Francis, Anthony, Essex, and the Queen—it is Anthony who is so often overlooked. Returning from the Continent in 1592, with a reputation as a successful "intelligencer" or secret agent, and a wealth of information about affairs in Europe, Anthony found himself to some extent bound in service to the Government, and thus to the Cecils, father and son. He had little use for Robert Cecil. When Lady Russell had assured him that the latter was "No Ass", Anthony had replied: "Let him go for a mule, then, Madam—the most mischievous beast that is". The "scrivenery" at Twickenham, run jointly by Francis, Anthony, and Essex, must have been an interesting "information" centre. As an experienced organiser Anthony was an important figure there. It was to him in person that the Kings of Scotland and France wrote autograph letters, and to him that Lord Eure opened a first proposal of marriage between his son and Essex's niece. Much business was transacted, and many

schemes for the advancement of the Commonweal were elaborated by the brothers, but centred on the Favourite. Essex, who never counted the cost, eventually found himself unable to finance the services which the two brothers were rendering him; and looked for round-about ways to reimburse them. When endeavouring to advance Francis politically he was no doubt thwarted by Mr. Secretary Cecil. He then impulsively tried to settle the obligation by begging the latter to accept a piece of land, a form of repayment which, as we have seen, was received by Francis with the utmost reserve. But the debt to Anthony seems to have been settled in a more tangible fashion. He was offered, and accepted, apartments in Essex House.

Anthony Bacon must have been a considerable power in his day. It was to him that Essex usually referred in his dispatches to Reynolds, using such phrases as: "Commend me on to him a thousand times". But one wonders whether a shadow might not have fallen across the great friendship between Francis and Anthony, when Essex began to pursue his darker courses. At Essex House Anthony must have been more deeply committed, and in no position to warn his impulsive patron (as did Francis) of a deeper loyalty to the Queen.

To Francis the whole trend of the Essex rebellion must have seemed utter madness; if Essex persisted in it, then he must be treated as a madman. Francis Bacon was never overawed by Robert Devereux. But their friendship had always been too close for him to need to show the steel in his own nature, as he did with Edward Coke. At the end, faced like Raleigh with a clear choice, he accepted duty to his country as the prior claim, and so preserved his loyalty to the ageing Queen—the great Queen, who in his own boyhood, had playfully called him her "little Lord Keeper".

Anthony Bacon, although deeply involved with the Essex conspirators, was never put on trial. His death about May 1601, in the very heat of the trials, left the friendship between the two brothers apparently unbroken. But this must have been one of the darkest hours for Francis. No doubt Essex had had important secrets with which only Anthony was acquainted. Indeed, the latter was the repository of many secrets which, could we but unveil them, might involve re-writing the history of the Elizabethan age. Yet with Anthony's death Francis lost his friend, the friend who had stood by him steadfastly through long years of financial insolvency which had been brightened only by their mutual dedication to the "Commonweal".

The riotous madness of the Essex rebellion gradually subsided. Justice was appeased, but Francis was next commanded to write the official story of that rebellion, and then to revise it almost at the Queen's dictation.

Some historians have suggested that Francis wrote this in an effort to avert "growing unpopularity". It is hardly necessary to say more than that, at this juncture, he was returned as Member of Parliament for two constituencies, Ipswich and St. Albans—a double return, and always rare. Unpopular with the Government he may have been;

but henceforward he was encouraged and sustained by the voice of the people. Though a courtier by upbringing, he was a House of Commons man by conviction from the beginning to the end of his political career. Nevertheless, it must have been a dark hour for him when, not only Robert Devereux, but Anthony Bacon too, were called upon to "quit the stage".

* * * *

The leading contribution in our present issue is a delightfully written and fully documented article by Vivian C. Hopkins entitled *Emerson and Bacon.* Miss Hopkins (who is on the staff of New York State University) can be regarded as a Baconian only in the wider sense, the first of our declared objects, and is not concerned with the controversy. Nevertheless we are sure that our readers will welcome this scholarly essay with its useful and valuable references.

There are, of course, certain statements of Emerson's view of Bacon which could be qualified in the light of more recent knowledge. But Miss Hopkins in this essay is recording the evolving attitude of a great American towards one of the greatest of Englishmen whom he much admired; an attitude which developed gradually over many years. His final views on the question of Lord Bacon's supposed moral defects (which seem to have been taken for granted) are akin to those of Shelley:

> "it exceeds all imagination to conceive what would have been the moral condition of the world if neither Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Calderon, Lord Bacon, nor Milton, had ever existed . . . .
> Let us assume that Homer was a drunkard, that Virgil was a flatterer, that Horace was a coward, that Tasso was a madman, that Lord Bacon was a peculator, that Raphael was a libertine, that Spencer was a poet laureate . . . . . Their errors have been weighed and found to have been dust in the balance . . . . . ."

It would be interesting to know if Emerson had read Hepworth Dixon's vindication of Lord Bacon published in 1862, which drew vital information from State documents which had previously been inaccessible to Spedding. Although Emerson did not live long enough to see the tables turned on Macaulay's brilliant but libellous essay, he seems, like Shelley, to have maintained a stubborn and instinctive faith in the essential goodness of the great Elizabethan.

It was unfortunate that Spedding, who was so clearly embarrassed by the Bacon controversy, should have been chosen to edit the Northumberland Manuscript in 1870. He could not resist the temptation to "play down" this irrefutable piece of evidence, as it affected the controversy. A more judicial assessment of this unique document (*e.g.* the Edition of 1904, prepared by Burgoyne), might have appealed to Emerson, and might have recalled memories of Delia, the attractive New England teacher and first "knight-errant" of our cause, whom he had befriended and encouraged in 1852.

We are greatly indebted to Miss Hopkins for filling a gap in our

knowledge of the extent to which the youthful Ralph Waldo Emerson had made Bacon his own.

* * * *

By kind permission of the Editor of *Country Life* we are re-printing in this issue "An Elizabethan Statesman's Home" by Mr. Bryan Bevan, who is a member of our Society. Verulam House at Gorhambury is usually open to visitors in August, and is full of the most interesting works of art, including one of the most valuable private collections of portraits in the country. There is a Holbein of King Henry VIII, and a fine picture of Queen Elizabeth I by Hilliard, which was probably given originally to Sir Nicholas Bacon.

The unique stained glass screen, part of which is illustrated in our frontispiece, also dates from the days of Francis Bacon. Many of the pictures in this screen represent scenes in the New World of America, some of them depicting monsters, evidently taken at face value from travellers' tales and the yarns of seamen. The feathered head-dress of Indian chiefs is portrayed.

In the library there are some early books which are said to have come from Bacon's own library. Several unique quartos of Shakespeare plays from Lord Verulam's library are now on loan to libraries such as the Bodleian, photo-facsimiles of these being retained at Verulam House. We hope that some of our members will take the opportunity next year of visiting this lovely place during the time that it is thrown open to the public, probably in August.

* * * *

Mr. W. E. Heasell, a member of our Society, recently drew our attention to an article by John L. Jones in the *Bristol Evening Post* of October 1st, entitled "Legendary Lavender". The subject was the history of scent-making and the almost alchemical precautions which used to be observed in the old days in harvesting lavender. Our interest, however, soon narrowed to a point at the end of the article where the sub-editor had inserted into the text in bold letters the caption "BUT NOT BACON". Reading on we found that the writer had attempted a small but undeserved "dig" at Francis Bacon, as follows:—

> "Shakespeare has numerous references to lavender but curiously it is not mentioned by Bacon in his inventory of aromatic medicinal herbs. (Is there a small pointer here for the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy?)".

Mr. Heasell replied to this suggestion in a letter which our readers will find reprinted in our correspondence columns, and which the editor of the *Bristol Evening Post* was fair enough to publish. We are grateful to Mr. Heasell for showing quite clearly that Bacon's references to lavender are more numerous and more detailed than those made under the pseudonym "Shakespeare".

* * * *

At the special request of the author, we are printing an article by Arden on acrostics and other devices derived from *The Tempest*. We

are pleased to render this service for a contributor of some years standing, and our readers will understand that, as in the past, the Editors maintain an impartial attitude on the whole question of cyphers. This article, however, is the result of much hard work and patient research, and readers who are interested in Arden's ideas may care to consider in addition the following "initial signature" from the Prologue to *Tamberlaine*, 1590:—

"FRom jigging vaines of riming mother wits
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay".

The following are the three "signatures" discussed by Arden, as originally set out:—

The first stanza of the *Rape of Lucrece*, 1594,

FRom the besieged Ardea all in post
Borne by the trustlesse wings of false desire

The first Shake-speare sonnet, 1609,

FRom fairest creatures we desire increase
That thereby beauties Rose might never die
But as the riper should by time decrease,

The first lines of *A Lover's complaint*, 1609,

FRom off a hill whose concave wombe re-worded
A plaintiff story from a sistring vale.

* * * *

The recent articles in *Baconiana* under the serial title *A Pioneer* have now been revised by the author and published in a slim octavo volume. An important new chapter, "The Dionysian Procession", has been added, and there is a fine portrait of Delia Bacon as frontispiece. The price to members ordering direct from the Society is 4/6 for copies sewn with stiff printed covers, or 7/6 ($1) for those bound in cloth, with jackets. The advertised prices are 5/- and 8/6 respectively.

EMERSON AND BACON

By VIVIAN C. HOPKINS

Reprinted from *American Literature*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, January, 1958

Man's proper function, said Francis Bacon in the *Novum Organum* (1620), is that of "servant and interpreter of Nature." Here is the bass-note which resounds through "Nature" (1836), Ralph Waldo Emerson's poetic paean to man and the cosmos. Bacon's "knowledge as power" gets full recognition in the chapter on "Commodity" in "Nature," while "Beauty" and "Spirit" carry the higher import of Bacon's "light-bearing" experiments, superior to the "fruit" of practical skill; and "Prospects" looks ahead, in a Baconian way, to what this new view of the universe can do for man. "Nature" uses Bacon's "mirror" image[1] to show that man and the rest of the world belong together.[2] When Emerson applied the profession of faith in "Nature" to human and divine learning, in "The American Scholar" and "The Divinity School Address," he found encouragement in Bacon for his defiance of established authority. The seventeenth-century assailant of Aristotle and the schoolmen was a strong moral support for the bold iconoclast who challenged the ruling powers of Harvard's undergraduate school in 1837, and who in 1838 launched an even more devasting attack on the idols of the Divinity School. Not only does "The American Scholar" echo Bacon in placing the outer world ahead of books, as a source of knowledge; but it also uses Bacon's "seal-print" image[3] to underline the correspondence between moral and material nature.[4] *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) criticized

[1] "Solomon . . . declaring, obscurely, that God hath formed the mind of man as a mirror, or glass, capable of the image of the universal world, and joyful to receive the impression thereof, as the eye joyeth to behold light . . . " (Francis Bacon, *The Twoo Bookes of . . . the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human*, Bk. I, *Works*, 10 vols., London, 1824, I, 7-8. *The Advancement* is hereinafter referred to as *A.L.*) References are given to this edition, a copy of which Emerson owned and annotated with great care. At the end of the article is appended a list of Emerson's notations.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association, for permission to make use of the notations in Bacon's *Works*, the 1835 MS Lecture on Bacon (see n. 12), and unpublished portions of the *Journals*.

[2] "The laws of moral nature answer to those of matter as face to face in a glass" (*The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Centenary Ed., Edward W. Emerson, ed., 12 vols., Boston, 1903-1904, I, 32-33; hereinafter referred to as *Works*, C. Ed.).

[3] "Certain it is, that *veritas* and *bonitas* differ but as the seal and the print; for truth prints goodness . . ." (*A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works* I, 62). Cf. "This Janus of imagination hath differing faces; for the face towards reason hath the print of truth, but the face towards action hath the print of good, which nevertheless are faces, *quales, decet esse sororum*" (*A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 130).

[4] "He shall see that nature is the opposite of the soul, answering to it part for part. One is seal and one is print" (*Works*, C. Ed., pp. 86-87). For an early use of the "seal-print," see "To Mary Moody Emerson, April 10, 1826," *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward W. Emerson and Waldo E. Forbes (10 vols., Boston, 1909-1914), II, 92; and, in the same letter, a reference to a Bacon aphorism (*The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* ed. Ralph L. Rusk, 6 vols., New York, 1939, I, 169). *The Journals* are hereinafter referred to as *J.*; *The Letters*, as *L.*

ecclesiastical history for leaning too heavily on narratives of miracles; from this, Emerson draws ammunition for his attack in "The Divinity School Address" upon historical Christianity and the belief in miracles, as the last theistic bulwarks of Unitarianism. Even the tone of deceptive gentleness is Baconian; no less skilfully than Sir Francis Bacon did Waldo Emerson cast himself in the role of trumpeter rather than combatant.

To say that Bacon contributed to Emerson's new view of the world does not imply that the Emersonian nature coincided with the Baconian at all points. The rays of inspiration did indeed spread across two centuries, but they were refracted by time. If Bacon, *redivivus*, could have visited Massachusetts during the crucial 1830's, he would certainly have been heard applauding the courage of this American nonconformist. And he might be expected to approve Emerson's devotion to "the oracle of God's works" rather than "the deceiving and deformed images" of his own mind or the great books of the past[5] (even though Bacon is one of the writers mentioned in "The American Scholar" as too highly venerated by young men in libraries). Bacon had his moments of seeing the world as the beautiful creation of an all-powerful God—as, for example, his praise for "that excellent book of Job," "pregnant and swelling with natural philosophy . . . , cosmography, and the roundness of the world."[6] But he would surely think that the Concord sage was dreaming when in the chapter "Idealism" he termed Nature "one vast picture which God paints on the instant eternity for the contemplation of the soul." Furthermore, in Emerson's Spirit which puts nature "forth through us," he would recognize with regret the persistence of the old Neo-Platonic error, which he supposed long since vanquished by his own efforts. More time spent in the laboratory, the Baron might suggest, would exorcise this fatal demon of confusing natural history with theology. As for the curious coincidence which led Francis Bowen, antagonist of "Nature" and "The American Scholar," to cite Bacon on his conservative Unitarian side against Transcendentalism,[7] Bacon's shade, if it had appeared in Cambridge, would have been swift to judge Bowen and his friend Andrews Norton, no less than Waldo Emerson, infidels from the true faith.

Bacon's first impression on Emerson was as a stylist and man of action. No average reader of Bacon, Emerson nevertheless began at the usual starting point: the *Essays*. To his brother Edward in Washington he sent the Baconian advice ("Of Travel") to keep a journal of exciting political events.[8] On a walking tour in June, 1822, Waldo and his brother William lounged on the grass reading these *Essays*[9], and on a solitary tour in August, 1823, Emerson had

[5] *A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works*, I, 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 43. Passage marked by Emerson.

[7] For extracts from Bowen's articles in the *Christian Examiner*, see Perry Miller (ed.), *The Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 173-178, and *passim* for an explanation of the whole conflict.

[8] "Jan. 31, 1819," *L.*, I, 91.

[9] "June 10, 1822," *L.*, I, 115.

"my Lord Bacon as trusty counselor all the week," discovering on a Sunday "six or seven choice essays for holy time."[10] Among his favourites were "Truth," "Great Place," "Friendship," "Studies," "Ceremonies and Respects," "Masks and Triumphs," "Deformitie," "Gardens," and "Buildings."[11]

"The book of Lord Bacon," Emerson told his lecture audience in 1835, "that gets out of libraries into parlours and chambers and travelling carriages and into camps is his *Essays*. Few books ever written contain so much wisdom and will bear to be read so many times . . . . They are clothed in a style of such splendour that imaginative persons find sufficient delight in the beauty of expression."[12] For style, knowledge of the world, and occasional idealistic flashes, Emerson prized the *Essays* highly. Two of his own volumes were called, simply, *Essays;* and certainly he learned from Bacon as well as from Montaigne how to shape journal notes into a rounded form.[13] He thought enough of Bacon's "Manners" to give its title to one of his own essays, as well as to a section of *English Traits*. Of course Emerson gave his work an individual accent. If he learned from Bacon how to pack a sentence full of meaning, in concentrated phrase, his printed *Essays* still carried the voice tones (and sometimes the ellipses) of the lecture room, where most of them were first tried out, in contrast to the tight compression of Bacon's, which were written entirely in the study. Had Bacon worked over his speeches in the House of Commons (which he did not bother to publish), the parallel with Emerson would be even more striking. When in 1838 a young friend dismissed Bacon's *Essays* casually as "Apophthegms," Emerson rose to their defence. They might be thrown into proper perspective, and "sternly refused," he admitted—but only after their value was "probed and settled by microscopic loving study,"[14] Not the *Essays* merely, but all of Bacon's work needed scrutiny. These "dark pages, massive sentences and treatises slowly collected and consolidated from year to year," Emerson decided, "must be studied with a humble mind from year to year if we would apprehend the scope of his philosophy."[15] Carrying his devoted pursuit into the *Novum Organum* in 1820, he noted the excellent style

[10] *J.*, I, 271.

[11] A quotation from "Gardens," and a reference to "Buildings" in "The Young American," *Dial*, IV, 484-507 (April, 1844), were excised from the text of *Nature*, C. Ed., Vol. 1. The *Dial* passage (p. 490) shows that Emerson sought some Baconian grandeur for the American scene.

[12] MS Lecture on Bacon, in *Ten Lectures on English Literature*, 1835-1836 series, Houghton number H 195.8 (hereinafter referred to by number). This, the seventh in the series, was given on December 24, 1835. See Kenneth Cameron, *Emerson the Essayist* (2 vols., Raleigh, 1945), I, 353; and *L.*, I, 447, n. 58. Cf. James Elliot Cabot's title for the series, *On Topics Connected with English Literature, A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (2 vols., Boston, 1887), I, 236-240.

[13] An early sermon (Oct. 18, 1829) uses a quotation from Bacon's *Essays* on the stimulus that conversation gives to thought (Arthur McGiffert, ed., *Young Emerson Speaks*, Boston, 1938, p. 62).

[14] *J.*, IV, 429. The passage sounds as though Emerson were confusing the *Essays* with the *Apophthegms*, but other notations show his awareness of the distinction.

[15] H 195.8.

of Bacon's sentence on "heteroclite" instances (that is, bodies composed of two different species).[16]

That Emerson was really taking Bacon's message home to his bosom appears in his youthful reflections about the self, the earnest plumbing of his character to discover its true capacities. Here he found his difference from Bacon, as well as his likeness, a help in self-definition: "Men will have more different characters and more like purposes."[17] Painfully aware of "the immense significance of the precept, *Know thyself*," he employed Bacon, among others, as a measuring stick of character.[18] To one who would proceed from a rhapsodic delight in nature to a survey of representative men, Bacon's three directions for understanding humankind were important: "To have general acquaintance and inwardness with those which have general acquaintance, and look most into the world . . . To keep a good mediocrity in liberty of speech and secrecy . . . . But above all . . . that men have a good stay and hold of themselves . . . ."[19] Such advice was heeded by the young American who sought suavity and cultivation as alleviates for an awkward provincialism; Bacon's commendation of the Renaissance custom of sending youthful courtiers abroad was worth his notice.[20] In 1830 Emerson turned to Bacon for strength in overcoming the terror he experienced at his wife's approaching death.[21] His essay "Immortality," which renounced the idea that personality could continue in after-life, again cited Bacon as support for the belief that intellectual powers might endure.[22]

Above all, reading Bacon drove home the message, underscored in "The American Scholar," that the thinker may not stay aloof from action. Bacon's imagery comes to the surface of the "Lecture on the Times" (Dec. 2, 1841), where Emerson accepts the role of a responsible

[16] *J.*, I, 26.28. From the *Novum Organum*, Lib. II, Cap. XXVIII, *Works*, VIII, 130. Hereinafter referred to as *N.O.*

[17] MS *Blotting Book Y*, July, 1830.

[18] *J.*, II, 304. This printed passage immediately follows the preceding manuscript passage.

[19] *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 204. Passage marked by Emerson. Cf. *J.*, II, 410, July 29, 1831, where the entry "God's Door" is backed up by quotations from Bacon. And Dr. McGiffert notes the germ of self-reliance in the sermon "The Miracle of Our Being" (1834), where Emerson cites Bacon, with Socrates, Solomon, and Shakespeare, as counselling "him alone" (*Young Emerson Speaks*, p. 208).

[20] "Advice to Sir George Villiers," *Works*, III, 449. Passage marked by Emerson.

[21] Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), p. 147. See, e.g., the marked passage in *A.L.*, Bk. I, 61: "So certainly, if a man meditate upon the universal frame of nature, the earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls excepted, will not seem much more than an ant-hill . . . . It taketh away or mitigateth the fear of death . . . ."

[22] *Works*, C. Ed. VIII, 340: "Lord Bacon said: 'Some of the philosophers who were least divine denied generally the immortality of the soul, yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, might remain after death; which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affections: so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem to them to be' " (*A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works*, I, 65-66). Emerson omitted the phrase "and most immersed in the senses," which follows "least divine."

party, not a spectator in the pageant.[23] From college days onward Emerson knew that his share in the play would be through the spoken as well as the written word; resignation from the Second Church in 1832 did not change the purpose—it only made the way more difficult. Bacon was one of those who excelled in that *aliquid immensum infinitumque* which Emerson longed to capture for his own speaking. Although he paid little attention to Bacon's theory of oratory, he prized the Lord Chancellor as an *exemplum* of skill, not only in the House of Commons, but in informal conversation. The testimony of Francis Osborn and James Howel to Bacon the speaker was treasured, and Ben Jonson's praise of his friend provided a special mark for the aspiring American to shoot at: "The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end."[24] The mature Emerson realized these youthful dreams of excellence on the American lecture platform ("He brought us *life*," said James Russell Lowell). And, formulating his definition of the art in "Eloquence" (1870), Emerson remembered Bacon as a master: "Let Bacon speak and wise men would rather listen though the revolution of kingdoms was on foot."[25] As for the written word, Bacon was more than a model of style; his defence of publication was also useful to this wide-ranging speculator who hated to freeze his thought. Emerson admonished himself by means of the *Novum Organum's* second aphorism, "that neither the hand nor the mind of man can accomplish much without means," an assertion of the need for "premeditated preaching, the written book the composed poem."[26]

Reading more deeply in Bacon, Emerson began to prize him as an innovator in the scientific thought which deeply engaged the American's interest. In fact, as early as 1821, in a Bowdoin Prize Dissertation written during his senior year at Harvard, Emerson hailed the triumph of Bacon's "Inductive Philosophy" over Aristotle.[27] Never so misguided as to try his hand at laboratory or field experiments (his pears did better when he left them alone), Emerson did dig deep into

[23] *Works*, C. Ed., I, 266. Cf. the marked passage in *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I 167-168; "Men must know, that in this theatre of man's life, it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on. . . . . For contemplation which should be finished in itself, without casting beams upon society, assuredly divinity knoweth it not."

Emerson also underscored a similar passage from the essay "Goodness," which has the same imagery as Donne's famous "Devotion 17": "If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins them . . ." (*Works*, II, 281-282).

[24] H 195.8.

[25] *Works*, C. Ed., VII, 83.

[26] *J.*, III, 477-478. May 13, 1835. Emerson was translating freely. Cf. *N.O.*, Lib. I. Cap. I, *Works*, VIII, 1: "Nec manus nuda, nec intellectus sibi permissus, multum valet; instrumentis et auxiliis res perficitur; quibus opus est non minus ad intellectum, quam ad manum. . . ." Cf. *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 131, where Bacon acknowledges his debt to Aristotle for this passage.

[27] "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy," *Two Unpublished Essays*, Introduction by Edward Everett Hale (Boston, 1896), pp. 43-81. Although Emerson suggested at this time that a reaction would probably follow, in Aristotles favour (p. 49), he himself never did anything to advance such a change.

the geology, astronomy, and botany of his time; his thought as well as his expression was shot through with lustres from his scientific reading. In 1830, perusal of the Baron de Gérando's *Histoire des Systèmes de Philosophie Comparée*, where the Baconian term "prima philosophia" is a key word, led him back to Bacon.[28] Emerson really grasped Bacon's definition of the term to mean a statement of the principles that hold true in all sciences, morals, and mechanical arts;[29] but, where Bacon considered "prima philosophia" merely a groundwork, laid down so that empirical investigation might proceed, Emerson elevated the term to the highest place in his scheme of values, deeming it worthy of a life "to announce the laws of the First Philosophy."[30] Yet he did not read Bacon's scientific works superficially. He understood, for example, Bacon's restriction of metaphysics to the discovery of "form," that is, the essential nature of physical things, and to the inquiry for final causes. In discussing this, he mentions the experiments with whiteness,[31] heat,[32] and weight;[33] and, significantly the "unscientific" Emerson hit upon two that are still regarded today as a contribution to empirical knowledge: that of whiteness as a mixture of the other colours on the spectrum, and that of heat as a form of motion.[34] Like other expounders of Bacon, Emerson was not sure that he understood his term "form." He marked a passage in the "Valerius Terminus" ("Of the Interpretation of Nature") where Bacon criticized Plato and Aristotle for dodging the search for "first form," but admitted the difficulties, and granted that second causes must be the preliminary ground of study.[35] A mark put beside this above, referring to a passage in "Ceremonies and Respects," where "form" is used in the sense of manners or customs of behaviour,[36] shows that Emerson's understanding of this point was incomplete. "What are Bacon's forms?" he queries in his listing of these passages.[37] Yet,

[28] *J.*, II, 330-332. Oct. 27, 1830.

[29] *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 95-96, 100-101.

[30] This shift is characteristic of what Emerson was likely to do with a scientific term, as Harry H. Clark indicated in "Emerson and Science," *Philological Quarterly*, X, 225-260 (July, 1931). See also Sherman Paul, *Emerson's Angle of Vision* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 206-215; and Stephen Whicher, *Freedom and Fate* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 89-91, 141-148.

[31] "Valerius Terminus," *Works*, II, 148-151.

[32] *Sylva* . . . , Century I, Exp. 99, *Works*, I, 291-292; and Century III, Exp. 294, *Works*, I, 351.

[33] *Ibid.*, Century VIII, Exps. 789-791, *Works*, I, 521-522.

[34] See, e.g., A. E. Taylor, *Francis Bacon, Proceedings of the British Academy*, XII, 1926. Two other experiments of Bacon were marked in Emerson's copy of the *Works;* the twenty-first rank of prerogative instances, of the rod or rule, powers or motions of bodies acting through definite and limited spaces; where Bacon used "a more delicate experiment" to prove his point (*N.O.*, Lib. II, Sec. XLV, *Works*, VIII, 174); and the twenty-second rank of prerogative instances, those of the courses, such as measure nature by the moments of time, as other instances do by the degrees of space (*N.O.*, Lib. II, Sec. XLV, *Works*, VIII, 174). This last anticipates the discovery of Roemer, that time is required for the propagation of light.

[35] *Works*, II, 152. Cf. *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 102-107.

[36] *Ibid.*, II, 377.

[37] See my *Spires of Form* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 70-71, and n. 10.

however partial is Emerson's solution of this problem,[38] his struggle with the Baconian "form" is characteristic of his skill in searching out a crucial point, as well as of his courage in facing up to it.

In comparison to Newton, Bacon was judged inferior by the young Emerson. Where Newton, by the discovery of gravity, saved man from a thousand errors, Bacon saved him from only one—albeit an important one: "Bacon showed the inanity of science not founded on observation. So he is the Restorer of science." Bringing himself erect from too low a posture of admiration, Emerson added: "He has not saved my life; he has not saved my estate; but he has saved me from one error, and to that degree he is honourable in my mind."[39]

This reservation is discarded in the 1835 Lecture on Bacon, where Emerson gives full credit to the "newness" of his method, "a slow induction which should begin by accumulating observations and experiments and should deduce a rule from many observations (;) that we should like children learn from nature and not dictate to her." He lists the Idols which must be cleared away before investigation can proceed. Like most American and English writers of his time, and in contrast to some dissenting voices from Germany and France, Emerson is quite willing to recognize Bacon as the father of the inductive method. "Newton, Davy and Laplace," he affirms, "have put in execution the plan of Bacon. The whole history of science since the time of Bacon is a commentary and exposition of his views." With imaginative sympathy Emerson portrays the power of that mind which sought not only to summarize all existing knowledge, but to lay out new lines for its advance. "The genius of Bacon," the lecturer states, "is the extent combined with the distinctness of his vision . . . . It is the survey as of a superior being, so commanding, so prescient, as if the great chart of the intellectual world lay open before him. He explores every region . . . with the waste and the uncultivated tracts and predicts departments of literature that did not then exist." Refusing to be limited to the study of law or literature, "He would put his Atlantean hands to heave the whole globe of the sciences from their rest, expose all the gulfs and continents of error, and with creative hand remodel and reform the whole."[40]

While Bacon's experiments interested Emerson less than his theory, he read the *Novum Organum* and the *Sylva Sylvarum* (*Natural History*) with care; to his lecture audience he commended the range of these experiments over the whole field of nature, judging some to be of the greatest value. He was drawn with fascination to the researches on "the whole mass of facts that stand on the confines of the spiritual and material world and which for want of name are

[38] For modern explanations, see Thomas Fowler (ed.), "Introduction," *Bacon's Novum Organum* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 54-63; Fulton H. Anderson, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 68-69, 127-128, 160-162; and Marie Boas, "The Establishment of the Mechanical Philosophy," *Osiris*, X, 439-442 (1942).

[39] *J.*, II, 326. Dec. 21, 1830.

[40] H 195.8.

sometimes called Natural Magic."[41] Bacon's study of such matters as the influence of the eye in love or envy, and the whole collection of auguries, prophesies, and omens, Emerson judged worthless. He labelled these in his copy of the *Works*, simply, "My Lord's nonsense."[42] Yet even these frivolous studies showed Bacon's universal curiosity. And, taking note of the man's willingness to look at the sordid and gruesome as well as the attractive side of nature, Emerson quotes with approval: "Whatever is worthy of existence is worthy of knowledge, which is the image of existence. Nay as some excrementitious matters, for example, musk, civet, do sometimes produce excellent odours, so sordid instances sometimes afford great light and information."[43] A reminder of these "sordid instances" appears in the "Introduction" to Emerson's "Nature," where "language, sleep, madness, dreams, beasts, sex" are mentioned as unexplained but fascinating phenomena. When Emerson expresses the typical Transcendental admiration for astrology and alchemy, which tied man to the system as the pure science of the moderns cannot,[44] he has some sanction from Bacon.[45]

Reconsidering Bacon the scientist in *English Traits* (1856), Emerson holds to the early praise of a broad and deep insight into nature, but discounts the laboratory work more heavily than in the 1835 lecture (in fact, he gives little credit to the entire English contribution to science). The experiments, particularly those of the *Natural History*, he concludes, are negligible: "One hint of Franklin, or Watt, or Dalton, or Davy, or anyone who had a talent for experiment, was worth all his lifetime of exquisite trifles."[46] The 1869 manuscript readings confirm this adverse judgment of Bacon the empirical scientist, but speak more graciously of his "three fit maxims for any and all study: Go back to Nature in a humble spirit; and drop your preconceived opinions; and go in a generous and noble worship of the Divine Author."[47] These later, somewhat grudging statements of course form only a part of Emerson's whole view of Bacon's scientific theory and discoveries, which were particularly seminal when as a young man he was developing his own concept of nature. Nor is there any question that Bacon's insistence on the importance of experimental science paved the way for Emerson's reading in Cuvier, Lyell and Laplace.

Even as these later writings qualify Bacon's contribution to empirical science, they bring into focus his idealism, which held Emerson's

[41] *Ibid.* Cf. "Demonology." *Works*, C. Ed., X, 22-24, which reproduces part of this comment. Here Bacon's report of these marvels is deemed more healthful than such contemporaneous writings as Colquhoun's *Report*.

[42] *Sylva* . . . , Century X, Exps. 961-981, *Works*, II, 66-70.

[43] H. 195.8, from *N.O.*, Lib. I, Cap. CXX, *Works*, VIII, 64.

[44] See, e.g., "Beauty," *Works*, C. Ed., VI, 282.

[45] "The sciences themselves, which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man, than with his reason are three . . . : astrology, natural magic, and alchemy; of which sciences, nevertheless, the ends or pretenses are noble" (*A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works*, I, 33).

[46] *Works*, C. Ed., V, 238. Cf. *J.*, VIII, 492. 1854.

[47] MS readings, *Ben Jonson and Bacon*, 1869, H 211.5.

attention from the beginning. Throughout his reading of Bacon, Emerson responded to the lofty *altitudo* that Sir Francis knew so well how to release in praise of learning. The eloquent "Letter to Burghley, 1591/2" was of course underscored by Emerson: where Bacon rejects the planet Sol, the place of honour, and Jupiter, of business, dedicating himself to that deserving sovereign Elizabeth, and asserts: "I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province. . . ."[48] Emerson was also attracted to the effective image that emphasizes the importance of philosophy to the active life by comparing it to the stomach's function in the human body; and to the analogy of knowledge as a tree, whose fruit is improved, not by cutting boughs, but by "the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots."[49] And he seized on the violent image of learning, not as a lark, but as "a hawk, that can soar aloft, and also descend to strike upon its prey," with its application to "the perfect law and inquiry of truth, 'that nothing be in the globe of matter, which should not be likewise in the globe of crystal, or form'; that is, that there be not anything in being and action, which should not be drawn and collected into contemplation and doctrine."[50] For the 1835 lecture Emerson drew on the passage concerning the greater longevity of books, monuments of the mind, over works of power, made by the hands: "The images of men's wit and knowledge remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds into the minds of others, . . ." Compared to ships, considered noble because they carry material goods to all parts of the world, "How much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other."[51] In 1869 Emerson summed up this quality of Bacon's importance for him, calling him "a great generous thinker," whose every sentence "gave the mind a lift, filled the horizon, was a fine generalization."[52] These ringing praises of knowledge from a writer "rich with lustres and powers stolen somehow from the upper world"[53] were a strong lever for the American idealist who was employing all his energy to push "things" out of the saddle and keep them from riding mankind.

Such apostrophes to learning, Emerson felt, showed that Bacon

[48] *Works*, V, 206-207.

[49] *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 69-70. Another relevant passage was marked, on the need for literary history (*ibid.*, I, 76-77).

[50] *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Lib. VIII, Cap. II, *Works*, VII, 406. This passage is Emerson's translation from the Latin text.

[51] *A.L.*, Bk. I., *Works*, I, 60.

[52] MS readings, H 211.5.

[53] *J.*, VIII, 408. Sept. 8, 1853.

conceived of man's mind as coming into play in an entire unit,[54] and therefore deserved honour from Transcendentalism, which had cast off the logic-chopping scheme of Locke.[55] If this seems inconsistent (since Locke professed to carry Bacon's empirical method into the study of psychology),[56] one can begin to understand it if one recalls that Locke was a Harvard textbook, while Bacon had to be read on the sly. Indeed Bacon, like the Trancendentalists, was a "simplifier"; he reduced Ramus's six mental faculties to three: memory, reason, and imagination. Bacon's treatment of memory in the Platonic aspect of "remembrance" particularly attracted Emerson.[57] As for reason, the diagnosis of its "diseases" in *The Advancement of Learning* strongly influenced the young Emerson's determination to see truth clearly.[58] A daring devotee of "the Newness," moreover, could easily take Bacon's term "wisdom, or sapience," applied in *The Advancement* to God's knowledge, contrast it with Bacon's term "reason" for man's cognitive faculty, and thus form a rough approximation to his own adaptation of the Kantian terms "Reason" and "Understanding." Or, he could equate Bacon's "law of conscience"[59] to the Transcendental term "Reason," considering it in every way superior to the "Understanding," and reckless of the censure which Bacon would make of this misnomer, as an Idol of the Cave.

But the term of Bacon's triad which especially appealed to Emer-

[54] In the early essay "The Present State of Ethical Philosophy," Emerson spoke of Bacon as contributing, with Descartes, to "the rapid advancement of the collateral philosophy of the mind" (*op. cit.*, p. 55), apparently without awareness of the violent opposition in France between Baconians and Cartesians. Here, however, Bacon was considered chiefly as a sage who applied his knowledge, and consequently received less space than such classifiers and theorists as Hobbes, Berkeley, and Hume. The essay's views show the young Emerson's dependence on the common sense school of philosophy (see, e.g., Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 2 vols., New York, 1818, I, 24-25, 36, 40, 395).

[55] Cf. Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, XI, 107-151 (April, 1937). Alcott, alone of the Transcendentalists, rejected Bacon, along with Aristotle, Locke, and Kant (*The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard, Boston, 1938, p. 39).

[56] Theodore Parker did say that Locke's error arose from his application of the Baconian method to the science of the mind; yet Parker's aim, to "discover the *Novum Organum* of theology," reveals Bacon's influence; and he qualifies his criticism of "a mind so vast as Bacon's" ("Thoughts on Theology," *Dial*, II, 485-528, April, 1842).

[57] Emerson marked Bacon's freely translated quotation from Plato's *Meno* (§ 81) at the very beginning of *The Advancement of Learning:* "All knowledge is but remembrance, and . . . the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but our own native and original notions . . . again revived and restored. . . ." He copied the quotation, in slightly altered form, in MS *Blotting Book IV*, which immediately follows the passage in the printed *Journals*, II, 347.

[58] Although the 1835 Lecture shows a clear understanding of the idols, they operated less vitally in Emerson's thought than did the earlier analysis of "diseases."

[59] "Notandum tamen lumen naturae duplici significatione accipi: primo, quatenus oritur ex sensu, inductione, ratione, argumentis, secundum leges coeli ac terrae; secundo, quatenus humanae interno affulget; instinctu, secundum legem conscientiae; quae scintilla quaedam est, et tamquam reliquique pristinae et primitivae puritatis" (*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Lib. IX, Cap. I, *Works*, VII, 467-468).

son, and which definitely placed this English writer on the side of Idealism, was imagination, as treated in its relation to poetry. This American reader passed over such deprecating comments as that which judged poetry "rather a pleasure or play of the imagination, than a work or duty thereof,"[60] and Bacon's explanation of his hasty progress from poetry to philosophy—"It is not good to stay too long in the theatre."[61] He seized on the definition, attractive to sensitive natures before and since his time, which puts poetry on a pinnacle above science: "It was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind into the nature of things."[62] Although Emerson recognized Bacon's debt to Aristotle for the idea, he preferred the Baconian formulation of poetry's elevating method and effect.[63] He could give Milton no higher praise than to apply this definition to his poetry, and to judge its argument as well as its style worthy of Bacon's demand.[64] The quotation is again cited in "Poetry and Imagination," where Bacon's "accommodation" of things to the mind's desires is placed beside Zoroaster's definition of poetry as transport.[65] Besides this seminal definition of poetry, Emerson (as well as Coleridge) made good use of Bacon's term "dry light," which resulted from Bacon's mistranslation of a passage in Heraclitus,[66] but was nonetheless apt, to describe crystal-clear vision, unclouded by the vapours of the affections.

Bacon the essayist, pioneer in science, eloquent apologist for learning and poetry, orator, and lawyer[67] are all fully recognized in Emerson's 1835 Lecture. Considered as a whole this lecture is one of the finest, most sensitive estimates of Bacon, in small compass,

[60] *A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 130. [61] *Ibid.*, I, 93. [62] *Ibid.*, I, 90. Marked passage.

[63] Emerson also noted in his copy of Bacon the Latin definition of *poesis*, with its division into narrative, dramatic, and allegorical, although he made little use of this in criticism (*D. A. S.*, Lib. II, Cap. XIII, *Works*, VII, 144).

[64] "Milton," *Works*, C. Ed., XII, 277-278. It is by Bacon's own standard that he is here found inferior to Milton. This lecture, the fourth in the series *Six Lectures on Biography* (Jan.-March, 1835), was first printed in the *North American Review*, July, 1838. In the 1835-1836 series, of which the Bacon was the seventh lecture, Milton was again considered with Lord Clarendon and Samuel Johnson, in the ninth lecture, "Ethical Writers."

[65] *Works*, C. Ed., VIII, 20; cf. III, 140, and V, 241-242.

[66] "For then knowledge is no more *Lumen siccum*, whereof Heraclitus the profound said, *Lumen siccum optima anima;* but it becometh *lumen madidum*, or *maceratum*, being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections" (*A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works*, I, 9). "This same *lumen siccum* doth parch and offend most men's watery and soft natures" (*A.L.*, Bk. II, *Works*, I, 131). "Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, Dry light is ever the best" ("Friendship," *Works*, II, 318). For a note on this happy error, see *Works*, C. Ed., V, 380-381. What actually misled Bacon was an error in spacing: "sic" and "cum" were run together in the text, to form the adjective "siccum."

[67] Although Emerson paid little attention to Bacon's legal writings the lecture mentions the high regard in which English lawyers held them; and *J.*, VIII, 134, 1850, cites a quotation from "Aphorism 6," *Exemplum Tractatum de Justitia Universali, sive de Fontibus Juris*, *Works*, VII, 440.

to be found in the first half of our nineteenth century. It reveals the wide, deep reading of years: not only in the better known works, the *Essays*, *The Advancement of Learning*, and the *Novum Organum*, but also in such minor writings as the early "Brief Discourse Touching the Low Countries"[68] and the "Valerius Terminus," as well as in the political speeches and letters concerning affairs of state.[69] Although the lecture contains some of Emerson's finest writing, he did not print it—why, we may only conjecture: perhaps, because the adverse criticism of a former god, however deeply felt, was too sharp for a published essay.

For, with all the high praise, the censure is severe. The time for plain speaking had come, and two flaws must be indicated, each reacting upon the other: the first, in style; the second, in moral character. The pattern is familiar to readers of Emerson; from the hyperbole of extravagant praise one passes to the other extreme of detraction; and Bacon, who once so filled Emerson's horizon that he thought he would need no other book,[70] must now be revealed through the telescope of self-reliance as a minor planet, not a fixed star.[71]

Emerson works up gradually to the defect in style, beginning with approbation of *The Advancement of Learning*, where he finds "passages of sufficient merit to have made the fame of inferior writers. Its style is an imperial mantle stiff with gold and jewels. It is full of allusion to all learning and history. The meaning is everywhere embodied or pictured to the eye by the most vivid image. . . . The sentences are so dense with meaning that the attention is drawn from the general views to particular passages."[72]

Just here falls the dark shadow across the light of admiration: the fault in *architechtoniké* which Emerson sees not only in *The Advancement* and the *Natural History*, but also in the *Essays*. Organic form, that *sine qua non* for the young American who has just been reading Coleridge's *Friend* with entire acceptance, is lacking. Bacon does not supply "that highest perfection of literary works, an intrinsic unity, a method derived from the mind." No one of Bacon's writings satisfies this requirement, so ably met by Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

[68] Bacon's authorship of this "Discourse" has been questioned.

[69] In "Books," Emerson listed the works of Bacon that the young scholar should read: *The Advancement of Learning*, the *Essays*, the *Novum Organum*, the *History of Henry VII*, and all the letters, especially those relating to the Essex affair (*Works*, C. Ed., VII, 207). While Emerson's reading in Bacon, like that of most Americans, was chiefly in the English works, he did pay this writer the rare attention of reading the Latin of the *Novum Organum* with some care, and that of the *De Augmentis* desultorily. The only works neglected which one might expect Emerson to find fruitful are the *New Atlantis* and the *De Sapientia Veterum*.

[70] "Experience," *Works*, C. Ed., III, 55.

[71] It is significant that Emerson's rejection of Bacon in the "Lecture on the Times" effectively uses imagery from the science which he still thought of as Bacon's sphere: "How great was once Lord Bacon's dimensions! He is now reduced almost to the middle height; and many another star has turned out to be a planet or an asteroid; only a few are the fixed stars which have no parallax, or none for us" (*Works*, C. Ed., I, 267). Cf. n. 23, above.

[72] H 195.8.

"All his work," the lecturer told his hearers, "lies along the ground a vast unfinished city. . . . His own intellect often acts little on what he collects. Very much stands as he found it—mere lists of facts material or spiritual. All his work is therefore somewhat fragmentary. The fire has hardly passed over it and given it fusion and a new order from his own mind. It is sand without lime. . . . The order of it is much of it quite mechanical, things on one subject being thrown together; the order of a shop and not that of a tree or an animal where perfect assimilation has taken place and all the parts have a perfect unity."[73]

The fact that Bacon's "spider-web" image had yielded a significant strand for Emerson's own fabric of organic form,[74] the critical principle by which Bacon was judged deficient, did not save him from censure. And yet—even this harshest of criticisms had to be qualified by the advantage of gradual growth which Bacon's method of working gave to his books. Noting the three editions of *Essays* in Bacon's lifetime, and the twelve successive revisions of the *Novum Organum*, Emerson concluded: "To make Bacon's works complete, he must live to the end of the world."[75]

Related to the strictures on form, but more severe, was the judgment of Bacon's moral character. The censure was not pronounced without careful study of the speeches and letters relating to Essex's and Bacon's trials. It merited special attention, because it presented the reverse side of the coin whose face would continue to shine untarnished for the mature as well as for the young Emerson: the idea that the scholar must take part in the action of his times. If so great a man as Bacon could fall, who could remain erect before the battering ram of corruption? Compared to Luther, for example, his intellectual influence was slower to act, but equally strong: "Bacon is another reformer of almost equal efficiency in (a) far different sphere, who in his genius was in all points a contrast to Luther and acting very remotely on the multitude has established for himself a lasting influence in all studious minds and as far as every human being has an interest in the discovery of truth." To suggest, as Emerson does tentatively in this lecture, that Bacon should have stayed in the library and laboratory, aloof from the Court, the bench, and the House of Commons, is to deny the significance of Bacon's demand for action as essential to one who would truly *know*. Emerson could treat Bacon's errors

[73] *Ibid.* A note in Alcott's *Journal* for December 18, 1835, the week before Emerson's lecture, suggests that Alcott was probably discussing Bacon with his neighbour, as well as reading Montagu's edition of the *Works*. Like Emerson, Alcott praises Bacon's "splendid conceptions" and "magnificent sentences," but he demurs: "Yet all is dry, without . . . greenness and life. . . . He never touches the heart. He dots down truth on his immense map, but you must animate the form and give her views. . . . He methodizes life and spirit all away" (p. 71).

[74] See the passage marked by Emerson: "For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning . . ." (*A.L.*, Bk. I, *Works*, I, 29-30). Cf. my *Spires of Form*, pp. 70-72, and notes 10-12, pp. 237-238. Cf. note 37, above.

[75] H 195.8.

ironically, saying that this scholar's insistence on taking a hand in affairs of state forced him "to outfloat the drudge in his own bow, and even to prove his practical talent by his genius for mischief also." But this only glanced at the larger problem, a part of which has actually little to do with Bacon personally; it represents, simply, the American democrat in inevitable conflict with the English monarchist. (Time made this fact clearer to Emerson himself; "The Young American" (1844) lumps Bacon with other English "greats," with the comment: "We are sent to a feudal school to learn democracy."[76] The second trip to England drove home the point, which was elaborated in *English Traits* (1856). Thus in 1835 Emerson denounces "the servility of which his letters are too many proofs, the suing to the king, to the favourite, and to the favourite's favourite. Please recommend me. Your kind word for me with the king. Speak of me when Burleigh is by, that he may commend me also. And the suppleness of such an one as Bacon to such an one as Buckingham—who can remember without pain?"[77] "The word 'king,'" the lecturer says scornfully, "seems to be the fatal word that brings back his madness, for then the great teacher makes an Asiatic prostration, and eats dust."[78]

Worse than this trait of subserviency, which Bacon might be said to share with every Englishman except the monarch, was the moral corruption. On Bacon's own trial for bribery, Emerson is disposed to leniency, noting the points prized by all apologists for the Lord Chancellor: that his servants accepted presents without his knowledge, that no sentence of his was ever reversed, and—what the documents confirm—that "his ruin was permitted by King James to save Buckingham on whom the national vengeance was ready to fall." But, going further back, the American lecturer denounces "the low shifts" to which Bacon descended in his rivalry with Lord Coke (*sic.*); and, having read the early letters that reveal Essex's generous treatment of his friend, finds himself unable to condone either Bacon's share in Essex's trial or his publication of the "Narrative" of Essex's treasons. For Emerson, who saw in Francis Bacon one of the greatest spirits of all time, the repudiation of Essex constituted another Fall of Man. The lecturer sees evidence of this moral obliquity in the *Essays*, where it is a blot on the shining page. Undoubtedly under the influence of Gabriel Harvey's statement that Bacon had "the eie of a viper," Emerson says, of the *Essays*, "Out breaks at intervals a mean cunning like the hiss of a snake amid the discourse of angels."[79]

[76] *Works*, C. Ed., I, 451. Cf. *Dial*, IV, 484 (April, 1844).

[77] H 195.8 Emerson's first version here was stronger: "without disgust."

[78] Not included in the lecture, but marked in Emerson's copy of the *Works*, is the fine passage from the Speech to the Lower House about the Undertakers, one of the few occasions when Bacon spoke against privilege: "That private men should undertake for the Commons of England! Why, a man might as well undertake for the four elements" (*Works*, III, 395).

[79] Aunt Mary Moody Emerson was delighted with this arraignment of the Lord Chancellor before her nephew's bar of justice. Gleefully she exclaimed, of this part of his lecture: "He has shewn us that this 'Arch Angel' was of the corrupt from the beginning" (MS, "Review for *Xian Examiner*," Middlebury College Library; Houghton Library copy 51-M-105).

No commentator ever wrestled more valiantly than Emerson with the problem of Bacon's character. Certainly no one ever accused Waldo Emerson of a moral defect; but, because his reading in Bacon penetrated his whole self, as well as his thoughts, he tried desperately to find some answer to the contradiction between the thinker and the man. Out of his researches into the unplumbed depths of mind, he offers one explanation; that Bacon is a case of "double consciousness," an individual afflicted with intervals of insanity during which the normal character assumes a totally different guise. But in the nineteenth century, the "Mr. Hyde" of this split personality must still be responsible for his corruption.[80] Sadly, Emerson concludes that vice and genius cannot be welded. Like Milton's Satan, Bacon "rears his immortal front" in the stream of time, and seems "less than archangel ruined, and the excess of glory obscured," "dividing our sentiments as we pass from point to point of his character, between the highest admiration and the highest pity."[81]

Despite these strictures, the 1835 Lecture as a whole recognized Bacon's importance; and his influence upon Emerson persisted. In 1838 Bronson Alcott, piqued by Emerson's coldness, complained that his friend was *too* Baconian: "Men are uses, with him. Like Bacon, he slurs the affections. He loves his Ideals, and, because these have not actual life, condemns the men who live around him as unworthy."[82]

The stringent requirement of *Representative Men* (1850) admitted only one genius for each department; and here Bacon must give way to Plato in philosophy and to Shakespeare in literature. Yet Bacon appears in "The Uses of Great Men" as a mind of powerful method; the chapter on "Swedenborg" notes his skill with emblems, while that on "Shakspeare" states that he "took the inventory of the human understanding for his times"; and the chapter on "Plato" lists Bacon as a Platonist, with Henry More and Bacon's antagonistic critic, Ralph Cudworth.

In June, 1852, Bacon was brought to Emerson's attention in a fresh and startling way. Delia Bacon (no lineal descendant of Francis), who had just completed a successful series of historical lectures to Cambridge and Boston ladies, approached him for help in bringing before the world a strange theory. Shakespeare's *Plays*, she said, by their own internal evidence, demonstrated that they were written, not by the rude player "Shake-spear," but by a coterie of wits whose master mind was Francis Bacon. Impressed by the critical power of Miss Bacon's preliminary notes, Emerson offered to help, although he did warn the author: "You will have need of enchanted instruments,

[80] A later, not much more satisfactory answer was: "The whole is told in saying Bacon had genius *and* talent. Genius always looks one way, always is ideal, or, as we say, Platonist, and Bacon had genius. But (a common case, too,) he had talents and the common ambition to sell them" (*J.*, VIII, 492-493, 1854). According to the transcendental distinction, genius was the inner fire that everybody desired; talent was needed to articulate the discoveries of genius. Emerson found no fault with Bacon's use of talent in explaining the laws of meteorology or political economy for the average reader; but he believed that talent was a dangerous tool. When in public life Bacon let talent rule his genius, moral corruption inevitably resulted. Similar case histories, discussed with relish by the transcendentalists, were those of Napoleon, Byron, and Goethe.

[81] H 195.8. [82] *Journals*, p. 98.

nay, alchemy itself, to melt into one identity those two *reputations* . . . , the poet and the statesman, both hitherto solid historical figures."[83]

Emerson's high literary standing and his kindness to female writers made him a logical choice for Miss Bacon's appeal; and she, like some later Baconians, may have seen hopeful grounds for skepticism in his "Shakspeare," of *Representative Men*. There, remarking the contradiction between the greatness of the plays and the paucity of the biography, Emerson said: "I can not marry this fact to his verse." If the length to which he went to assist Miss Bacon's project seems strange, in view of his wide reading in Shakespeare as well as Bacon, it may be partially explained by the lady's personal charm and dedicated purpose—but even more by "the Newness" of her theory. As Emerson wrote to Elizabeth Peabody: "I can really think of nothing that could give such *éclat* to a magazine as this brilliant paradox."[84] In December, 1855, he said that only "the mud of the Mississippi," where he was bound on a lecture tour, kept him from founding a new Shakespeare Society for the promulgation of her novel idea.[85] Although Delia's devotion to the inductive method was more complete than Emerson's she failed to discover the necessary proof, and her mentor was obliged to renounce his faith. The brilliant passages that he found in her work illuminated Shakespeare for him, but not Bacon. Her attack on English servility did strike a real chord of sympathy, for Emerson read her manuscript in 1856, just after he had underscored the same British quality in *English Traits*. Thus did Emerson, a real scholar of Bacon, flirt for a time with the mania that has been aptly called "madness through method."[86]

Only the daylight side of Bacon scholarship appears in *English Traits*, which treats Bacon less fully, but more favourably than does the 1835 Lecture. And, in its clear exposition, division of the subject into chapter heads all related to the central theme, and wealth of literary as well as personal allusion, this is Emerson's most Baconian book. If its "province" has sharper limits than Bacon's "all knowledge," its survey of England's past and present, by a man from Concord, Massachusetts, impressed British readers as an attempt of rashness, if not effrontery—the more so because it touched so many sensitive points.

[83] "June 12, 1852," in Theodore Bacon, *Delia Bacon, A Biographical Sketch* (Boston, 1888), pp. 48-50.

[84] "March 26, 1853," *ibid.*, p. 55.

[85] "December 3, 1855," *ibid*, pp. 93-95.

[86] Louis J. Budd, "The Baconians: Madness through Method," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV, 359-368 (July, 1955).

Even after Emerson gave up the theory, it continued to fascinate him. Although he had previously read most of Miss Bacon's manuscript, he reperused her printed book, *The Philosophy of Shakspere's Plays* (London, 1857). After her death in 1859, he went to some trouble to get hold of *Bacon and Shakespeare* (London, 1857), by William Henry Smith, who, Hawthorne thought, had plagiarized some material from Delia's article on the subject in *Putnam's*, January, 1856.

Certainly one of the notations in Emerson's copy of Bacon (a passage prized by all Baconians) was made under Delia's influence. The crucial passage is a postcript to a letter from Tobie Matthew to Bacon (undated): "The most prodigious wit, that ever I knew of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your Lordship's name, though he be known by another" (*Works*, VI, 396). Emerson's note is: "Cited in re Shakspeare."

Bacon the orator appears in the chapter "Ability," where, with others, he is credited with forming the language of modern English speakers.[87] In "Manners," British conservatism is shown as an illustration of Bacon's statement that time is the right reformer.[88] Bacon's experiments, as we have seen,[89] are discounted, and his misguided devotion to the practical side of science is explained by his share in the "English duality," the fatal mixture of actual with ideal.

The chapter on "Literature," with all its recognition of the strain of common sense in English writing, places the highest value on the idealism of the Renaissance, and makes a strenuous effort to reclaim Bacon for "the analogists," "the idealists," "the Platonists." As surely as Locke represents "the influx of decomposition in thought," does Bacon stand for growth.[90]

The special target of this spirited defense is Macaulay's essay, "Lord Bacon" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1837). Macaulay's brilliant development of Pope's epigram on this "wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind" (*Essay on Man*), Emerson makes no attempt to answer; his own moral criticism in the 1835 Lecture, however tinged with regret, was no less devastating than Macaulay's. What he does reply to, with scorn, is Macaulay's representation of Bacon as a simple utilitarian. That this is a part of Bacon's influence, Emerson recognizes; but he insists that it is a part only, and to him, in the whole drive of Bacon's effect on the nineteenth century, the least important element. "If Lord Bacon had been only the sensualist his critic pretends," the American asserts, "he could never have acquired the fame which now entitles him to this patronage."[91] Emerson reverts to Bacon's "First Philosophy," his insistence on going to "the springhead" of thought, and finds him "almost unique" among English prose writers in the ability to "look abroad into universality."[92] He remains the "pivotal Lord Bacon."[93] Even though Bacon the experimenter is played down here, it is science, his legitimate sphere, that provides the image to answer a Macaulay who moves only in a world of books and men: Bacon holds his place in English thought "by specific gravity and levity," quite out of the range of this literary-critical fire. Thus does Emerson express his final appreciation of Bacon the thinker, writer, and man: "It is because he had imagination, the leisures of the spirit, and basked in an element of contemplation out of all modern English atmospheric gauges, that he is impressive to the imagination of men and has become a potentate not to be ignored."[94]

This estimate of Bacon as an idealist is as incomplete as Matthew Arnold's description of Emerson: "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." But, to nineteenth- and twentieth-century readers who have tried to understand Bacon's subtle, many-sided and sometimes contradictory mind, Emerson's judgment seems fairer than the view of Bacon as god of the steam engine. And it

[87] *Works*, C. Ed., V, 100.
[88] *Ibid.*, V, 111.
[89] See above, notes 42 and 46.
[90] *Works*, C. Ed., V, 239.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 248. The *Journal* passage speaks more sharply: "From this unworthy expositor whom Bacon would disdain, we refer to Bacon himself . . ." (*J.*, VIII, 484, 1854).
[92] *Works*, C. Ed., V, 244.
[93] *J.*, VIII, 492.
[94] *Works*, C. Ed., V, 248.

was no casual summing up; it represented the most significant aspect of this English Renaissance scholar for the American who had followed his track with persistence, patience, and ingenuity. Emerson saw and appreciated the drift of Bacon's empirical science, took from it what he needed, and went his own way. However far Emerson's method of studying nature diverged from Bacon's induction, the Lord Chancellor would nevertheless have recognized the man from Concord for the Delian diver that he was. Bacon had a salutary effect upon Emerson's style, even though the severe test of organic forms, by which Bacon was found wanting, was one that Emerson himself could not always pass. Considering the transcendental emphasis upon the present tense, Emerson's judgment that Bacon, in contrast to Plato, "the purple ancient," was *modern*, constituted apology enough.

Both men were innovators, iconoclasts; yet both drew on the tradition whose abuses they sought to root out. The difference between their respective traditions comes into play in Emerson's adverse criticism; the American democrat must condemn Bacon the monarchist, the New England moralist cannot refrain from censure of the faithless friend. Yet there remains the enthusiastic response to a commanding, imaginative thinker, who showed how to put the weight of contemplation against action's wheel. The "charitable speech" of Waldo Emerson is one outstanding testimony that not in vain did Francis Bacon leave his name and memory to foreign nations and the next ages.[85]

[85] The notations which Emerson made, as a kind of index, in the backs of his volumes of Bacon's *Works*, 10 vols. (London, 1824), are here appended. (There are additional marginal marks.) These show the careful annotation which Emerson gave only to his favourite writers—e.g., Plato, Plotinus, Cudworth, Coleridge. Certainly Emerson read earlier editions of the *Essays* and the *Novum Organum*. When he acquired the 1824 edition is not certain, but he must have had it in hand while working on the 1835 Lecture.

Vol. I (*The Life, A.L., Sylva Sylvarum*, Centuries 1-8; "dominion of learning, p. 63; Books, 65; Analogy of matter & mind, 95; Xenophon & Falinius, 59; Prima Philosophia, 96; University education, 70, 65; Phrenology, 180; Brutus, 217; Acquaintance with men, 204; poetry, 90; Book of Job, 43."

Vol. II (*Sylva*, Centuries 9-10, *New Atlantis, Mr. Bacon in praise of knowledge, Valerius Terminus, Filium Labyrinthi . . . , Sequela chartarum, sive inquisitio legitima de Calore et Frigore, Physiological Remains, Medical Remains, Medical Receipts, Works Moral: A Fragment of the colours of good and evil, Essays, Apophthegms, Theological Works*): "forms? What are B's forms? see pp. 152, 377; Aristotle, 232; Goodness, 282; for my lord's nonsense, 66-70."

Vol. III (*Works Political*): "conversation with queen con. Essex, p. 230; 257; undertakers, 395; 467; H. of Commons, 345-6; merchants, 338, 332; Eng. commerce, 339; population of Eng., 295; sea fight with Sir R. Greenvil, 522; bringing forward of young public men, 449; war lucrative, 532."

Vol. IV (*Law Tracts*): No notations.

Vol. V (*Writings Historical*): No notations.

Vol. VI (*Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices*): "Pour mémoire, p. 12, 54, 311, 298, 294, 292, 316, 320, 323, 360, 361; cited in re Shakspeare, 395-6."

Vol. VII (*Nobilissimis Auctoris Vita* (William Rawley), *Instauratio Magna*, Int. Pars. I, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*): "*poesis*, p. 144."

Vol. VIII (*Instauratio Magna*, Pars II, *Novum Organum*, Partes III-IV): "Lib. II, Prop. xlv, p. 174; prop. xlvi, 176."

Vol. IX (*Instauratio Magna*, Partes IV-V. *Historia Regni H. Septimi*): No notations.

Vol. X (*Sermones fideles, De Sapientia Veterum, Meditationes Sacrae, Epistolae*): No notations.

OBITUARY

Miss Minnie B. Theobald

THEOBALD is a name which has been familiar to readers of BACONIANA since the beginning of this century. Miss Minnie B. Theobald, who died at her home in Rottingdean on September 21st at the age of 84, was the last of a trinity of remarkable Baconian Theobalds. She used to say that she had been born a Baconian. In her childhood she became the unique possessor of an edition of the Shakespeare Plays each volume of which bears on its spine the inscription "Bacon's Works". This was a birthday present from her uncle, Dr. Robert Theobald, M.A., author of *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, a most scholarly presentation of Bacon/Shakespeare parallelisms, published in 1901. Miss Theobald's brother, Mr. Bertram Theobald, B.A., was for many years Editor of *BACONIANA*, and President of the Francis Bacon Society from 1932 until his death in 1940. During the period of his Presidency Mr. Theobald's published works and public lectures illuminated the truth of Francis Bacon's concealed identity for readers and audiences. Miss Theobald was elected to the Council of the Society after the last War when she returned from Devon. She later became a Vice-President. As a sign that her career as a professional musician was ended, she put away her 'cello and lived in retirement for the rest of her life so that she could devote herself to mystical studies, which had indeed formed the background of her active life. These I was able to share with her from the time when I first met her on the Council. For ten years I was in close touch with her and had the privilege of a very delightful friendship. She was a scientific mystic, whose awareness of the reality of the invisible world enhanced her interest in the life, not only of her surround, but of the nation. Her own special contribution to the Society was a deep and abiding affection and veneration for Francis Bacon as a Master whose mind she believed had continued to overshadow England and to influence the nation's destiny, playing down through the focus of the Society bearing the name.

BERYL POGSON.

AN ELIZABETHAN STATESMAN'S HOME

By Bryan Bevan

(Reprinted from "Country Life" by kind permission of the Editor)

In the neighbourhood of the Georgian mansion of the Earl of Verulam in Gorhambury Park, Hertfordshire, is a charming ruin of great historical and literary interest. Situated in an unspoilt district of gently rolling hills, woodlands and arable land is the former country home of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was for twenty years Queen Elizabeth I's Lord Keeper and an important statesman, though he is perhaps better known to-day as father of Anthony and Francis by his marriage with his second wife, Anne Cooke.

Sir Nicholas's house, which he began to build in 1563, was not the first house in existence at Gorhambury, for there already existed a manor house built in 1130 by Geoffrey de Gorham, the 16th Abbot of St. Albans, which remained in that family until 1307. Nothing remains of this mediaeval house. When building his home Sir Nicholas made use of materials demolished from the mansion of the de Gorhams and also of material from the ancient abbey buildings of St. Albans, then in process of being demolished. Sir Nicholas's home took five years to build. There is an interesting document in the Lambeth Palace Library, which is entitled: "A brief of the whole charges of the money bestowed upon the buylding at Gorhambury between the first days of Marche Anno: dii 1563, and the last daye of September A.D. 1568." The total cost was £3,177 11s. 9¼d.

Sir Nicholas was a man of fairly modest tastes. His house could not compare in grandeur with Theobalds, the magnificent country home of his brother-in-law, Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), which was nine miles away. Nevertheless Gorhambury is one of the earliest examples of a Tudor house affecting Classical features. Its main front, about 115 feet long, faced south and was flanked by attached octagonal towers. A porch containing a Classical arch occupied the centre of this front, and beyond it was a cloister giving into a court measuring 80 feet by 72 feet and paved with stone. At the north end of the court was the hall, which was entered from a porch with open arches on three sides and two storeys in height. Little survives of Sir Nicholas's home, except the remains of the porch and masonry of the hall and one projecting wing. Perhaps for the first time in England the two storeys were made to conform each to an order of Roman architecture; the lower being Doric, the upper Ionic. A finely moulded cornice with pediments originally surmounted the walls and was decorated with statues, possibly of Roman Emperors.

In the course of her many progresses Queen Elizabeth I visited Sir Nicholas's home at Gorhambury at least twice. He was immensely stout and suffered much from the Tudor complaint—gout. She liked him and, although inclined to ridicule him by saying that "his soul

The South Front of Old Gorhambury House in the 18th Century

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The South Front of Old Gorhambury House in the 18th Century

The Existing Georgian House. begun in 1777 to the Designs of Sir Robert Taylor

(By kind permission of *Country Life*)

lodged well," meaning in fat, she had considerable respect for his knowledge of the law. On the first occasion Sir Nicholas acted as host (1572) he wrote in considerable trepidation to the more experienced Lord Burghley asking for his advice on "what you thinke to be the best waye for me to deale in this matter: ffor, in very, very deede, no man is more rawe in suche a matter than myself." Possibly it was on this occasion that the Queen shrilly exclaimed as she entered the hall: "My Lord, what a little house you have gotten." Sir Nicholas adroitly replied: "Madam, my house is well, but you have made me too great for my house."

Nevertheless he took the hint. During the next few years before the Queen visited him again in 1577 he added a long narrow wing projecting westwards that he might more advantageously entertain her Majesty. It consisted of a handsomely panelled gallery 120 ft. long by 18ft wide over an open loggia. The walls were panelled with oak, gilt in compartments. Each bore a Latin inscription selected by Sir Nicholas. This gallery contained rare domestic stained-glass windows, which dated from 1560 and some of which are to-day preserved in Lord Verulam's house. In the centre of the rear wall of the loggia a niche was made, in which was set a figure of Henry VIII in gilt armour. To-day nothing remains of the gallery wing except the niche with its mutilated statue. It is recorded that terra-cotta busts of Sir Nicholas and his second wife were also in the loggia.

After the Queen's visit Sir Nicholas caused the door by which she had entered to be nailed up, so that nobody might again pass over the same threshold. After one of her visits she presented him with a portrait of herself painted by Nicholas Hilliard. Records of the Queen's visit in 1577 exist at Lambeth, namely: "the charges expended at Gorhambury by reason of Her Majesty's comynge thither on Saturdaye May 27th 1577 before supper, and contynewinge until Wednesday after dinner following." Entertaining the Queen on this occasion cost Sir Nicholas £577 6s. 7½d. The jovial Lord Keeper would not have grudged the expense.

Sir Nicholas, like his younger son Francis, was very fond of gardens. Those laid out by him at Gorhambury suggested to Francis the ideas in gardening which he developed in his famous essay *Of Gardens*. An attractive feature was a little banqueting house, which stood in an orchard. Decorating its walls were the names of men who had excelled in the liberal arts, with illustrations of geometry, arithmetic, logic, music, rhetoric and astronomy.

When Sir Nicholas died in 1579 Gorhambury was inherited by Anthony. Though a man of considerable ability and intelligence, he was crippled with gout and extremely delicate. For many years he preferred to live abroad, where he acted as an intelligence agent for his uncle Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham. But Sir Nicholas's widow—a dominating and formidable lady, with pronounced Puritanical opinions—lived on at Gorhambury. From there she later wrote her querulous and scolding, yet affectionate, letters to her sons when Anthony shared Francis's chambers in Gray's Inn.

"I trust you will not mime, nor mask, nor sinfully revel," she admonished them because she abhorred the theatre. Mingled with motherly exhortations and solicitude she would send presents of strawberries from the gardens and pigeons from Gorhambury estate. She wrote to Anthony: "The uppermost strawberrries are good to be eaten, and were most choicely gathered for that purpose for you and your brother." On another occasion she wrote to Anthony: "This Monday one brought hither for you from Mr. Gray dozen ½ pigeons, whereof I send you the dozen which I send you all by Peter my cook. I would your brother's cook were like him in Christian behaviour, and yet a young man and merry. Give him a shilling, because he had good will to carry them on foot."..As Lady Bacon was known to her servants as an exacting mistress this was a rare compliment.

There is much evidence to show that Francis Bacon was warmly attached to Gorhambury. Since the death of Sir Nicholas the property had been neglected, and consequently when he eventually inherited it (1601) he had to spend large sums. He almost certainly added a second court north of the hall. This enabled him to plan kitchens and service in the new buildings surrounding it. He also embellished his home and employed painters, carvers and sculptors for this purpose. Francis Bacon loved luxury. When he was Lord Chancellor he lived in great splendour at Gorhambury. Aubrey, the antiquary, tells us: "When his Lordship was at his country house at Gorhambury, St. Albans seemed as if the Court had been there. So nobly did he live." When he kept princely state he liked to work in one room, while musicians played in the next.

Soon after Francis took possession the water supply installed by his father failed. This had consisted of lead pipes, bringing supplies from the River Ver and from a reservoir in Pré Wood on the estate. To-day there still remains a deep well adjoining the ruins, which probably dates from 1570. Later (1608) Francis developed a fine scheme of water gardens at the ponds, which were one mile from the house, near the north-east boundary of the park. In 1617 after he had been created Baron Verulam he decided to build there a house for pleasure, remarking that if he could not bring the water to the house, he would take the house to the water. Francis named his new house Verulam House because of his interest in the Roman City of Verulamium, much of which lay within his estate. It suffered neglect during the Civil War and was demolished in 1663.

During the tragic last phase of his life when adversity poured on him and wrecked his fortunes Bacon retired to Gorhambury. There he toiled with a grave serenity at his history of Henry VII, and with the help of George Herbert translated his *Advancement of Learning* into Latin. There he wrote his pathetic letters to King James I and his favourite Buckingham, begging for a free pardon "to the end that blot of ignominy may be moved from me and from my memory with posterity." After his death in 1626 Gorhambury passed to his faithful friend and Secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys. In 1652 the estate was sold to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, for £10,000.

During the 18th century Sir Harbottle's descendants found the house too expensive to maintain. Consequently a new house on a site 400 yards east of the old mansion was begun in 1777, which became the seat of the third Viscount Grimston and is now the country home of his descendant, the Earl of Verulam.

Gradually the historic home of the Bacons with its vivid memories of other times sank to an unmerited obscurity as a picturesque ruin. For help in the preparation of this article I am indebted to Lord Verulam.

FRANCIS BACON

A GUIDE TO HIS HOMES AND HAUNTS

By W. G. C. GUNDRY

Owing to dwindling stocks, the price for this beautifully-produced book is restored to 4/- plus postage. It would not now be possible to reprint this complete historical record of St. Albans and Gorhambury, containing a number of illustrations, so cheaply.

TOWARDS A MORE CORRECT BIOGRAPHY OF FRANCIS BACON

(extracts from an essay by the late Parker Woodward)

Part VII

Year 1597/8

At Christmas the play of *Love's Labour's Lost* was performed before the Queen. In February, Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Raleigh went to France on State business.

In their absence Robert, Earl of Essex, gave a big entertainment to his adherents and friends—many of them being Roman Catholics opposed to the Queen—at Essex House (formerly Leycester House); upon which occasion two plays were performed. It is more than likely that one of these plays was *Richard II*, the manuscript of which was at one time within the same portfolio as Bacon's *Essays*. *Richard II* was first printed anonymously in 1597 omitting the famous scene deposing the king, which must have been in the original manuscript, because it appears in the quarto of 1608 and in the folio, and was put on to be played in the open streets for seditious purposes at the time of the Essex treason. Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, had often called her "Richard II", so that the political drift of a performance of that play must have been considerable.

In January or later, Francis printed for the first time under his own name, and dedicated to Anthony Bacon, ten *Essays* in English "as they passed long agoe from my pen". The little book was bound up with a few Latin *Meditationes Sacra*, printed by a different printer. On the cover of the "Northumberland MS.", now in the British Museum, is a list of its former contents which includes *Bacon's Essays*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*. These have long since been removed, leaving only some less embarrassing writings, mainly by Bacon.

In July, Essex quarrelled with the Queen over the selection of a Deputy Governor for Ireland, and got his ears boxed! He threatened her with his sword and left the Court. The old Queen is said, for many weeks afterwards, to have walked about her rooms carrying a sword, as though prepared for a personal encounter. Burleigh was then on his deathbed.

Some curious events and traditions, which may have connection with one another, occurred in this year. The plays of *Richard II* and *Richard III*, which had been printed anonymously under date 1597 were reprinted in 1598, and, together with *Love's Labour's Lost*, formed the first three plays to be title-paged to William Shakespeare.

In the same year 1597, the player Shakspere bought New Place, and was living at Stratford in 1598. In the first *Life of Shakespeare*, a curious work published in 1709 by Nicholas Rowe (poet-laureate), we are told that Earl Southampton had provided Shakspere with a considerable sum of money, and also that the top of Shakspere's perform-

ance was that of "Ghost in his own Hamlet". Puns were then in fashion (even the most shocking ones!) and it is amusing to read into these suggestive remarks a hint that the actor was bundled off to his native "hamlet", bribed with Southampton's money to stay there until the trouble over the play of *Richard II* had blown over.

Meantime, the burden of reputed authorship of the obnoxious play, *Richard II*, and others as well, was passed on to his back. Part of the bribe may have been that he should be allowed to boast the title of "esquire" and a coat-of-arms. Essex was at that date at the head of the Heralds' College, and Shakspere is supposed to have used a coat-of-arms with the *mot:* "Non sanz droict". Again it is a curious motto because, by the insertion of a period, it could have been a jibe at the actor's expense meaning, "No. Not entitled". Ben Jonson quite openly poked fun at this motto in 1599 in *Every Man out of his Humour*, by the phrase "Not without Mustard". Was Ben then thinking of bacon, beef or ham?

Burleigh died in August. In September, a sort of "gaol" delivery of several plays from their original anonymity to the shoulders of the player Shakspere was effected through the medium of a book written nominally by a cleric in the employ of Francis, named Meres. This cleric was, when he died, buried "at night obscurely", a Rosicrucian practice. In a discussion with Oliver St. John some years later, Francis imputed the bringing into print of the manuscript play of *Richard II* to "others" than himself.

Francis, during one part of this year, prepared an elaborate report upon the working of the Alienation Office, a new department established in 1590 for the collection of the Queen's private revenues. The report is to be found in Blackbourne's *Life and Works of Bacon*, 1730 (apparently a Rosicrucian publication) but was not included in Spedding's *Works of Francis Bacon*. Mr. Spedding (on debatable grounds) believed it to have been written by Lambarde, an antiquarian and magistrate who was associated in the enquiry. Incidentally, it was to Lambarde, as Keeper of the Records, that the Queen had exclaimed in court, "I am Richard. Know you not that?"

Another enquiry into the Queen's revenues—namely, those from the Manor of Yarmouth—was undertaken by Francis in August. A lively account of that interesting seaport and centre of the fishing industry was printed by him in 1599 under the name *Lenten Stuffe*, title-paged to Nash. With Essex in disgrace and Burleigh dead, Francis met with further trouble on his return from Yarmouth. A moneylender named Sympson, who had obtained judgment against him for £300, had him arrested for debt on 24th September.

Sheriff More, with whom Francis had dined in the City a few days previously, had to deal with the matter, and accordingly lodged him under a restraint in a house in Coleman Street. From thence Francis appealed for release both to Sir Robert Cecil and to the Lord Keeper, and his restoration to liberty seems to have been soon effected. Cecil himself provided the £300, and did not press for repayment by Francis until after the Queen's death. During the year, the following

plays were published: *Henry V* (under its first title *Famous Victories*) and *Henry IV, Part I*, both anonymously. *Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, was title-paged to the deceased Greene, and *Edward II*, title-paged to the deceased Marlowe.

Florio's Italian-English Dictionary, the *Worlde of Wordes*, was also printed this year. Again there are some indications of its having been published by a secret literary fraternity.

Year 1598/9

Necessity, in the form of the Irish rebellion, seems to have forced a reconciliation between the Queen and Essex. Things in Ireland were very bad; the house of one Spenser, the Irish official, was burnt over his head, and he escaped with some of his family to London in January, but died within a month or so of his arrival. The illusion of his being the poet Spenser was well maintained; his body was apparently buried in Westminster Abbey and a number of "poets" are said to have attended the funeral throwing pieces of paper with supposed verses into the grave. Whether the body was really buried or subsequently removed is uncertain, but the burial may have served a double purpose. It certainly confirmed the belief that the Irish official wrote the Spenser poems, and it may also have provided a site for a future secret burial in the Abbey.

The actual monument or tombstone to Spenser was placed in position in 1620, when Francis Bacon had reached the age of sixty. This monument was credited to the generosity of Essex, but the inscription has since been altered, and the words "restored by private subscription in the year 1778" now appear at the base. There is also a curious discrepancy between the new inscription, and the old one, recorded and illustrated in the Spenser folio of 1679. The dates of Spenser's birth and also of his death have been altered. On what authority was this done? The mistake over the date of Spenser's birth is understandable, although the year 1510, as originally inscribed, would have made him seventy-eight years old when the *Shepherd's Calendar* was published, and might well have raised doubts and invited inquiry. But there could hardly have been a possibility of mistake as to the date of his death and funeral, which so many "poets" are said to have attended. There must have been some good reason for recording this as 1596 on the first monument, and later altering it to 1598.

Possibly the play *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was performed before the Queen at this last Christmas. Certainly it is recorded as having been played on 24th February for the amusement of the Flemish Envoy. On 27th February the Queen granted Francis a small estate at Cheltenham. In March Essex proceeded to Ireland in charge of an expedition to put down the rebellion. Francis then took occasion to write him a letter of advice as to keeping on correct terms with the Queen.

David and Bathshebe a religious play, was printed, title-paged to the deceased Peele, and the play of *James IV of Scotland* to the deceased

Greene. The plays of *Sir Clyomon* and *Pinner of Wakefield* were published without an author's name. The narrative poem of *Hero and Leander*, was first printed as having been written by the deceased Marlowe and finished by Chapman. Previous narrative poems had been *Glaucus and Scilla* (1589), *Venus and Adonis* (1593), and *Tarquin and Lucrece* (generally entitled *Lucrece*) (1594).

Essex landed in England from Ireland in September, and on the 28th went post haste to the Queen at her palace of Nonsuch in Surrey. He was in disgrace, having failed to pacify Ireland, and it was believed (and reported to the Queen) that he was preparing to establish himself in England as Prince Regent. He was put under arrest almost immediately. Whether the Queen sent for Francis to Nonsuch is uncertain, but quite probable. However, he wrote from there to Essex a letter which, even allowing for the elaborate and flamboyant style of those days, gives a very strong indication of some kind of concealed relationship. Francis could not actually or wisely have visited Essex then, as the latter was in the custody of the Lord Keeper and a prisoner at York House.

This imprisonment of a popular idol caused dissatisfaction. The Queen's cousin, Lady Scrope, the French Ambassador, and various clergy and others, all tried to reconcile the Queen to him, but without success. Matters began to look so ugly that on 29th November the Star Chamber issued a *Declaration* of the reasons why Essex was imprisoned. The same evening the Queen and her sister-in-law, Lady Warwick, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester, visited Essex at York House. But Essex declined to pledge himself to submission.

To go back to literary matters. It rather looks as if someone, probably Francis, took advantage of a certain occasion to "call in" some embarrassing pamphlets and books. This was when his old friends, Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft (of London) had decided that certain pungent books of Hall & Marston should be burnt; an additional order was made by these prelates on June 1st, to destroy the Nash and Harvey pamphlets and Marlowe's translation of Ovid's Elegies (Notes and Queries, third section, part 12, p. 436). These books, however, were probably not burnt but "called in", as was *Willobie his Avisa* 1594, printed originally for the amusement of Southampton. The Archbishop's order also directed "That noe Playes bee printed except they bee allowed by sooche as have authoritie". Possibly Francis was regarded as "sooche"!

(To be continued)

FRANCIS BACON'S *NEW ATLANTIS*

by R. J. W. GENTRY

THE new boldness of thought in the century prior to Francis Bacon's birth gave rise not only to questionings of conventional ideas and modes of conduct, but also to ambitious projects of geographical exploration and commercial enterprise. The frontiers of man's knowledge were pushed back in the physical and mental spheres simultaneously. It was an era of enthusiasm, and along with the new trade vistas came an increasing optimism about man's ability and willingness to learn, within a reasonable measure of time, how to make the best of himself and also of his world.

Bacon showed himself typical of his generation in his progressive outlook in both these directions. He took an active interest in colonisation, and was indeed one of the chief movers in the establishing of our oldest colony, Newfoundland.

But another, and more important aspect of Bacon's progressiveness was to be seen in his deep pre-occupation with the problem of the constitution of an ideal commonwealth. Dr. Rawley informs us: "His Lordship thought . . . in this present Fable, (i.e., the *New Atlantis*) to have composed a Frame of Lawes, or of the best State or Mould of a Common-wealth: But foreseeing it would be a long Worke, his Desire of Collecting the Naturall History diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it." There can be little doubt that Bacon had aquainted himself with the thought of his predecessors in this field of social philosophy—men like Plato, St. Augustine, Campanella, and our own Sir Thomas More. Indeed, in the *New Atlantis* itself, he makes the good Jew, Joabin, remark: "I have read in a Booke of one of your Men, of a Faigned Common-wealth . . .", referring to the *Utopia* of More. This work must have held especial interest for Bacon, as being the criticism, by one of the profoundest thinkers of his time, of evils which afflicted England in the sixteenth century, and which persisted into Bacon's own life-time.

More, the friend of Erasmus, had not only a fine intellect, but also a fearless independence of judgement, which ultimately led him into martyrdom. In his famous *Utopia*, he depicted an ideal society governed by good and wise men, in a manner that showed up, by contrast, the wickedness and stupidity of the governing classes of sixteenth-century England. Obliquely, but none the less effectively, he attacked the injustices and anomalies of his time. Later, this man of strength and saintliness found it his duty to withstand the policy of his master, King Henry VIII, whom he served as Chancellor, and whose personal friend he had been. As a devout upholder of the ancient religion of the realm, he absolutely repudiated Henry's usurpa-

tion of the temporal leadership of the Church, and this brought to a glorious end his brilliant life as statesman and philosopher.

There would naturally be much in such a man's life to interest the later statesman and philosopher, Francis Bacon. Although their outlook and aims were different—More looking back to the splendid achievements of mediaeval communalism under the aegis of the Church, and Bacon looking forward to the understanding and control of natural forces by man in his own proper interests—both had an acute realisation of the evils afflicting mankind, and sought, in their compassion, to point the way of amelioration.

More saw clearly how much the economic and social disasters that befell the England of his time were the outcome of the recent changes in religious belief and practice. He was the advocate, in *Utopia*, of a return to the old ways of thought, with some modifications arising from clearer perception from within, and believed the present evils could be removed by reasonableness and God-fearing charity.

In *Utopia*, which was written in Latin and addressed to the learned, More dealt with evils prevalent in his own day. Professor Brewer[1] enumerates these very clearly as "the endless wars, the faithless leagues, the military expenditure, the money and time wasted upon instruments and means of offence, to the neglect of all social improvements; unsettled habits; trains of idle serving-men re-enacting in the streets the interminable brawls of the Montagues and Capulets; broken and disabled soldiers turning to theft, and filling Alsatia for lack of employment; labour disarranged; husbandry broken up; villages and hamlets depopulated, to feed sheep; agricultural labourers turned adrift but forbidden to stray, and driven from tithing to tithing by the lash, to starve; no poor-houses; no hospitals, though the sweating sickness raged throughout the land; but the poor left to perish by the side of the ditches, filling the air with fever and pestilence; houses never swept or ventilated, choked with rotten thatch above and unchanged rushes within; streets reeking with offal and filthy puddles; no adequate supply of water for cleanliness or health; penal laws stringently enforced; crime and its punishment struggling for the upper hand; Justice proud of its executions, and wondering that theft multiplied faster than the gibbet."

These evils, or rather the moral evils among them, which engaged More's deep feeling, were almost directly due to the recent suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent removal of their beneficent tenure of land and humanitarian institutions benefiting their workers and the poor and infirm. The rapacity of the new landlords, with their 'enclosures', the materialistic emphasis of the new commercial revolution, the 'cornering'—these things were bringing in their train unemployment, starvation, crime, and war. The just rights of the poor, and the miseries, were now neglected by the great ones of the land, who had become cursed with a hunger for gold. More hoped to move princes and the mercantile classes, and lead them to pluck out from

(1) Reign of Henry VIII, vol. 3. pp. 288-292.

their hearts the greed that was the canker gnawing at the vitals of the State. He was, therefore, concerned with the morality of the situation, and urged a religious solution of the wrongs of his age.

Bacon, on the other hand, took a two-fold view of the plight of his country. Whilst recognising that a great deal of the evil that had come upon it was due to the uncontrolled wickedness of selfish men in positions of political and economic power, he also saw that as much harm was being done by lack of any national planning of the economic life of the nation, and of any scientific perception of its social misery. In other words, the general wretchedness of the labouring classes was the outcome of moral bluntness in their masters, and effeteness and lack of vision in their rulers.

He combined in himself the meticulous observation of the scientific experimentalist with the expansive outlook of the social planner. His thinking was essentially directive; he had the exactness, but yet the scope, of mind to visualise the needed reforms of his time. It was a philanthropic urge to better the conditions of human life that moved him to write the *New Atlantis*. His aim had always been, as he himself put it, the 'relief of man's estate'; and we can well imagine him looking out upon his fellow-beings with the eyes of that Father of Solomon's House who 'had an aspect as if he pitied men'.

But pity is a passive quality, and Bacon himself was not content merely to feel sympathy; he set out to make clear the basic causes of the general error and unhappiness, and point the way to a solution. He realised that the time had come for a break with the old hide-bound attitudes to life; that what was needed was new knowledge of a kind that gave man progressive control of nature's forces, against which, up to that time, he had been contending with only indifferent success, because he had not perceived the true causes of natural events, and had not, therefore, devised the right techniques for modifying them to his own advantage.

Bacon had foreshadowed his belief that scientific research might be the key to success in the struggle against mean conditions of existence in some *Devices* or *Interludes* that he wrote between the years 1592 and 1595. *The Conference of Pleasure* (1592) asserts that philosophy should be not merely speculative, but active in new discoveries about nature: 'Is there but a view only of delight and not of discovery? Of contentment and not of benefit? Shall we not discern as well the riches of nature's warehouse as the beauty of her shop? Is truth barren? Shall we not thereby be able to produce worthy effects and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities?'

The 'four principal works' which the Second Counsellor advocated in the *Gesta Grayorum* (1594) were really a definite and practical scheme of work. And in the third Device, Bacon again stressed the importance of thinking with a view to *action*.

Then, in the *Advancement of Learning* (1605), he made a survey of what knowledge was then available to man, its deficiencies, and what was needed to repair them. Two years later, in a Latin tract *Cogitata et Visa* he outlined the method by which his 'new induction'

was to operate. Dr. Abbott[1] states this succinctly as follows: 'As regards the practice of the new Art, we must (1) complete a refutation of the past; (2) having freed our minds from the old theories, opinions, and common notions, we must approach particular phenomena afresh, without bias and with the innocent eye of a child; (3) we must accumulate a "forest" or store of particulars sufficient for our purposes, partly from natural history, partly (and principally) from experiments; (4) this store must be so tabulated and reduced to order that the Intellect may be able to act on it (for even the divine Word did not act on chaos without order); (5) from these tabulated Particulars we must ascend to general "comprehensions"; (6) here we must avoid the natural but dangerous temptation to pass at once to the highest "comprehensions", the so-called "principles". To these we must gradually ascend by a logical "ladder" beginning from the nearest "comprehensions"; (7) we must discover a form of Induction leading us to a general conclusion in such a way that we may actually demonstrate the impossibility of finding a contradictory instance; (8) no "comprehension" can be received and approved till it has given bail for itself by pointing out for us new particulars beyond and beside those from which it was itself deduced.'

Professor G. C. Moore Smith has pointed out[2] that Bacon had long projected some practical plan to achieve at least the beginnings of scientific research, and the collation of results for application to the problems of man's material and social needs: 'Some private memoranda made by Bacon in July, 1608, show him pondering on the desirability of (1st) a history of marvels, that is of nature erring or varying from her usual course, (2nd) a history of the observations and experiments of all mechanical arts. But how were such histories to be obtained? Not without "command of wits and pens." Could he get himself transferred to some office which would give it? Some office of authority for instance, in some place devoted to learning? And so he adds the entry, "Layeing for a place to command wytts and pennes. Westminster, Eton, Wynchester, speci[ally] Trinity College in Cambridge, St. Johns in Camb., Maudlin College in Oxford." And then he frames in his mind a scheme for such a College of research as he proposed.

"Gyving pensions to 4 for search to compile the 2 Histories ut supra.
Foundac. of a college for Inventors.
2 Galeries with statues for Inventors past and spaces or Bases for Inventors to come. And a Library and an Inginary.
Qu. of the Order and Discipline, to be mixt with some poynts popular to invite many to contribute and joyne.
Qu. of the rules and prescripts of their studyes and inquyries.
Allowance for travailing; Allowance for experiments. Intelligence and correspondence with ye universities abroad.
Qu. of the Maner and praescripts touching secrecy, tradition, and publication.

(1) *Francis Bacon.*

(2) In his Introduction to his edition of the *New Atlantis.*

Qu. of Remooves and Expulsions in case within a tyme some Invention woorthy be not produced. And likewise qu. of the honors and Rewards for Inventions.

Vaults, fornaces, Tarraces for Insolacion; woork houses of all sorts." '

Whilst the *ideas* of reform were thus mooted in the memoranda of 1608, Bacon, in the next year, gave some indication of the literary form in which he would later be casting his scientific parable, the *New Atlantis*. The piece is the *Redargutio Philosophiarum* and is of the nature of a dramatic exhortation against the prevailing superstitious regard for 'authority' in matters of thought.

Bacon had always held that truth was only to be discovered in the direct contemplation of nature, and in experimentation. In 1620 he was to publish his elaboration of a method of investigating natural phenomena—his 'Art of Interpretation' or 'New Instrument'. But consistently, since he was a youth of fifteen disgusted at the fatuousness of his studies at Cambridge University, he had distrusted the abstract philosophy of the schools, which was merely a training for wordy disputation, and led to no practical results of value in improving the material conditions of life. The awe in which the pronouncements of ancient thinkers like Aristotle had long been held filled him with dismay. Every proposition should be subjected to methodical scrutiny, be examined on its own merits. No undue importance was to be attached to the name of the formulator of the proposition itself. Men were to be adjured to free themselves from the intellectual tyranny of the 'ancients', who were really young and inexperienced, in the light of history, in matters of science. It was a bold appeal that the orator made in the *Redargutio:*

'Train yourselves to understand the real subtlety of *things* and you will learn to despise the fictitious and disputatious subtleties of *words;* and freeing yourself from such follies, you will give yourselves to the task of facilitating (under the auspices of the divine Compassion) the lawful wedlock between the Mind and Nature. Be not like the empiric ant which merely collects; nor like the cobweb-weaving theorists who do but spin webs from their own intestines; but imitate the bees which both collect and fashion. Against the "naught beyond" of the ancients raise your cry of "more beyond". When they speak of "the not imitable thunderbolt," let us reply (not like the mad Salmoneus but in sober wisdom) that the thunderbolt is "imitable". Let the discovery of the new terrestrial world encourage you to expect the discovery of a new intellectual world, remembering the words of the prophet that "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be multiplied." '

The immediate task undertaken by Bacon himself (since nobody else appeared to be doing it) was the compilation of a mass of facts of natural history. The urgency of making this collection, upon which his 'Art of Interpretation' was to be exercised, interfered with his completion of another project that had long been dear to him—the

depiction of an ideal commonwealth, built upon simple, just laws and planned in accordance with the principles of scientific truth. It is a great pity that he had not time or opportunity to embark upon the juridical part of his scheme; no man would have been more eminently suited to frame an ideal legal system than this great Lord Chancellor. And it is also a pity that the other part—the *New Atlantis*—is only a 'fragment' of what he could have written. But the slightness of the work does not prevent it from being, as Professor Moore Smith puts it, ". . . . a notable work, notable for its power of firing later minds with a zeal for scientific research, notable for a grace of narrative, a Paul Veronese opulence of description, and a grave and sustained enthusiasm which make it at least as famous in the history of literature as in that of science."[1]

It is also most interesting as an example of Bacon's powers as a writer of fiction. In his other works he sets out his material in a straightforward fashion; in the *New Atlantis* he presents his thoughts in a framework of imaginative construction, and achieves a convincing realism by his masterly use of descriptive artifices. There is no preamble; the story opens naturally and spontaneously. He gives no long account, at the start, of the persons involved. He shows a true-to-life concern about details, with telling effect:

> 'We sailed from Peru, where we had continued for the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months, and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more; but then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east, which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north; by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that, finding ourselves in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, "who showeth his wonders in the deep," beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us, that we mought not perish. And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw, within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were, thicker clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land all that night; and in the dawning of the next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight, and full of boscage, which made it

(1) Introduction to his edition of the *New Atlantis*.

show the more dark: and after an hour and a half's sailing we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city, not great indeed, but well-built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea.'

This verisimilitude is a constant feature throughout the work and examples can be continually cited. Here is the first glimpse of some of the inhabitants of the strange country, as seen by the narrator of the story:

'. . . There made forth to us a small boat with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment, somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible, and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written, in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish, these words, "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you: meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubin's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards, and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officers returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer.'

The Strangers' House is set before our mind's eye as 'a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick, and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled.' And the interior is easily visualised from this account of it: 'The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar-wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty, many more than we needed, were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little, as they do when they give any charge or command, said to us, "Ye are to know, that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and tomorrow, which we give you for removing your people from your ship, you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God

surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said, "What, twice paid?" and so he left us.'

Even the meal served to the castaways is noted with care: 'Soon after our dinner was served in, which was right good viands, both for bread and meat, better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good; wine of the grape, a drink of grain, such as is with our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick, which, they said, were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep, which, they said, would hasten their recovery.'

The 'very eye' of the kingdom of Bensalem was the Society of Solomon's House. A wise man of this Society was miraculously permitted to receive from the sea an ark of cedar, wherein the Apostle, Saint Bartholomew, had placed a book of the Holy Scriptures, intending that this should reach Bensalem and convert the inhabitants to Christianity. The book was itself miraculous, inasmuch as its contents were intelligible at once to all the various people in the island. This account of the original evangelisation of Bensalem was given by the governor of the House of Strangers in answer to a question to that effect from the castaways. Then, to explain how the wise men of Bensalem knew so much of what went on in the world beyond, while the outer world knew so little of Bensalem, he gives a lengthy reply, the gist of which is that natural cataclysms and the loss of navigational knowledge accounted for the isolation of the island from the rest of the world; but the mariners of Bensalem were able to voyage as far as the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Another reason for the paucity of knowledge about Bensalem available to the outside world was that an ancient king, Solamona, had made such humane and hospitable regulations for receiving and maintaining whatever strangers managed to reach his land that they, almost all of them, chose to remain as perpetual dwellers there instead of returning to their own countries (which they were quite free to do, being offered every help of transport by the people of the island). This great king established many excellent laws and institutions; but by far the most interesting of the latter was, in the words of the governor of the House of Strangers, 'an order or society which we call Solomon's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that was ever upon the earth, and the lanthorn of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God.' He goes on to say that this Society was sometimes called the College of the Six Days' Works, and that, in its service, an exception was made to the king's law forbidding to all his people navigation in any part that was not under his crown. 'He made nevertheless this ordinance, that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships appointed to several voyages;

that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed, and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withall to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return, and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. The ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure, to remain with the brethren for the buying of such things and rewarding of such persons as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time, colour themselves under the names of other countries, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world.'

There follows, a little later, a passage that describes the enlightened and admirable manners of the people of Bensalem in everyday intercourse, and particularly at the special feast granted to any venerable father of a family, whom they called a Tirsan. The family as an institution was highly revered, and they had such excellent laws and customs concerning marriage that their moral level was nowhere excelled; indeed Bensalem was 'the virgin of the world.'

The part of the *New Atlantis* that gives Bacon his opportunity to put forward some deeply considered ideas about social organisation occurs where he makes the father of Solomon's House inform the captain of the strangers about the remarkable civilisation of this secluded country to which fate had brought them:

> 'God bless thee, my son, I will give thee the greatest jewel I have; for I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Solomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Solomon's House, I will keep this order:— first, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation; secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works; thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned; and fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe. The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things, and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.'

The father of Solomon's House goes on to describe many devices and instruments of observation and experiment in use among the learned men of his Order. From a conspectus of these things, it is obvious that the 'House' is really a model of a School of Experiment and Induction. The main aim of the enlightened men who direct affairs

is the progressive amelioration of the life of the whole community. The over-riding impressions obtainable from a study of their administration are those of humanitarian sympathy, sound sense, and orderliness of procedure. (With Bacon, one feels, order is the supreme virtue of life). And the most fruitful field in which this principle of behaviour could express itself, thought the governors of Bensalem, was scientific experimentation. The welfare of mankind would be advanced only when natural laws were understood and utilised to reduce labour and more efficiently provide the necessities of life. Human inventiveness in the mechanical arts was to be encouraged and developed, so that machines of hitherto undreamt of power and ingenuity might be brought into being to provide a vastly extended array of services to mankind.

The list and description the governor makes of all the 'preparations and instruments' the learned men of Bensalem had devised to the end of 'enlarging the bounds of human empire' and 'the effecting of all things possible' are too lengthy to admit of much quotation here, so we may take as samples some of the works, sufficiently extraordinary in conception at the time, but now of quite common occurence, which Bacon envisages:

> 'We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats, fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But, above all, we have heats in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and, as it were, orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we may produce admirable effects . . . . Instruments, also, which generate heat only by motion; and further, places for strong isolations; and again, places under the earth which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.'
>
> ' . . . We have also prospective houses, where we make demonstration of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbow, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We represent, also, all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines; also all colorations of light, all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find, also, divers means yet unknown to you of procuring of light originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heavens, and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near, making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means to see all small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly, as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains and flaws in gems, which cannot otherwise be seen; observations in urine and blood, not otherwise to be seen.'

'. . . We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmonies, which you have not, of quarter-sounds, and lesser slides of sounds; divers instruments likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp. We make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire; we represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echoes reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller, and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sounds from that they receive. We have also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes in strange lines and distances.'

'. . . We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets, or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily, and with small force, by wheels and other means; and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water, and unquenchable; also fireworks of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds: we have some degree of flying in the air: we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas.'

The manner in which the members of the Order of Solomon's House ensure a regular flow of information about the latest developments of science and technology in all other parts of the world, so that they may compare them with their own and develop them in their own way, makes interesting reading:

'. . . For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations, for our own we conceal, who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call "merchants of light." . . . We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call "depredators." . . . We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call "mystery men." . . . We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call "pioneers" or "miners" . . . We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms

out of them. These we call "compilers." . . . We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call "dowry men" or "benefactors." Then, after divers meetings and consults of our whole members, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call "lamps." . . . We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call "inoculators." . . Lastly, we have here three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call "interpreters of nature." . . . We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also; we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think meet to keep secret, though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.'

It is possible that, at an earlier period of his life, Bacon had hoped to interest King James in such ideas and ideals as he deploys in the *New Atlantis*; but that monarch did not fulfil expectations of his being a second Solomon. Indeed, he showed himself incapable of understanding the *Novum Organum*, and so was hardly fitted to promote the intellectual reformation hoped for by his great Lord Chancellor. But, as a piece of writing, the *New Atlantis* is particularly valuable. 'Perhaps there is no single work of his' says Spedding, 'which has so much of himself in it . . . . Among the few works of fiction which Bacon attempted, the *New Atlantis* is much the most considerable; which gives an additional interest to it, and makes one the more regret that it was not finished according to the original design. Had it proceeded to the end in a manner worthy of the beginning, it would have stood, as a work of art, among the most perfect compositions of its kind.' The description of Solomon's House moved Macaulay to say 'there is not to be found in any human composition a passage more eminently distinguished by profound and serene wisdom.'

Bacon's visualisation of an ideal commonwealth was not an empty dream. His plea of the founding of a college of scientific research did not go in vain. Although he did not, himself, arrive at the methods of modern scientific investigation, yet he did fire the enthusiasm of able men of similar spirit and insight; and we have the testimony of many that his ideas bore fruit not many years after his death. Professor Nichol writes[1]: 'It is admitted that the suggestion of the "College of

(1) *Francis Bacon, his Life and Philosophy.*

Philosophy" instituted in London (1645) and after the Restoration extended into the "Royal Society" (1662) was due to the prophetic scheme of "Solomon's House" in the *New Atlantis*. Wallis, one of the founders of the society, exalts him by name. Sprat says, "It is a work becoming the largeness of Bacon's wit to devise and the greatness of Clarendon's prudence to establish." Boyle invokes for its inauguration "that profound naturalist . . . our great Verulam." '

Dr. Thomas Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society, also pays his tribute: 'I shall onely mention one Man who had the true Imagination of the whole extent of this Enterprize, as it is now set on foot, and that is Lord Bacon. In whose Books there are every where scattered the best arguments that can be produc'd for the defence of Experimental Philosophy: and the best directions that are needful to promote it. All which he has already adorn'd with such Art; that if my desires could have prevail'd . . . there should have been no other Preface to the History of the Royal Society but some of his Writings.'

Professor G. C. Moore Smith[1] quotes a passage from M. G. Adam's *Philosophie de F. Bacon*: 'Bacon's influence is to be found again in the foundation of almost all the scientific societies. Even in Italy, Galileo's own country, in 1714 Count Marsigli founded an institution at Bologna in which, says Fontenelle, people thought they saw the accomplishment of Bacon's *Atlantis*, and in 1806 when this institution had to be re-established it was placed once more "under the auspices of the great Englishman, the great Chancellor of England, that pillar of a straightforward, sound and solid philosophy."—Bacon therefore had certainly had a happy and fruitful idea, and above all he had shown that Governments and private individuals have every interest in realising it.'

Finally, the Professor speaks of the *New Atlantis* as 'one of the inspiring causes of that mighty work of collaboration, the French *Encyclopédie*, in which the savants of the eighteenth century gathered all the results attained by science up to that date and used them as a battering-ram against established abuses in Church and State.'

He adds Diderot's remark, when the latter was describing the 'tree of human knowledge' constructed by himself and his fellow-Encyclopedists, given in the *Prospectus:* 'If we have come out of it successfully, we shall owe most to the Chancellor Bacon, who threw out the plan of an universal dictionary of sciences and arts, at a time when, so to say, neither arts nor sciences existed. That extraordinary genius, when it was impossible to write a history of what was known, wrote one of what it was necessary to learn.'

There can be no doubt, then, that this didactic romance of Bacon's, despite its smallness of volume, is great in its scope of constructive imagination, and a work in which his literary art is to be found at its best. For intellectual fertility it is remarkable; for its simplicity, straightforwardness, and dignity of language, it is a model for all writers who aim at a fine English style.

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(1) In his edition of the *New Atlantis*.

AN EPIGRAM TO BACON BY MATTHIAS LEIUS

By R. L. Eagle

In 1621, there appeared a booklet entitled *Matthiae Leii, Aruillarii ubii Germani, Liber de Triumphata Barbarie.* As its title shows it concerned foreign celebrities, but it is not stated where and by whom it was printed. The second part (also in Latin) contains epigrams under the title *Liber Epigrammatum.*

The first three eulogies are addressed to King James, Prince Charles, and the Duke of Buckingham. The fourth is:

"Ad illustrem & generosum DN. Franciscum Baconum magnum Angliae Cancellarium, Baronem Verulamii & Vice-comitem Sti. Albani:"—

Qui decus es regni, moderator iuris, & aequi
Et generosa tui factus imago patris,
Qui nova proficuo scribens documenta labore,
Fax es Apollineae non sine luce scholae,
Ut longaeva sui sit numinis hospita virtua,
Longa sit ingenio vita, Bacone, tuo.

The epigram has never been quoted or mentioned by any of Bacon's biographers, which is understandable as the book is rare and entirely in Latin. There is however, a copy in the British Museum. Baconians will be interested especially in "Fax es Appollineae" which does not seem to me to bear any other meaning than "Thou art the torch of Appollo." "Apollineus" is an adjective meaning belonging to, or relating to, Apollo.

It would be interesting to know what town is intended by Aruillius. The Ubii were a Germanic race who inhabited the district along the Rhine where Cologne now stands. Leius (perhaps the Latin form of Ley) was the author of a four leaf pamphlet—an Epos—printed at Hamburg in 1594, on which he describes himself as "SS.LL. Studiosum." He also wrote *Certamen novem Musarum Apolline duce, contra Barbariem susceptum & Elizabethae, Angliae Reginae.* There was an earlier edition of this work, *viz. Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex off. S. Rodii,* 1598. There is a copy in Utrecht University Library.

The author of *Certamen novem Musarum* is given as Matthias Leius Germanus, and it was printed "per Simonem Staffordum Londini" and dated 1600. It is dedicated in Latin to Queen Elizabeth. There was also published at Cologne in 1609 his translation from the French of F. de Longuy's *Enarratio Miraculi.* On this work Leius is called "Artium Philosophiae Doctor."

The first three books of his *Reginae Pecuniae* were published in London in 1600, 1621 and 1623. The complete five books were printed at Amsterdam in 1618.

It is interesting to find an engraving of Phoebus (Apollo) presiding over the nine Muses on the title-page of the *Liber de Triumphata.*

Who was Leius? Are there any contemporary or later allusions to him or his writings? Presumably he was German, but why should he

dedicate a book to Queen Elizabeth, and write Latin verses eulogizing British celebrities? As, furthermore, some of his works were printed in London, surely he had some connections with London Society?

Arvillarius may perhaps be identified with Ahrweiler in the Ahr valley, not far from Cologne.

If any reader is successful in discovering any information as to the life of Leius, or references to him in books or correspondence of the period I should be grateful. Possibly there are some records in State or University libraries in Germany.

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CITATION

Citation taken from Francis Bacon's Preface to the *Advancement of Learning* (printed for Thomas Williams at the Golden Bull in Osier Lane in the year 1674) pages 12-13.

First we admonish (which thing we have also prayed for) that we keep humane Reason within due limits in Matters Divine, and sense within compass; for sense like the sun, opens and reveals the face of the Terrestrial Globe, but shuts up and conceals the face of the Celestial.

Again, that men beware that in flight from this error, they fall not upon a contrary extreme, of too much abasing Natural Power, which certainly will come to pass, if they once entertain a conceit, that there are some secrets of Nature separate and exempt, as it were by injunction, from Humane Inquisition.

For it was not that pure and immaculate Natural Knowledge, by the light whereof Adam gave names unto the Creatures, according to the propriety and occasion to the Fall; but it was that proud and Imperative Appetite of Moral Knowledge, defining the laws and limits of Good and Evil, with an intent in man to revolt from God, and to give laws unto himself, which was indeed the project of the Primitive Temptation.

For, of the knowledges which contemplate the works of Nature, the holy Philosopher hath said expresly;

That the glory of God is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the King is to find it out: as if the Divine Nature, according to the innocent and sweet play of children, which hide themselves to the end they may be found, took delight to hide his works, to the end that they might be found out; and of his indulgence and goodness to mankind, had chosen the soul of man to be his Play-fellow in this game.

In summ, I would advise all in general, that they would take into serious consideration the time and Genuine ends of Knowledge; that they seek it not either for Pleasure, or contention, or contempt of others, or for Profit, or Fame, or for Honour and Promotion; or such like adulteration or inferior ends: but for the merit and emolument of Life, and that they regulate and perfect the same in charity: For the desire of Power, was the Fall of the Angels; the desire of Knowledge, the fall of Man; but in charity there is no excess, neither men nor angels ever incurred danger by it.

The Requests we make are these; (To say nothing of ourselves touching the matter in hand) we Request thus much, That men would not think of it as an opinion; but as a work, and take if for Truth, that our aim, and ends is not to lay the foundation of a Sect or Placit, but of Humane Profit and Proficience. Again, that respecting their own benefit, and putting off Partialities and Prejudices, they would all contribute in one for the publick Good: and that being freed and fortified by our preparations and aids, against the errors and Impediments of the ways, they likewise may come in, and bear a part in the burden, and inherit a portion of the Labours that yet remain behind.

Moreover that they chear up themselves, and conceive well of the enterprise; and not figure themselves a conceit and fancy, that this our Inst-

auration is a matter infinite and beyond the power and compass of Mortality; seeing it is in truth the right and legitimate end of Infinite Errors; and not unmindful of Mortality and Humane condition being it doth not promise that the Design may be accomplished within the Revolution of an Age only but delivers it over to Posterity to Perfect.

Notes on the citation

In the first paragraph Bacon advises his readers to use the power of Thought or Reason sparingly making each thought a separate study and to avoid the pain of mental indigestion.

The desires or sense must be kept well under control by means of the will so that the energy will not be wasted on things material.

The two globes are the symbols of the physical plane or world of form, and the real or spiritual plane which is the archetypal world. As the former is shut out so the latter performs its task.

The second paragraph teaches the readers to study closely and make proper enquiries into the forces which govern this planet, to search out the hidden springs of wisdom and to apply them rightly on all occasions.

The third paragraph instructs us to avoid pride which is the root of all sorrows, for the people who know the right use of power and apply it need no laws. Laws are only necessary for a people who have lost the way to right living. In the Bible it is stated that the people came unto the Prophets and asked "Prophesy unto us smooth things" and wisdom departed from among them.

The fourth paragraph gives us an illustration of how the Spirit works in relation to mankind. Man is the Key that unlocks the Door to the Garden of Understanding. "For the Kingdom of God is within us". The King is the one who governs himself, *the man who has attained* and received the crown of life.

The fifth paragraph refers to the middle way, which is the Path of Compassion, one of the most difficult of spiritual experiences.

The Sixth paragraph shews us the responsibility of partnership. Bacon is pointing the way to the union of Ideas which is not the prerogative of any one class but is for the benefit of all.

The last paragraph is a form of encouragement to further research and this is not limited to the people of his own time in history but to all ages.

As the principal performers in the Plays have their exits and their entrances and each in their time plays many parts, so Bacon the creator of this artificial Universe of the Stage conducts his readers through the winding passages of this mortal life, thereby giving to them and to us the opportunities and experiences of joy and sorrow, comedy and tragedy; and ringing down the curtain at the end.

NIGEL HARDY.

SIR SIDNEY LEE

By Edward D. Johnson

The present generation seems to know very little of Sir Sidney Lee, who in 1898 wrote *A Life of William Shakespeare* which for many years was considered to be the standard book on the subject in spite of his unscrupulous way of dealing with historical matters.

Lee was educated at the City of London School, and Balliol College, Oxford. His name was Solomon Lazarus Levi, but on the advice of Dr. Benjamin Jowett, the Master of Balliol, he changed his name to Sidney Lee. In 1883, when he was 24, he became assistant Editor of *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and succeeded Mrs. Leslie Stephen as Editor in 1891. He wrote a *Life of Queen Victoria* in 1902, and in 1912 he wrote, as a supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, an article on the life of King Edward VII, which caused considerable controversy. He was at that time known to the public as the author of *A Life of William Shakespeare.*

When Sir Sidney Lee embarked upon the task of writing his *Life of Shakespeare* he had an unquestioning faith in the identity of the Stratford man with the author of the Plays, but as he proceeded he was continually coming across facts which showed that there was nothing to connect the actor with literary work of any description, and nothing to show that Will Shakspere possessed the knowledge or ability required for the writing of the Plays. He therefore had to twist the ascertained *facts* to agree with his faith.

The only established and undisputed *facts* concerning Will Shaksper's history could easily be written on a half-sheet of notepaper. This placed Lee in a dilemma, and he had to use his imagination. This he did so effectively that he was able to produce a book of 445 pages and a second edition published in 1916 running into 720 pages. A large part of the book consists of valuable literary and textual criticism, but when dealing with the known facts relating to Shakspere's life Lee was in some difficulty. This accounts for the fact that there are a great number of imaginative statements linked together by vague and declamatory phrases. One does not have to read far to find the following: "There is a probability," "It is conjectured" "It is probable," "It may have been," "In all likelihood," "doubtless," "It is alleged," "it is possible," "beyond doubt," "it may be questioned," "it may well be," "might have," "there is little doubt," "it is reasonable to assume," "it is possible," "there is no external evidence," "a bare possibility," "it may be inferred," "it may be doubted," "there is some ground for assuming," "a bare likelihood," "no sustained evidence," "in all probability," "there is reason to believe," "it is commonly assumed," "we can hardly doubt," "it may have been," "we have some reason to believe," "there is some ground for thinking," "whether or no," "possibly," "it seems probable," "one can well imagine."

In the first edition of Lee's book the adverb "doubtless" is found

sixty-one times, and is used by him to raise *conjecture* to the level of *probability*. Now although this is very plausible, it is not evidence that would be accepted in a Court of Law.

The most scandalous statement in the whole of Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* is the following:

"Some misgivings arose in *literary* circles *soon after Shakespeare's death*, as to whether he had received appropriate sepulture. The news of Shakespeare's death reached London after the *dramatist* had been laid to rest amid his own people at Stratford. But *men of letters* raised a cry of regret that his ashes had not joined those of Chaucer, Spenser, and Beaumont, in Westminster Abbey." A biography of any man should contain facts. What does the ordinary reader gather from Lee's statement? Clearly that "men of letters" in "literary circles" in London were disturbed and shocked by the news that "the great dramatist" had actually been buried at Stratford and not in Westminster Abbey as of course he ought to have been. This statement is a deliberate and calculated deception and was inserted by Lee to trick his readers and give them the impression that Will Shakspere was recognised by his contemporaries as the author of the Shakespeare Plays. What are the real facts about this alleged "cry of regret" raised by "men of letters" in literary circles? The deadly facts are that the news of Will Shakspere's death was received in *absolute silence*. Not one of the literary fraternity in London expressed any grief because the English poet and dramatist had passed away. *No literary person* was in any way interested in the death of Will Shakspere, the retired actor and tradesman of Stratford-on-Avon.

But Sir Sidney Lee must have had some grounds for making such an outrageous statement, and they appear to be as follows:—

Six years *after* Shakspere died, one William Basse published in 1622 some lines which were afterwards prefixed to an Edition of Shakespeare's poems published in 1640, in which he bids "Renouned Spenser lie a thought more nigh to learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumont lie a little nearer Spenser, to make room for Shakespeare in your three-fold, four-fold tomb", as though he was under the impression that Shakspere should have been buried in Westminster Abbey.

Here we have, *six years after Shakspere died, one obscure* person expressing the desire that Shakspere should have been, or should be buried in Westminster Abbey. Thus we find that William Basse has become "literary circles," and "Six years after" has become "soon after," and the plea of an obscure individual has become a "cry of regret from men of letters".

Sir Sidney Lee was a self-appointed authority on Shakespeare—so his readers have the right to assume that all his statements are correct and in accordance with the facts. His misrepresentation of the facts in the above statement was a fabrication, and absolutely unwarranted, but it was typical of Lee's methods of twisting facts for the purpose of glorifying Shakspere, and upholding the orthodox faith.

In a letter which Lee wrote and which was published in *The Times*

on 20th December, 1901, he speaks of the Baconian theory as "a foolish craze," "morbid psychology", and "madhouse chatter". He said, *inter alia*, that Baconians suffer from "epidemic disease," and are "unworthy of serious attention from any but professed students of intellectual aberration." He also said that Baconians were "all ignorant, vain, and unable to test evidence," "that they lack scholarly habits of mind," and "when narrowly examined have invariably exhibited a tendency to monomania". Now this is very strong language when one considers that a great number of eminent and intellectual men such as Sir Edwin Arnold, Mr. G. C. Bompas, Q.C., John Bright, S. T. Coleridge, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Dr. W. H. Furness, Lord Hamilton, O. W. Holmes, J. R. Lowell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Penzance, Judge Webb, J. G. Whittier, Mark Twain, and many others, all expressed the opinion that Will Shakspere could hardly have been the author of the plays. All these men, according to Lee, must have been deranged. It is submitted that the opinion of these men, all of great ability and intelligence, can be accepted in preference to that of a man like Lee, who did not scruple to manipulate historical facts, and whose own vituperations laid him open to the charge of "monomania".

If the Baconian theory is a myth and not worthy of serious attention why did Lee get so excited about it? Why such a bitter tone and such unnecessary vehemence? It is clear evidence of a petulant spirit which cannot examine any argument with calmness, or discuss it in moderate language. Speaking of Baconians the late W. E. Gladstone said, "I have always regarded this discussion as one perfectly serious and to be respected in view of what Bacon was." The theory is a reasonable one and Baconians are entitled to some measure of courtesy.

ACROSTICS AND QUIBBLES

by ARDEN

MODERN orthodox opinion is generally agreed on the use and development of imagery in Shakespeare. We are told that from being an adornment in the early plays, imagery became more and more an integral part of dramatic function and that this was a conscious control by the author in the development of his art.

Over a longer period of commentary it has been also recognised that puns and word-play, equivoques and *double-entendres* have spattered the plays with embarrassing frequency, and in late years, this frequency has been noted more seriously as an outstanding characteristic of *Shakespeare's* style.

For some time, many works were written based on certain aspects of psychology which had for their starting point the premise that *Shakespeare* was unconscious of his use of imagery, but since it was noted that puns and quibbles could hardly be an unconscious factor, and that such examples of wit went hand-in-hand with choice instances of group imagery, the theory of "unconscious use" had to be abandoned.

Embarrassment still stems from three heads and is noted in recent commentaries as follows:

1. *Shakespeare's* obscenities;
2. "The pun is the lowest form of wit", and
3. Baconian cryptograms.

Orthodox commentators still do not know how to deal with any of the above. But it would seem, on the best of orthodox authority, that *Shakespeare* could hardly spare to pass by a jest.

> "Shakespeare habitually thought in quibbles, if indeed 'quibble' be the right term for what was one of the main roots of his poetic expression. *When he used a word, all possible meanings of it were commonly present to his mind,* so it was like a musical chord which might be resolved in whatever fashion or character he pleased. To miss a quibble, then, *is often to miss the interwoven thread which connects together a whole train of images: for imagery and double meanings are generally inseparable* . . . But he was past master also of a very different kind of quibble, though it springs from the same root: the quibble of wit and repartee. Here the situation is reversed; for the quibble is the point of the jest, as if it eludes the auditor the jest falls flat. That a large number of his quibbles of necessity elude the modern reader and have usually eluded his editors is the principal reason why so much of his comic dialogue seems dead wood today. All the colour and sap of the fun has withered like that of music-hall jokes fifty years old . . . my experience with *Love's Labour's Lost,* which probably seemed the most brilliant of all Shakespeare's plays to his contemporaries and in which the quibbling is endless, has convinced me that enough of it can be recovered for us to understand something of the enthusiasm with which London hailed the event of this wittiest of Elizabethan poets . . .

". . .We can be sure that Shakespeare's audience realised this to the full, and that the judicious among them took great pleasure in attempting to solve the enigmas which he set them.

"Stage-quibbling was indeed a kind of game, like the modern cross-word puzzle or the problems with which writers of detective stories pose their readers: and in *Hamlet* it was "performed at height". (my italics).

(*Introduction to Hamlet*, Cambridge Edition, Dover Wilson)

It will be understood from the above, that we need not only have in mind the two plays mentioned, because many forms of "quibble" are found in all, and the Baconian may conclude that amongst the "dead wood" (which eludes the editors) we find our best Baconian cryptograms. And since we have a reasonable solution for many of them, our claims for Baconian authorship fulfil a want on the part of orthodoxy.

But the synthesis goes further, for if the "quibble", in its many forms, provides conundrums for the orthodox, it is reasonable to assume that such could be used for Bacon-authorship signals. And further, since we must assume that with *Shakespeare*, when "he used a word all possible meanings of it were commonly present to his mind", then it is but a step to realise that spellings and orthography are insolubly connected with "quibbles" and acrostics may also be part of *Shakespeare's* conscious invention. Otherwise, the old error of limiting the scope of *Shakespeare's* genius comes back into play, and this has been a constant mistake throughout all orthodox commentary.

However it is another matter to identify all types of "quibble" and it is to the credit of Baconians that they have specialised in forms of *chiffres-entendres*. In the cabbala cipher counts, and the acrostics, we have gained a new instrument with the recognition of the "quibble" even though it may take many forms.

Let us examine then, the first acrostic to be found in the 1623 Folio, page 2, of *The Tempest*, and apply three new conceptions or aids in the cryptographic field. These are: 1, the Conception of Symmetry; 2. the Quibble; 3. the Conception of First and Last things.

Symmetry means balance; "quibble" means the pun and all shades of connotation; and the conception of "First and Last" is an aid already used in the past as a form of symmetry, but now identified as an aid in itself, based on certain comments in *The Advancement of Learning*:—

Line 33 — Begun to tell me . . .	BE	B
And left me . . .	AN	A
Concluding . . .	CO	CON

For the full elucidation we need only to consult the simple Cipher Counts, given in the Cabbala and in Tenison's *Baconiana*, 1679.

Simple= 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
A B C D E F G H I/J K L M N O P Q R S T U/V W X Y Z

BACON=2+1+3+14+13=33 (Simple).

We can now apply several principles of cryptographic detection:

1. Punning Anagram =BEACON (A pun used by the poet Davies)
2. The "Quibble" =BEGUN (Punning Equivoque)
3. Commences Line 33 =BACON ("to tell me"=to count)
4. First and Last Things =a. Begins with "Begun"
   b. Ends with "Concluding"
   c. "Begun" to "Concluding"=BACONE

The first example of a double-letter acrostic of Bacon's name certainly gains point by the recognition of every shade of "quibble" and the above is not all for we are provided with the full acrostic F. BACONE in the line above where we have:

"For thou must know further"

This line contains three further "quibbles"—1. the pun on "father-further"; 2. the hint at further information; 3. the keying by the word "For". The first is recognised as a pun by orthodoxy, the second is obvious, the third is a tentative suggestion arising from other decipherments where the word "For" provides the initial letter "for Francis" and a reading "For Bacon" from "Bacono".

An inspection of other acrostics will show that "symmetry" and "quibbling" bring new information with latin forms of Bacon's name. Some attempt has been made in the past to place these acrostic signatures in a wider frame, notably by the late William Stone Booth, Mr. Edward D. Johnson, and Mr. Henry Seymour. See BACONIANA, Nos. 67 (3rd Series), and 117 (Vol. XXIX).

I want next to deal with another self-evident form of authorship signal: the monogram. The following examples have already been recognised:—

A. *The Rape of Lucrece* = F R / B (First two lines)

B. *The Sonnets* = F R / F / B (First Lines) (Sonnet 1)

C. *A Louer's complaint* = F R ..... Con / A ..... a / My ..... b / An / E (First Stanza)

Reading: MY NAME FRA. BACON

D. *The Tempest* (1623 Folio) =First word= "Bote-swaine" =Last word = "free" =F.B.

The last example is elucidated as follows:

1. First and Last Things =A Baconian principle of decipherment =gives the monogram F.B.

2. Cipher Counts:
FREE=6+17+5+5 =33 (Simple)
33=BACON (Simple)

3. FREE=19+8+20+20=67 (Reverse)
67=FRANCIS (Simple)
i.e. FREE =FRANCIS BACON

4. FREE=FRANCIS=Common root meanings=The "Quibble"
Francis, *Germ.* from *Franc*, that is, free, not servile or bond. The same with the Greeke *Eleutherio* and the Latine ***Liberius*** (Camden's *Remaines*).

5. Acrostic: The last two lines of *The Tempest* read:
As you from crimes would pardon'd be
Let your Indulgence set me free.
This gives the symmetrical acrostic:
AS.....BE
LE.....SET ME FREE
Reading SEAL. SET ME FREE. BE.
And again: Seal: set me: FRANCIS B.

6. So much for the last word and lines. Most of the above have been noted before, but despite the fact that the last word "free" covers so much *double-entendre* ("quibbling") I have not noted any attempt to examine that FIRST word "Bote-swaine" which is the partner to the monogram F.B. If we recognise that "free" is part of an intentional signal, then "Bote-swaine" should be examined with care.

7. Bote-swaine is hyphenated and is the only instance of such on page 1, column 1, which includes "*Boteswaine*" and "Boson".

SWAINE =the HUMAN connotation
=SWINEHERD (O. E. *Swan*) (*Concise Oxford*)

8. SWAINE =SWINE ("quibble" and normal equivoque)
=*schwein*=SWINE (German)
=*Swan* (see above)

9. SWAINE =A SWINE (anagrammatic)
10. SWAINE =18+21+1+9+13+5=67 (Simple)
67=FRANCIS (Simple)

11. BOTE has anagrammatic possibilities:
BOTE =BOTH (Elizabethan spelling)
=BOT(H)E (using Camden's rule for H)

In *Love's Labour's Lost* the character "Moth" or "Mothe" does not mean the insect but=MOTE (in the eye).
if MOTE=MOTH
Then BOTE =BOTH (by analogy).

12. BOTE-SWAINE =BOTH A SWINE (the full "quibble")

13. BOTE-SWAINE =BOS'N or BOSON
=equivoque for "Bacon" (hidden quibble).

Note: In column 1 we find "BOSON" on the 13th line and "Bote-swaine" on the 18th line so it becomes evident that the pronunciation plays a part in the quibble. A Frenchman (as I have heard several times myself) will pronounce "Bacon" as "Basson" or "Baçon" and when we know that S is derived etymologically from the Greek C, sigma, then Boson as an equivoque for "Bacon" becomes a possibility, bearing in mind that the punning could not be too obvious seeing that we are dealing with the first word in the Folio and that it was daring enough to start with a Capital B (for Bacon) without the quibbles embedded in the word "swaine".

But "Boson" appears soon enough in the lines:

14. BOSON =the 67th word down the column
67=FRANCIS (Simple)

15. The 33rd word ="the"
67th " ="Boson"
100th " ="name"

(Roman words only, hyphenated and apostrophied forms=one single word)

It would seem here that there are grounds for examining the first page of *The Tempest,* columns 1 and 2 for further cipher counts.

I should like to have had further caballa confirmation from the full form "Boteswaine" but I have detected nothing obvious in this direction. Perhaps the experts in this field might find something exceptional.

However, it would be appropriate, at this point, to deal with the acrostic in column 1, *The Tempest,* which gives the name to "Gallowes Signatures" or Acrostics, and show several new discoveries which have a bearing on the word "Bote-swaine".

The acrostic is found in a speech by *Gonzalo* in reply to an order by the "Boteswaine" ". . . out of our way I say. (*Exit*)"

> *Gon.* I have great comfort from this fellow: methinks he hath no drowning marke upon him, his complexion is perfect Gallowes: stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our owne doth little advantage: If he be not borne to bee hang'd, our case is miserable. (*Exit*)
>
> *Enter Boteswaine*
>
> *Botes.* Downe with the top-Mast, yare, lower, lower, bring her to Try with Maine-course. A plague ——
> *A cry within.* *Enter Sebastian, Anthonio & Gonzalo*

Elucidation

Our attention is drawn by the word "hanging" and "hanged" for this is an echo of "Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you". We next observe that the word "han-ging" is hyphenated in rather an unusual way; the more usual="hang-ing".

The acrostic is normally shown thus:

he . . .
is perfect Gallowes
ging . . .
owne . . . (=33rd line down)
hang'd, . . .

bring . . . . . A plague——(vpon)
A cry . . . . . Gonzalo.

Giving:

B. . . . . N
AC. . . . . O =BACON.

But if we bring to bear more attention to detail we have:

Gonzalo: "I have great comfort from this fellow":—

1. "This fellow" = the "Boteswaine".
Therefore:

. . . . . Methinks
he . . . .
is . . . .
going, . . .
owne . . . .
hang'd. . . .

Reading: "Methinks he is HOG hang'd".
For: Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you (*M.W.W.* IV, 1)

2. Now the acrostic:—

Enter Boteswaine. (Bacon shows his entrance! The word "enter" has classical associations.)

Botes. Downe . . . . . lower, lower,
bring her to Try with Maine-course. A plague ——
A cry within. Enter Sebastian, Anthonio & Gonzalo

We extract the essentials by rubrication:

Downe . . . . . lower
B . . . . . ——
Ac . . . . . GonzalO

Reading: "Down lower: BACO="By Bacon"="For Bacon".

3. But, as has been noted before, the long dash has room enough for the inclusion of the first word in Column 2, "upon", and we note in Gonzalo's speech: "he hath no drowning, MARKE UPON him", (see above). In column 2, page 2, *Shakespeare* uses: "*Pros.* I pray thee, marke me" The acrostic is then:

Bring . . . . . upoN
A Cry . . . . . GonzalO
Giving: BACON

4. But the symmetrical version is better:

Bring . . . . . upON
A Cry . . . . . GonzalO
Reading: BACONO="by Bacon"="for Bacon"

5. The full extracted cryptogram reads:

METHINKS HE IS HOG HANG'D DOWNE - BACONO

or: "Methinks he is Hog hang'd downe - for Bacon"

for: "Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you"
(*M.W.W.* IV. i)

and: "Hog cannot be Bacon until he be well hang'd."
(*Apophthegm* 136)

also *Suspendere*=to hang
sus=hog
pendere=to hang down

6. *The Shibboleth*

We have extracted the message:

"Methinks he is HOG hang'd down for Bacon" and if this is a correct decipherment and an echo of the shibboleth: "Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you" (see BACONIANA, No. 148, 1954) then what must be the final seal to the cryptographic quibbling; the *chiffre-entendre* buried in the word "Bote-swaine"?

I think we must take a literal view and look for the seal to "Bacon" just as we have the SEAL "Free" for Francis. I am emboldened in this view by the fact that I see many echoes of other well known Baconian cryptograms.

Such words as "For", "Upon", "Free", etc., not to mention "swaine" appear in other decipherments, and in the above we can also recognise the echo of QUICKLY=CITO=TO CRY out a name.

The first word is a cry "Bote-swaine" and the last line which provides part of the acrostic BACONO: "*A Cry . . .*".

But what of the SEALS to Bacon's names? If the "Hang-hog" line is a shibboleth or key we must assume:—

1. The SEAL for "Francis" =FREE
2. The SEAL for "Bacon" =HOG

We have the LAST word="free"; the FIRST word="Bote-swaine."

Let us examine that FIRST word in the 1623 Folio;

B Ote-swaine } O
Heere Master } H
Good } G

The seal for Bacon is the first possible acrostic in the text of the play *The Tempest*, the *first* in the 1623 Folio: HOG—somewhat disguised as an anagram—but all three letters in capitals.

Conclusion.

The evidence is overwhelming that we must recognise the monogram F.B. and the rest of the *chiffre-entendres*. If orthodoxy must insist that every nuance and meaning plays a part in *Shakespeare's* quibbling then it must be so also for the cryptographic signals found—a dividing line cannot exist.

Orthodox scholars delight to be able to prove examples of Shakespeare's actual orthography—we make them a present of the examples of "Bote-swaine," "Boteswaine" and "Boson" *for they must surely be as he wrote them in his manuscript, as a pointer to his real name:* Francis Bacon.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR, "BACONIANA"

SIR,

TU-WHIT; TU-WHO, A MERRY NOTE

When icicles hang by the wall
And Dick the shepherd blows his nail
And Tom bears logs into the hall
And milk comes frozen home in pail,
When blood is nipp'd and ways be foul,
Then nightly sings the staring owl,
Tu-whit;
To-who, a merry note,
While greasy Joan doth keel the pot.

When all aloud the wind doth blow
And coughing drowns the parson's saw
And birds sit brooding in the snow
And Marion's nose looks red and raw,
When roasted crabs hiss in the bowl,
Then nightly sings the staring owl,
Tu-whit;
Tu-who, a merry note,
While greasy Joan doth keel the pot.

(*Love's Labour's Lost*,
V. 2, 922-939).

The above poem raises the question, about which considerable difference of opinion exists, as to why the owl's cry, usually considered to be a mournful note, should be regarded by the author of the poem as a "merry note". The answer is to be found, I think, in the following prognostication regarding weather which Francis Bacon has recorded, together with many others, in *Historia Ventorum* (The History of the Winds).

(71) "The whooping of an owl was thought by the ancients to betoken a change of weather, from fair to wet, or from wet to fair. But with us an owl, when it whoops clearly and freely, generally shows fair weather, especially in winter."

The "Tu-whit; Tu-who" of the poem thus gladdens the heart of the poet, because it indicates a forthcoming and welcome break in the dreary winter prospect which is so vividly described.

Yours faithfully,
HAROLD N. THOMAS.

THE EDITOR, "BACONIANA"

SIR,

I was most interested in Mr. Harold N. Thomas' quotations, in your issue of November last, concerning the use of purgatives by Francis Bacon and his father. The innocent question posed at the end of his letter as to whether the habit of purging appertained to the Earl of Leicester or to Sir Nicholas Bacon is of course answered by the quotations themselves.

Sir Nicholas, as we know, in later life became extremely corpulent and died, it is said, from catching a chill at an open window. Whether this indicated what nowadays would be called an unbalanced diet one cannot tell.

Francis Bacon's remarks about his father "although he was in a perfect state of health *considering his age*" and "he was obliged to pass the latter part of his life in bondage to Doctors and Apothecaries. *It was my misfortune to be born during this latter period*" are to my mind a clear answer as to whom he is referring. The Earl of Leicester (1531-1588), who died at the age of fifty-seven, was only 30 years old when Francis was born. This could hardly be described as

the latter period of Leicester's life. Sir Nicholas (1509-1579) on the other hand, who lived to the age of seventy, was fifty-two years of age at Francis' birth.

In Francis Bacon's published correspondence there are, as we know, several mentions of his father. Letters, in particular, to Lord Burghley (Sir Nicholas' brother-in-law) whom in 1591 he calls "the honour of my house" and calls himself "unworthy kinsman". In another letter to Burghley he mentions his father's service to the Queen and says "in loyal and earnest affection which he gave to Her Majesty's service I trust my portion shall not be with the least; nor in proportion with the *youngest birth*." In yet another letter (1595) to Burghley, Bacon says "I have heard that my Father . . . was made Solicitor of the Augmentation, a Court of much business, when he had never practised and was but twenty seven years old." If Sir Nicholas Bacon was not his father it would most certainly be known to Burghley of all people. But that is not all—Bacon writes to Sir Robert Cecil as his "cousin german" and in a letter to the Earl of Essex (his supposed brother) Bacon refers to Robert Cecil as "my dear kinsman and your good friend"—insincere possibly, but the relationship is clear.

There are two further letters written to Essex concerning Irish affairs (1599). Bacon says " . . . . because it is ingenerate in your House (family) in respect of my lord your father's noble attempts" (Essex's father, Walter Devereux, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) and in the second letter of advice Bacon refers to "a just and civil government, which design as it doth descard unto you from your noble father who lost his life in that action though he paid tribute to nature and not to fortune."

To me these letters are a pretty strong indication of the true relationship of Sir Nicholas Bacon and Francis and of the Earl of Essex's parentage as well.

Yours faithfully,

T. D. BOKENHAM.

THE EDITOR, "BACONIANA"

Dear Sir,

May I draw attention to two points among the *miscellanea Baconiana* which I believe have not yet been discussed?

(1) All such editions after 1612 of the *Essays* as I have so far examined have been content to read in Essay 17, *Of Superstition*: "It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolmen bare great sway, 'that the Schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to *save the phenomena*' (my italics), 'though they knew there were no such things': and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church." The vast number of editions, even if one could be sure of having traced them all, clearly hinders an examination of each; but surely one should read "*salve* the phenomena"? (See the excellent gloss of the expression in the *Oxford English Dictionary*). Or are "save" and "salve" etymologically identical *in this usage*? Furthermore, (i) can anyone document the saying of "some of the prelates" and (ii) which edition, if any, of the *Essays* has hitherto been accepted as definite?

(2) The use and influence of Bacon on later writers needs closer examination. (i) In his *Tale of a Tub*, Swift writes: "Now, the coats their" (sc. the Christian churches') "father had left them were, it is true, of very good cloth, and besides, so neatly sewn, you would swear they were all of a piece." Undoubtedly this idea of the Church's being as a "seamless garment" had been familiar from at least mediaeval times; but when one notes that among Swift's books (Harold Williams: *Swift's Library*, Oxford, 1932) was a copy of the 1630 *Essays* it seems possible that Swift drew on the point as stated in *Of Unity in Religion*. (ii) As shown by Mr. Payson G. Gates in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for Summer 1947 (an article referred to in the *Times Literary Supplement's* leader on 28 June 1947), the copy of the 1629 *Advancement* at Keats' House, Hampstead, was used, not by Keats, but by William Hazlitt for his *Literature in the Age of Elizabeth*. Can such a list be added to?

Yours faithfully,

H. W. JONES.

THE EDITOR,
SIR,

LEGENDARY LAVENDER?

(printed in the *Bristol Evening Post*, October 4th, 1958)

With reference to Mr. John L. Jones's most interesting Article on "Legendary Lavender . . . " and Caldey Island, etc. (Wednesday's *Bristol Evening Post*) I should like to ask, where are the "NUMEROUS references to lavender " in Shakespeare? I have referred to my "Complete Concordance To Shakespeare" (*Mrs. Cowden Clarke*) and find lavender is only mentioned once and that in *Winter's Tale*, IV, 3. It is found on page 292, column 1, in the original 1623 folio and refers to "hot lavender".

Mr. Jones continues " . . . but curiously it is not mentioned by Bacon in his inventory of aromatic medicinal herbs". He adds "Is there a small pointer here for the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy?"

If Mr. Jones will refer to Bacon's "Sylva Sylvarum or Natural History" (1676 Ed.) he will find lavender is mentioned several times, e.g., *para.* 630, *page* 129, *or para.* 582, *page* 120; but I would like particularly to point out the reference on page 104, para. 497 which reads: " . . . . certain herbs, and those hot ones as lavender . . . "

Thus we see both Shakespeare and Bacon refer to "hot lavender", so perhaps Mr. Jones is right. There *is* "a *small* (*maybe large*) pointer here for the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy", but which way does it point?

W.E.H.

(N.B.—The omission of the words in italics by the *Bristol Evening Post* did not affect the sense of the letter. They are, however, inserted here for reference. Editor).

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